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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Norris Lee Smith entitled "A Phenomenological Study of the Experience of Travel." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Psychology.

Howard R. Pollio, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Thomas L. Bell, Mark Hector, John Lounsbury

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

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Thomas L. Bell

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John Lounsbury

Accepted for the Council:

Dr. Anne Mayhew
Vice Provost and
Dean of Graduate Studies

(Original signatures are on file in the Graduate Student Services Office.)

A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY OF
THE EXPERIENCE OF TRAVEL

A Dissertation Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Norris Lee Smith

May 2002

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I would like to thank the members of my committee for their assistance: Dr. Thomas Bell, Dr. Mark Hector, Dr. John Lounsbury, and especially my major professor, Dr. Howard Pollio, for his guidance and advice over the years. I would also like to thank my parents for their support and patience while I traveled many paths.

ABSTRACT

To describe and gain an understanding of the experience and meaning of travel, ten participants were asked to "tell me about some times you've traveled that stand out to you." These interviews were non-structured, and the ensuing dialogue served as data for a research project concerning first-person accounts of the lived experience of travel. Once completed, each interview was typed and underwent hermeneutic analysis within the context of an interpretive research group. Results of thematic analysis revealed that travel was described as a movement away from "home," a venturing out, which was characterized by participants in figure-ground terms. For this set of individuals, travel was a process of movement from the ground of one's home world and of encountering objects and events not of one's world.

Five themes emerged as figural for participants during these forays: (1) Changes in perspective (strange-familiar), (2) Challenge (dangerous-safe), (3) Freedom (open-closed), (4) Connection (intimate-separate), and (5) Authenticity (real-touristy). Each theme was defined as a bipolar continuum along which participants described their

experiences of travel. Each theme was contextualized against the ground of the home world, which was characterized as known, ordinary, predictable, and familiar.

This figure-ground description was related to the diverse literature on travel, including insights deriving from geographical, social, literary, philosophical, and empirical-psychological investigations. Despite methodological differences from earlier work, the five themes that emerged were consistent with results from other studies and analyses. For example, travel as a search for authenticity or as a journey of some sort was clearly present in thematic descriptions. Despite similarities, however, results from this study were not directly able to support or refute much of the empirical literature associated with the topic of travel since the present inquiry did not address factors such as personality or motivation, only participant experiences. The importance of one's home world, experienced as a socio-geographical ground against which one ventures out, did emerge as necessary for a full understanding of the meaning of travel.

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CHAPTER I

TRAVEL: A REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

The literature of travel is gigantic; it has a thousand forms and faces.

(Adams, 1983, p.281)

Introduction

The literature on travel encompasses an enormously broad range of concerns, from scientific expeditions to travel lies, from geographical experiences to spiritual seeking, from out-of-body-experiences to students studying overseas, from authenticity in tourism to themes of exploration in fiction. As in many other fields, the research literature includes some less-than-impressive studies. Unlike other areas, however, the literature concerning travel can incite controversy as a result of the physical and mental worlds journeyed to, the means of facilitating such travel, the methodology of those who study others' work, and the relative value placed on various approaches to conceptualizing travel.

Owing to the particularly diverse range of literature encompassed by the topic of travel, the present review will select a representative sample from myriad approaches to

the topic. Included in this analysis are empirical studies measuring variables such as vacation satisfaction and personality change. Also included are papers on authenticity, the effects of studying abroad for students and teachers, travel motivations, and the role of travel in personal development. Less empirical and more conceptual topics - such as releasing scholars from institutional pressure, spiritual exploration, or the concept of the strange - are examined by more theoretical approaches, especially when analyzing abstract dimensions of travel such as time and space. In addition, some general issues such as freedom, creativity, and various travel genres are examined through travel literature and various books about travel. Stated simply, no single approach to travel fully captures its dynamic range and depth.

Cross Disciplinary Analyses of Travel: Conceptual and Theoretical Approaches

Travel Literature and the Literature of Travel

Travel necessarily involves experiencing cultures markedly different from one's own, the danger and length of

excursions or missions, the human potential or even propensity for exaggeration, and the pressure to produce or discover something. These concerns may lead to travel accounts that are in one or a number of ways inaccurate. The broad term "inaccurate" encompasses prejudice, exaggeration, and deception. This not only refers to descriptions of places, but also to various societal views of places, which would include the supposed culture of persons living there. Regardless of the possibility of exposing "true" travel descriptions from "false" ones, it is perhaps more interesting to study the prevalence of distortion and projection found among authors purporting to place themselves in the *nonfiction* section in the range of writing running from literature to science.

Conducting a broad survey of 18th century voyage literature, Adams (1962) noted that this century fell victim to travel books that were partly or even completely false. Such lies, defined as a tale told by a traveler or pseudo-traveler with an intent to deceive, were not limited to a single nation; in fact, at the time, England and France competed in this arena as well as in the arena of world leadership in the arts and sciences. Fighting each other to build a mightier empire, they vied in the

production of travel literature and, hence, travel lies. According to Adams (1962), the object of studying travel fabrications of this period is to derive laws and learn facts from them that should serve to make us better readers of voyage literature. Understanding how and why lies were produced should allow us to recognize true travel documents and to see how important the lies have been.

There are travel reports that originally were true, although editors, publishers, and translators turned them into lies; anyone employing deception for the sake of money, pride, or a point of view can be called a travel liar. Persons such as editors and translators frequently appropriated material from other travelers and, ironically, from other travel liars. The 18th century was one of great freedom in translating and editing, at times involving direct plagiarism, and some writers even edited themselves into the category of travel liars. Although such authors enhanced or omitted, they usually did not avoid reality altogether and are to be separated as completely as possible from writers of imaginary voyages, a type of literature almost as popular as authentic travel accounts. False accounts were sometimes exposed quickly, some fooled the public for several decades, and still others were

considered authentic for as long as 200 years (Adams, 1962).

Reasons for deception include vanity, cupidity, and political, personal, national, philosophical, or religious prejudice. Such authors did not fool everyone, but many were accepted in their day. Encompassing both fiction and nonfiction, Adams (1962) delineates a continuum, in the center of which are hundreds of true travel books. To the right are imaginary voyages that deceive probably no one. Closer to the center are the Gullivers, fictional travelers going to unbelievable lands having amazing adventures but whose stories are placed in a realistic framework. Farther out are Baron Munchausen, subterranean voyages, or a trip to the moon.

To the left of center are the deceivers, ranging from those telling either a few or relatively insignificant lies, to those telling many or very influential ones. On the near left are important travelers, at least in the sense of other travelers depending on them. Examples of such lies include supplying vocabularies of Indians never seen and giving habits of animals never studied. On the far left are anarchists, whose books almost completely destroy truth. One novelist (Daniel Defoe), for instance,

while reading various accounts of real travelers in his London room, hoaxed the public. One fabrication of his lasted almost enduringly with his story of Captain Singleton. The "information" provided by this author actually supplied a historian with descriptions of the Nile Basin over a century later (Adams, 1962).

The writers themselves felt that a certain amount of editorializing was desirable. This could mean permitting two kinds of history: a serious, dignified, fact-oriented kind and a lighter, more entertaining one. It could also mean that every fact should have its foundation in truth, or that it was necessary not only to see much but to overlook much as well. A view that editorializing in this way is acceptable would not condone gross tampering, and both the historian and the novelist would permit certain colorings or omissions (Adams, 1962).

In contrast, one opinion "given by Rudolph Erich Raspe, one who traveled more by imagination than by some costlier means of locomotion, states that 'a traveler has a right to relate and embellish his adventures as he pleases, and it is very impolite to refuse that deference and applause they deserve' (London, 1785, chapter x). The author of this opinion is not so well known as his creation

Baron Munchausen, from whose mouth the quotation is taken, and who was invented primarily for the purpose of ridiculing real travelers and their tall tales" (Adams, 1962, p. 9). Opinions of others on the veracity of these accounts ranged from John Locke urging all gentlemen to study history, geography and travel books, to the accusation that voyagers almost always embellished what they saw. A similar conclusion was that all Europeans writing from China were liars and that all travel books had errors and falsehoods (Adams, 1962).

The result of a deception and the reason for it are often related, as when a travel account provides hope. A traveler could distort appearances so they would conform to a set of notions derived from previous travelers and theorists. Then the report would become part of a myth, and it would be impossible to discuss any particular falsifier alone; it would be necessary to look back in time, before the story was written, and then follow him and the report afterwards. Adams (1962) lists approaches to studying this: one is the influence of travel lies on geography. When bringing back information used to map and analyze less known areas, voyagers had a grand opportunity to leave their mark on history by moving bodies of water,

exaggerating distances and heights, and even inventing topography.

Other travel documents of this period involved merely pretending to go somewhere or altering accounts of other actual travelers. Still another method was to wait until old age had fed one's imagination before telling stories. Finally, a different approach to examining such exaggerations involves investigating those travelers who were unjustly condemned for detailing a marvelous story of a far country owing to the dishonest cases of others (Adams, 1962).

Edward Said (1978) provides a different analysis of travel writings concerning the Near East and the Far East in his classic book *Orientalism*. Said (1978) examined statements about, authoritative views of, descriptions of, and ruling over the East, noting a tendency for Western writers to describe travel in ways suggesting Western dominance and authority over the Orient. In his book he demonstrates how a whole network of interests is always involved each time the Orient is in question and how such subtle cultural domination operates. Orientalism is an elaboration of a series of interests - scholarly discovery, landscape and sociological description, psychological

analysis - that constructs and maintains an intention to understand, and in some cases control and manipulate, a different world. Without examining Orientalism as a discourse, it is impossible to understand how European culture was able to manage and even "produce" the Orient in terms of politics, sociology, science, and imagination.

Drawing upon previous work (Panikkar, 1959) suggesting that the relationship between the Occident and the Orient is one of power and domination of varying degrees in a complex hegemony, Said (1978) points out that because of these attitudes toward the Orient, no one writing, thinking, or acting in regard to this section of the world could do so without taking into account these imposed limitations. Consequently, Said (1978) claims that such attitudes combine to such a degree that the Orient becomes incapable of being a free subject of thought and action. Because Orientalism is a considerable dimension of and not simply a representation of modern political-intellectual culture, it has far less to do with the Orient than with our own world (Said, 1978).

Travel literature in fiction is diverse and can be approached in a number of different ways. Percy Adams (1983), in a second thorough analysis, sifted through many

writings concerning the development of the novel. He tracked early travel literature, whether as a genre or as a category of history, and its evolution into long prose fiction (the novel), noting that separating the two was not often possible. Although disliking definitions, Adams (1983) describes what a travel narrative is not: a first person journal kept by a traveler or simply a photograph in words. Travel literature is also not just a diary, since much of it is in third person. There are many poetic travel accounts, and such accounts often are beautifully illustrated or have fascinating drawings of engines, buildings, and parks.

Travel literature is neither a story with a simple plot nor a set of notes periodically jotted down. By far it is more common for the account to be reworked, polished, edited, and translated. It is also not merely an objective description of people and places seen, food eaten, and the like. Far more often it is an interpretation of political, religious, and social events. As a consequence of such subjectivity and selectivity, different "observers" sometimes disagree as to the nature of inns, roads, and friendliness of people. The best descriptions, though, are combined with (and cannot really be separated from)

narration and reflection. The more subjective they are, the more readable and, in a sense, the more valuable they are (Adams, 1983).

Before 1700, travel accounts often provided more wonder, instruction, and satisfaction than fiction, and before 1800 there was a greater number of volumes of travel than fiction. The two forms evolved together, as evidenced in the journey motif, which remains significant whether it deals with spiritual, geographical, psychological, or intellectual matters. "The lasting author of travels - neither historian nor novelist - is, then, a roving, literate journalist who seeks to combine several disciplines, among which are anthropology, sociology, psychology, and of course history and geography" (Adams, 1983, p. 281). Prose fiction and travel accounts are indebted to each other, are often similar in both content and technique, and in many instances became one form (Adams, 1983).

Since the flourishing of the novel in the eighteenth century, only a handful of new cultural forces such as democracy and industrialism have altered social patterns and the sense of self more than the automobile. Recognizing this, Lackey (1997) conducted a thematic

analysis of fifty nonfiction American road books and fifteen novels of the road, all written between 1903 and 1994. On the basis of this analysis, he found that road books were typically cliché-ridden and occasionally even bigoted. Most nonfiction writers of the road sought to understand what it means to venture in privacy across a recently settled country. Coming to terms both with the American landscape, and the new medium of automotive travel, involves a process of superimposing paradigms learned from books, culture, or experience onto what one sees. Likewise, novelists wanted to learn how this new medium of travel could affect their characters.

Lackey (1997) argues that the twentieth-century car traveler views the journey as a symbolic gesture in which he or she confronts and interprets larger forces shaping moments in the life of the nation, and this tension usually amplifies the personal while consolidating and simplifying the cultural. Whatever gives such symbolism its strength, the traveler often believes that driving somehow bestows liberty. African American travelers are the exception, though, since they viewed their journeys as symbolic undertakings that did not enjoy the illusion of disinterested liberty. Their travels were beset by fear

and harassment and their reports balk at fantasies of an escape from historical forces.

In these novels, car voyaging remains a symbolic gesture. Described in spatial terms, a character's education in or flight from domesticity via traveling revolves around the notion of the household. The road can either temper the protagonist for marriage, serving as a domestic ideal, or it can threaten and even destroy marriage, subverting the domestic ideal and everything it represents: self-sacrifice, workplace slavery, monogamy, stasis. In any case, the great American road has become a magic screen for the fears and desires of travelers, primarily those with money and light skin, since these are the ones who wrote about it. Automobiles have rendered the road cinematic and pliable to mythmaking: "The road absorbs and reflects much more readily than it stumps, which is why we concoct such ponderous excuses to travel it" (Lackey, 1997, p. xi).

Any reasonable review of the literature of travel would not be complete without including some concern for fiction. A comparative study of novels in English fiction (Knox-Shaw, 1986), in which an encounter with unknown territory holds central importance, revealed that novelists

write about the interconnected ideas of human nature, genesis, and projection. Each of these ideas supplies a means of relation and comes as a result of the parallel between the discovered object and the disclosed subject - the world shows us ourselves. There is always something outside our universe, and it is always at the doors of the innermost soul (Lawrence, 1923).

These novels often provide representatives of a home culture in confrontation with an unfamiliar one. Travelogues reveal the substantial role of projection in the rendering of unvisited places, and, with varying degrees of awareness, an encounter with the unfamiliar mirrors the identity of the explorer. Such texts may fall into a "desert island" tradition in which castaways have exploration thrust upon them, or they may describe ventures deliberately undertaken. Because there are frequent indications that novelists are aware of working within a particular genre, there is firm ground for comparing texts culturally remote from one another (Knox-Shaw, 1986).

Canvassing numerous narratives about sea voyages, Foulke (1997) noticed a network of complex interrelations between literature and history, imagination and experience, and fiction and autobiography. Relationships such as these

give sea voyage narratives much of their power, which may explain the longevity of this genre. Originally precise in its reference to travel by sea, the word *voyage* gradually broadened to include other means of conveyance, including on land, although in some languages (like French) it may be used to describe any trip. It is interesting that even as other modes of travel supplanted movement by water in general and sea voyages in particular, writing about the sea still retains a significant place in the literary landscape.

Because sea writing has always been prolific, it is necessary to distinguish literature with permanent value from rambling anecdotes, autobiographical puffery, and so on. The criteria used by Foulke (1997) to separate the fleeting and badly written voyage narrative from the worthwhile one is a "felt need" to preserve the text intact. Having done so, some of the genre's archetypal features reflect and extend human experience with unruly waters. Storms and encounters with savage peoples on strange shores also emerge, and many voyage narratives in the late sixteenth century embody the quest patterns and utopian themes that reappear in later voyage fiction. When literacy spread to the middle classes, during the

eighteenth century in England, the novel became the dominant genre, and voyage narratives borrowed their conventions along with those from other popular genres (Foulke, 1997).

Other fictional travel literature includes Stout's (1983) analysis of the journey narrative in American literature. Results of this investigation indicate that regularly encountered patterns do not often occur singly - producing narratives strictly of escape or strictly of quest, for instance - but in combination with one another. Although escape is clearly a form in itself, once a character has done so he or she may engage in exploration, colonization, or aimless wandering. A particular journey could be an escape if emphasis is placed on negation of the existing order from which the character departs, or, alternatively, it could be construed as a quest for freedom if emphasis is on the condition the protagonist hopes to find by leaving. "A journey to Europe may be a retreat from the overwhelming raw energy of America or a quest for Enlightenment. A single work of narrative, then, may bear the marks of more than one journey pattern, either in combination or in series, and in the present study a single

work may be mentioned in more than one context" (Stout, 1983, p. xi).

Additional themes described by Stout (1983) include exploration, escape, and the journey of home-founding (for example, when America was being settled). Limitless journeys of wandering without a clear direction or destination tend to occur primarily in the twentieth century. According to Stout (1983), journey narratives in American literature exist at the center of tensions between history and aesthetic tradition and between the peculiarities of being American and the generalities of human history, including the larger literary context. Stout (1983) simply provides an account of these tensions instead of seeking to resolve them.

Brown's (1993) analysis of American travel narratives leads him to claim that they exhibit characteristics of a specific literary genre, because they are distinctively homogeneous in theme and have a shared literary purpose. In these works the narrators reach out to encourage the successful completion of personal goals, in the American tradition of didacticism, and implicitly deliver their message of accomplishment by means of the examples they set. "As common denominators, the narrators of early-

American travel narratives possess perseverance, optimism, and concern for the community while at the same time exhibiting a strong sense of independence and individuality" (Brown, 1993, p.5).

The early-American travel narrative is the first form to exemplify and embody the common paradox of the American character, namely, the desire to help others in the community along with the desire to flee the community and assert one's independence. Through stories such as these, narrators exhibited characteristics as attributes of their own identities and helped establish the characteristics of a population that explored and developed the American continent (Brown, 1993).

When examined together, American travel narratives yield similarities that spring from both the national character and the American scene. Their distinguishing features can often be linked to forces motivating the individual traveler such as geological surveys, the thrill of adventure and desire for riches, religion, business, botanical surveys, or pleasure. American travel writers are diverse in their styles, plots, and descriptions, although they all share similar qualities when writing about travel in America. These include optimism,

excitement, independence, perseverance, rebelliousness, and an affinity for nature that kept them from fearing the frontier. As should be clear, each of these characteristics is needed to break old bonds and to succeed in the creation of new communities (Brown, 1993).

Greenfield (1992) presents a different view of the romantic explorer in American literature. Focusing of the period from 1790 to 1855, his analysis reveals that the newly constituted American state justified its presence and growth by conceiving of the American continent as empty, uncivilized, and virgin. "For after America had become 'natural,' Euro-Americans were no longer cohabitants of a continent whose peoples they had conquered; instead, they could see the primordial land itself as the explanation and justification for their presence in it" (Greenfield, 1992, p.2).

American literary romanticism flourished and matured during the era of the nation's greatest territorial expansion and its most extensive use of force against natural inhabitants. Although the idea of discovering America had been around for three centuries, Greenfield (1992) wanted to get at the distinctiveness of this concept and the role it played during the late eighteenth and early

nineteenth centuries. This was accomplished by comparing American narratives to contemporary and earlier British examples of the same genre. To this end, he noted that the discovery narrative was germane to Euro-American identity. Those going on exotic travel excursions would be treated as privileged sources of knowledge. Since only a few persons had visited an unfamiliar region, a writer's account of such a place had authority.

An expansionist society, in this view, influenced writers as much as writers influenced society. "Yet it was only the widely shared understanding that Europeans and Euro-Americans were fundamentally concerned with, even defined by, their global expansion that enabled the traveler to undertake his mission and to gain a public hearing when he returned. Through the well-established conventions of the discovery narrative, individual adventurers, often dimly if not selfishly motivated, allied themselves with the power of European and Euro-American institutions" (Greenfield, 1992, p. 11). Even the fictional adventure stories of this period reflected and served the West's cult of expansion - not only in political, economic, and military terms, but in material and spiritual ones as well.

Sociological and cultural views

Turning now to the sociological literature, the ancient traveler sometimes went away from the homeland to escape political pressures. If there were no dangers at home, the threats of dangers of the road or the sea discouraged all except those with a great sense of adventure. Only late in the 19th century did travel lose its direct threat to the safety of the traveler. The Allied victory in WWII established American interests abroad. Not only did some members of the armed forces remain in Europe, there also was a steady flow of technicians, businessmen, and students leaving the United States for foreign countries. These travelers supplemented diplomats and missionaries who previously were the most common type of person to go abroad. In addition, the growing post-war economy and the Peace Corps Program beginning in the early 1960s encouraged more and more Americans to travel (Stewart, 1986).

According to Stewart (1986), the cultural experience of travelers to an unfamiliar society begins with the stage of cultural survival, which concerns the physical, psychological and social well-being of the traveler.

Intercultural comparisons, the second stage, occurs when the traveler comes to terms with the suitability of his or her own cultural background to the new and strange society. Learning to live and work with cultural differences, the traveler establishes professional and social connections. Only a few travelers, however, reach the third stage of travel, that of cross-cultural contrasts. At this point, culture becomes a tool of analysis that goes beyond what is culture-specific, and such analysis searches for universal aspects of human behavior in which culture is only one avenue of understanding.

Eventually the traveler may not be able to avoid experiences that penetrate to a deeper "layer" of the culture and, at this point, strangeness, frustration, and demand begin to take their toll. Perhaps the most common term to describe this state of affairs is "culture shock," first described by anthropologist Kalvero Oberg in the 1950s. Oberg described culture shock as a condition brought on by anxiety that results from losing all familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse. The sufferer rejects the uncomfortable environment and longs for the home environment, which is glorified. Although symptoms vary, they are typically threats to the welfare of the

traveler/sufferer; for example, there may be dissatisfaction with drinking water, food, or bedding. Potential physical contact with attendants, being cheated, robbed, or injured, and minor pains and eruptions of the skin may all evoke additional fears. Irritations from minor frustrations may be experienced out of proportion to their causes. In addition, there may be a delay or even refusal to learn the language and a longing to visit one's relatives or to talk to people who "really" make sense (Oberg, 1972). If suspicion of host country nationals escalates along with justification of one's fears, a chain reaction can occur and the situation may become out-of-control. Oberg advises that the way to overcome such a state of affairs is to get to know the people of the host country, pointing out that this is not the same as discarding one's own cultural identity.

Oberg's view of culture shock as an affliction is similar to Foster's (1962, p.187) view of it as a kind of mental illness: ". . . as true of much mental illness, the victim usually does not know he is afflicted." Although considering culture shock as a learning experience rather than an affliction does little to reduce the pain, Adler (1972) prefers this understanding and feels that an

individual must somehow confront the social-psychological and philosophical discrepancies found in his or her new surroundings. Regarded as a transition from cultural survival to the next stage of intercultural comparisons, Adler's (1972) learning process has a stage in which personal, social, and cultural differences intrude more and more into one's image of self-security.

So-called recovery takes place when the traveler learns some of the local traditions and customs. Language skills increase when there are new friends. An increase in humor often accompanies emergence from culture shock; this requires experimentation, role-playing, and getting to know host country nationals and their culture. Some travelers, though, fully interact with people from the beginning and because of this never experience culture shock. In any case, a resolution results in knowledge of one's own culture, that of the other culture, and an awareness of oneself (Stewart, 1986).

Another sociological view of travel and tourism (Greenblat & Gagnon, 1983) characterizes the traveler as a temporary stranger. In this thorough and thoughtful paper, the authors speculate that the lack of research on the topic of international travel and travelers results from

the view that this topic is nonserious and potentially corrupting; consequently, they note its similarity to other more significant forms of human movement such as migration and social mobility. The traveler acting as a voluntary stranger ventures into environments differing in dimensions of unfamiliarity and thereby provides occasions for both personal triumph and failure.

According to Greenblat & Gagnon (1983), despite abundant market research studies we still lack an understanding of what motivates some people to travel while others are happier to stay in one place. Financial limitations surely account for some decisions not to travel, although lack of desire would also seem to be important. Shostak (1969) lists the following factors to account for the lack of interest of blue-collar workers in tourism and their subsequent underrepresentation at parks and shrines: fear of health hazards, of the novel, and of being "suckered;" timidity with strangers; discomfort with being required to step out of roles; fears of being unable to meet competently unexpected developments; ignorance of where to go; smugness in concluding that little elsewhere is worth visiting, and preference for the hometown version of things.

On the other hand, both physical and psychological transnational movement is increasingly frequent, and skills at managing differing worlds have grown more common. In advanced industrial societies travel is important because it most sharply reflects the changed relation between work and leisure. In affluent sectors of advanced industrial societies, traditional recreational functions of leisure in terms of promoting or enhancing work, historically separate from and subordinate to the world of work, are declining in the following three ways (Greenblat & Gagnon, 1983):

(1) There is a growing interpenetration of work and leisure activities, especially among professional and affluent middle-class groups involving such activities as business travel and attending conventions.

(2) There is a significant increase in demand for leisure activities that can provide experiences formerly derived from the work realm. For example: experience of conquering new worlds and having personal efficacy and accomplishment is increasingly provided by the leisure sector instead of the work world. Work is now seen as in the service of leisure, which contrasts with the traditional concept of leisure serving work. This reversal has extended into those sectors of the population formerly

having limited experience with leisure. Examples here include camping, boating, and pleasure travel.

(3) There is an increase in the number of people having access to leisure activities. In America as in many Western European countries, leisure activities that formerly were the rewards of lives regulated by work have become available to adolescents and others who have minimally participated in responsible adult roles. Leisure, particularly travel, is taken for granted as an entitlement, not as a reward for a life of striving (Greenblat & Gagnon, 1983).

Part of the pleasure of travel is the triumph over (or successful management of) "self-induced crises." Deciding to travel, which means being willing to go into unfamiliar worlds and to become a temporary stranger, results in a set of problems involving the personal, social, and cultural realms. Greenblat & Gagnon (1983) describe these problems in the following categories: First is resource management, or learning how to manage money and time in ways different from the routine world. Next is social relations, or controlling such resources in the context of unfamiliar social settings and interactions. An example of this would be when the extra component of "foreigner" is introduced

(in international travel) to the standard dichotomy of stranger-member when the traveler wishes for more authentic, intimate experiences with natives.

Third is the issue of identity management, in which travelers present themselves before audiences whose responses are unpredictable and whose potential for misunderstanding is high. The more unfamiliar the environment, the less the traveler can identify sources of error - are they in me, in the other, or in unknown contextual aspects (Bowles, 1952)? In some cases travelers may display on another stage a successful identity to a new audience. For example, both the traveler with Louis Vuitton luggage in the lobby of an expensive hotel and the academic giving a lecture in a foreign university are using and affirming the social identities they have in the sending culture in the context of the receiving culture. "Such travelers do not conceal their old identities, but in fact indicate and emphasize them" (Greenblat & Gagnon, 1983, p. 98). In other cases travel may represent a completion of striving, but the display of attainment is not for the new audience, but rather for one's home audience.

Greenblat & Gagnon (1983) also discuss a less common form of travel that involves a fundamental change in identity. Romantic journeys of change in the novels of Herman Hesse, which experienced a revival in the 1960s, *Death in Venice* by Thomas Mann (1925), in which the traveler experiences the final alienation of death, and treatments of the alienating experiences of war (Hemingway, 1925) are literary examples.

Kottler (1998) provides another, nonfiction, account of potential transformative change. Dramatic changes in one's outlook can be more effective than therapy for persons who feel they must alter their lives. The aim of transformative travel is to have the sort of growth experience that helps an individual bring home and integrate what is learned about oneself while away. Such alterations allow a person to experience great contentment in daily existence, which previously may have been taken for granted. Although probably rare among most tourists, a form of identity change may occur in travel. Upon returning to old obligations, even the conventional traveler may have a sense of uneasiness, and feelings of disappointment may result from not meeting the identity-

transforming promises made in novels or other literature (Greenblat & Gagnon, 1983).

How to manage the unfamiliar and the strange is different from the experience of negotiating a world in which one possesses operating scripts, and such unfamiliarity has a number of levels: First are differences between the "sending and receiving" societies of a whole catalogue of customs, cultural elements, language, and the like; both the number of differing elements and the degree of dissimilarity are involved. A second level pertains to the patterning of what appears to be familiar and unfamiliar - not merely the degree of strangeness of food, customs, and so on, but the patterning of relatively minor differences. Although certain aspects of the environment give the appearance of being only slightly different from those of the home culture, differences may occur in a novel sequence, simultaneously, or at critical decision points. Negotiating small differences in what appears to be familiar terrain, an airport for instance, can be confusing and frustrating.

A third level of unfamiliarity concerns the rate at which decisions need to be made. Tourists who visit a modern society must make mundane decisions at a rate

similar to that in their home environments, often with far less information and greater emotional investment. An error can result in ending up at the wrong end of a line or in the wrong part of town. Fourth is the degree to which correct and incorrect pathways through the travel environment have been anticipated or shaped by the existence of pre-formed versions, including media-based familiarity (Greenblat & Gagnon, 1983).

One mechanism used in mass tourism to reduce the impact of the unfamiliar is the creation of an "environmental bubble" of the familiar that is carried with the traveler (Cohen, 1972). This bubble takes place at the individual and organizational level. At the individual level, it entails the set of skills and abilities he or she has; at the structural and organizational level, it concerns such issues as the management techniques of touring agencies, hotels, and so on. In addition, the extent and permeability of the bubble vary, e.g., the bubble of the young versus that of the old. Also, first-time travelers often have a more visible bubble compared to those with experience.

Those with personal skills who derive a sense of competence from mastering new environments and who have a

more "internal" bubble may be contrasted with those having a lower tolerance for arousal and ambiguity. According to Greenblat & Gagnon (1983), it is not the case that some persons (the "virtuous" travelers) seek novelty and the unfamiliar whereas other individuals (the stay-at-homes and the tourists) shun them. Since all journeys into the unfamiliar involve "bubbles" to some extent, and such unfamiliarity differs by type and degree, it is sought, tolerated, and taken pleasure in by different persons at different stages of the life cycle.

From a cultural or sociological perspective, either the new or change is often described as a threat to social and individual life. Conflict between roles at the individual level and between groups at the collective level is a potential source of social disorder, and extreme forms may be viewed as threatening. Change and varied experience, however, also are seen as part of an opportunity for the individual to exercise a new repertoire of skills. Both Fiske & Maddi (1961) and White (1961) have challenged the tendency of American social science to focus solely on the negative consequences of change and novelty. Both papers emphasize the role of varied experience and its utility to the individual in dealing competently with new

experience as part of the normal domain of individual development (Greenblat & Gagnon, 1983).

With more specific regard to tourism, Ritzer & Liska (1997) argue that recent changes in travel can be viewed both as a part of advanced modernity and of a new postmodern society. Looked at as alternate perspectives, both views can help analyze changing social phenomena in terms of tourism. Some relatively recent changes, referred to here as the "McDisneyization" of the tourist industry, will be viewed through theories of modernity, a grand narrative seeing the world as becoming increasingly efficient, calculable, predictable, and dominated by controlling non-human technologies.

Cruise ships, theme parks, casinos, and even shopping malls have been "McDisneyized," suggesting that some people go to other locales to experience much of what they already experience in their day-to-day lives. This view of travel is in contrast to Urry's (1990) views on what we normally call tourism, in which tourism is described as the opposite of regular and organized work and often involves movement to new places. He points out that tourist sites are outside the normal places of residence and work, are of a different scale, and are separate from everyday experience.

According to this analysis, tourists do not want to gaze on and frequent that which is ordinary or not visually distinct.

The McDisneyized lifeworld, instead, offers vacations that are highly predictable, efficient, calculable, and controlled. Tourists taking such trips appear to want to avoid the unfamiliar associated with a different culture and to want the things they are familiar with on a daily basis. For example, the cruise ship Norway has a television in each cabin, featuring a key element of McDonaldization, CNN (Carpenter, 1994). Many people want itineraries that define precisely where they will be and how long they will be there, and express a preference for dealing with persons whose behavior and speech is tightly controlled by scripts. Our vacations are becoming more and more like the rest of our lives and the McDisney style of tourism is increasingly less likely to offer the kind of tourism described in *The Tourist Gaze* (Urry, 1990), which consists of touring as separate from daily life (Ritzer & Liska, 1997).

Ritzer & Liska (1997) are joined by others in examining issues of authenticity in travel. Although the theoretical perspective of post-modernism has often been

applied to tourism, there are differences among different practitioners of post-modern theory; as a result, the more specific and concrete idea of the "post-tourist" (Feifer, 1985) is beneficial in this context. A "post-tourist" is one who finds it less and less necessary to leave home, owing to technologies such as videos, CD-ROM, and virtual reality that allow us to gaze at tourist sites. The post-modern tourist simply has more choices of sites to visit and more ways of visiting, whether going on a large- or small-cabin cruise ship, following an eco-tourist theme, or going on a lifestyle vacation with others like himself or herself. Because post-tourists recognize there is no "authentic" experience (MacCannell, 1989) they are simply playing a series of games - playing at and with touring (Ritzer & Liska, 1997).

Rojek (1993) analyzes post-tourism into three characteristics: first, accepting the commodification of tourism; it as well as various products along the way are all manifestations of consumerism. The second is viewing tourism not as a means to some loftier goal but as an end in itself. The third characteristic is that post-tourists are primarily drawn to the signs associated with tourism, especially the more spectacular ones. In touring, people

are consuming a wide array of signs, whether McDonalds, the Eiffel Tower, hotel chains, or Las Vegas (Ritzer & Liska, 1997). These signs, in turn, relate to others. It is important to recognize the nature of these because, in many cases, consumption of a sign is commensurate with consumption of that for which it stands.

According to Urry (1990), tourism has become a commodity to be advertised, marketed and sold. Ritzer and Liska (1997), exploring the linkage between commodification, consumerism, and tourism, point out that tourism can become little more than a means to sell other commodities. For instance, a trip to Disney World (set up as a thinly disguised shopping mall) is a gateway to the sale of lots of other Disney products. ABC television (owned by Disney), Disney stores in malls, Disney movies, the Disney channel, Disney books, Disney recordings and so on increase the horizontal and vertical integration of an organization involved in consumption in general and tourism in particular. The result is a synergistic system designed to sell, and keep selling, Disney products.

MacCannell (1989) argues that many tourists are, in fact, searching for authentic experiences. A concern of post-modernism in general - the issue of authenticity - is

also central to the literature on tourism. Here, however, the issue of authenticity centers on differences between the real and the simulated, and it is becoming difficult or no longer possible to differentiate between the two. In a world where the "real" has disappeared, a tourist would not know an "authentic" experience even if it could be found. Baudrillard (1983) states that the real has imploded into the world of simulations. MacCannell's (1989) tourists looking for authenticity are perhaps doomed to fail, with society increasingly dominated by simulations. An example of this is Disneyland, what Baudrillard calls "a perfect model of all the entangled orders of simulation" (1983, p. 23). Here, visitors flock to the simulated submarine ride to see simulated undersea life as opposed to going to the more "genuine" aquarium just down the road, which is another simulation of the sea.

Ritzer and Liska (1997) claim that people raised and living in a post-modern world dominated by simulations want and may begin to insist on simulations when they tour; as such, they seem to be in search of inauthenticity. Living on a day-to-day basis with simulations leads to a desire for them when traveling. If we are content with our simulated lives, the argument goes, why should we search

for anything but that in leisure-time activities? A tourist who is accustomed to the (simulated) dining experience at McDonalds is not apt to want to eat nuts and berries picked on a walk in the woods. Although this latter experience may be "authentic," it may be difficult, uncomfortable, and unpredictable compared to dining in a restaurant in a hotel that is part of an international chain. "Most products of a post-modern world might be willing to eat at the campfire, as long as it is a simulated one on the lawn of the hotel" (Ritzer & Liska, 1997, p. 107).

Geographical views

The literature on travel also concerns work in fields such as geography. In this context, the framework produced by the person/environment interaction is used to interpret patterns of activity in space, sometimes emphasizing the dominating influence of the environment and sometimes those of human life. More recently, the study of environmental cognition has added to the person/land theme, and is often referred to as the "perception" school within geography. A person's symbolic cognition of the environment was first

viewed as simply a distortion of the man/environment relationship. Over time, and with increasing sophistication, it has become necessary to acknowledge symbolic and emotional meanings of places as integral features of person/environment relationships. There is also an increasing recognition of the value of considering person/environment relationships in more holistic frameworks, incorporating social and psychological as well as more purely physical dimensions of spatial experience (Rowles, 1978).

The notion of geographical experience acknowledges the multi-layered character of person/environment relationships, from physical movements in space to the most ethereal attachments to place. Rowles (1978) used the term geographical experience to designate the totality of an individual's involvement within the spaces and places of his or her life. As a general definition, it embraces the diverse modes through which a person knows or expresses his being within the world (Tuan, 1975).

To examine both the emotional and symbolic meaning of places and fantasy as a form of travel, Rowles (1978) explored person/environment relationships of five older people aged 69 to 83. The lives of these participants were

enriched by their being involved in locales displaced in space and time; often, there was only a tenuous correspondence between fantasy and the physical world. For example, one man sitting in his kitchen projected himself into the worlds of his children, participated in a North Dakota celebration, reflected on an Arkansas garden, and immersed himself in contemplation of life in Tokyo. The term fantasy is not used in any negative sense but as a general designation for a modality of experience appearing to have particular significance within the totality of the participants' geographical experiences. Since one can immerse oneself in the space of a childhood home or project oneself into a surrealistic world of the future, fantasy need not be contemporary. Limitations of health, economics, social alienation, and the like are replaced by limitations of imagination (Rowles, 1978).

Additional work in the geographical area concerns the examination of space via the experience of strangeness, in both nature and in the familiar human world, as a mode of religious apprehension (Yi-Fu Tuan, 1986). Awareness of the strange "out-there" and in the midst of the quotidian world created by culture may have waned as a result of people's power over nature, although contact with strangers

and dependence on them have increased. Examining the existence of the strange and ungraspable in the familiar world, Tuan (1986) points out that familiarity may well be an illusion that culture creates so as to allow us to feel more or less at home. Our images of order touch base with each other only at limited sets of points, and the remaining reality is either unknown, or known but suppressed. Living in such an unreflective fashion sustains a mood of ease and of at-homeness. We live in a world of familiar people, our own group, and outside this ordinary, trivial world is the world of nature - a primordial bush or forest of demons, witches, and strangers.

Noting that "forest" and "foreigner" have the same etymological root, Tuan (1986) points out the mysterious, superhuman aspect of the strange and strangers possibly carries a grace beyond the good as ordinarily conceived. The stranger can offer not only excitement, but intimacy. In addition, nature may have a higher status compared to culture; in affluent Western society the city, which is an ambitious creation of culture, may become an object of fear and a target of disdain. This is also the case in some non-technological peoples whose prestige is in the natural

forest, a sacred and nurturing place. In this situation culture is not regarded as creativity - involving the creation of a secondary world out of a primary one - but as maintenance. This view seems to reflect the observation that domesticated plants and animals and even the clearing itself require continual care.

In any case, we can admit the strange into our lives, and confronting it can provide sudden, joyful infusions of life. At the same time, however, the strange can disturb and disrupt us, frustrating our desire to classify and resisting our grasping egos. With this particular mode of religious apprehension (awareness of the strange in the everyday) comes a desire to extend to the strange a welcome for its twin gifts of life and disruption, including that of death (Tuan, 1986).

Another, dynamic conception of space is found in Simmel (1994). Exploring bridges and doors, Simmel provides an opening into the complexities of spatial principles involved in an ordinary, everyday form. A door works by being open to surprises - to a world of possibilities. The mobility of the door represents the possibility of stepping out from limitation into freedom; a bridge, as a line stretched between two points, prescribes

security and direction. Different borders have different meanings and often do not work in the same way, and there can be an emphasis on one or the other side of the border. Separation and connection presuppose each other in the bordering process: to designate two items as separate, we need already to have connected them. Conversely, things must be separated to be connected. With a bridge the accent is on connection and unity, not separation. Hence, the marking of borders and the double process of separation and connection effects the social constitution of space.

Simmel (1994) further notes that the bridge and door are forms that dominate our lives. Writing about spatial forms is also writing about experience - about a self in relation to a world. We embody these images, and spatial forms are lived. This view is similar to that of Merleau-Ponty (1962), in which phenomenal space is experienced, coming into play with movement and an embodied subject's mobile relations with objects in his or her world. The body is not simply in space, but of it. Lived space is also relational, and space is social. Embodied space is not simply a primordial (homogenous, abstract, whole) empty space waiting to be filled with things; rather, it is

constituted with social meaning and by processes of social differentiation.

This notion of space is also multiple - different objects (roads, bridges, frames, doors) and practices (surveying, walking, discovering, storytelling) produce space differently. This is not the same thing as a singular space given plural meanings or being put to different uses or being traveled through by different forms of transport. Space itself is multiple; different technologies of travel, spatial forms, and practices involve different spatialities, and different spaces may co-exist simultaneously (Game, 1998).

Continuing along this line of analysis leads to a corresponding examination of time. According to Game (1998), time is commonly understood as movement and change, or in the present context, in terms of travel. In her view, an examination of time must go with the examination of space. The movement of embodied, lived experience requires ruptures and breaks, as opposed to Bergson's (1913) view that lived time consists solely of flow and change. According to William James (1909), from the perspective of experience, time is difference - there is no common, evenly-flowing time.

Game (1998) has subjected the future-directedness of Bergson's (1913) ideas on time to Loy's (1992) analysis of an ontological fear of losing self-presence. In this view, fear of death is a *displacement* of an ontological fear about the lack of self: the desire for self-presence is the real problem. Normally, *lack* constructs the past by wanting to regain a loss and the future by wanting to avert a potential loss with fullness. The sense of lack that permanently constitutes the delusive sense of self, however, *can* be transformed into openness. Whether through phenomenology (Merleau-Ponty, 1962) or Buddhism, an understanding of the self as fundamentally empty can result in the self no longer being driven either (1) to make good some lack, or (2) to complete itself (find a complete self). The connection between an ensuing openness of this type and movement is found in travel experiences as a sense of wonder (Game, 1998). With respect to time, it has no existence external to lived experience, and time reminds us again of the impermanence of the self: "Time is the substance I am made of" (Borges, 1970, p. 269).

Spiritual views

A deeper linguistic and more spiritual approach to travel is found in the writing of Bernd Jager (1974), who examined relationships among themes of intellectual, theoretical, and spiritual effort with those of travel, exploration, and sight-seeing. The very language of intellectual effort constantly refers us to the road, and Western religious life often evokes the image of a difficult road to be traversed as preparation for a significant or eternal destination. A deeper understanding of the journey in its many manifestations - whether as heroic quest, adventure, religious pilgrimage, diplomatic or commercial venture, effort at conquest and annexation, or as tourism - has bearing on a deeper understanding of our intellectual life. At the same time, a deeper probing of an intellectual and contemplative life should promote a different understanding of the symbolic meanings of the voyage, path, and dwelling.

The first description of a theoretician, as a recipient of the divine message and a faithful transmitter of that message to the people, comes to us interpenetrated with a spirit of truth and faithfulness. To hear the voice

of God, a person has to venture out, risking the perils of the road, and then return to his point of departure.

Hence, from the very beginning, truth involves a search.

Early theorists, however, were not mere spectators but also participants in religious ceremonies. Neither the word *theorist* nor any of its close derivatives was ever used by the ancient Greeks to refer to participation in a religious festivity in the home town; from its very beginning the theorist was required to journey beyond the boundaries of his or her own city. In the evolution of the term, the Greek idea of a *theoria* emphatically includes the idea of a journey. There is an emphasis on traveling, and the formal religious content gradually erodes.

Herodotus (1963) refers to *theoria* in terms of a wishing to see the world and as a mission inspired by a passion for seeing and knowing. The description of Solon's journey, of his *theoria*, became a prototype for the study-tour, which remains popular today. Gradually *theoria* came to refer to the experience and knowledge one acquires while traveling. Under this view the theorist becomes a *sophos*, someone who is clever, skilled, and knowledgeable about the world as well as acquainted with a variety of people, customs, and languages.

There are frequent references to *theoria* in Plato, and the idea of *theoria* began to emerge in thought concerning the relationships between nations: theology had become foreign policy. Plato also mentions citizens desiring to inspect the doings of the outside world in a leisurely way. Theorizing, in all of these renditions, remains a voyage to a worthy sight, which comes full circle when the traveler seeks to relate his or her adventures upon returning (Jager, 1974).

Within the changing meanings of *theoria*, certain elements appear stable, such as festive excitement, which ranges anywhere from a pleasurable sense of adventure to awe. Also constant is the journey. The first theorists place themselves outside the circle of daily preoccupations and entanglements to see the world in a different way and to be changed thereby. The early theorist journeyed from the realm of the mundane to the festive and awesome realm of the divine, where he or she sought knowledge and change. A final enduring element concerns the persisting ideal of simplicity and clarity. Thinking and journeying begin with a divestiture, a ridding oneself of excess baggage (Jager, 1974).

Journeying for Jager (1974) is birth in life. As such, it requires we leave behind the treasures of the heart, the luxury of being surrounded by the sights and sounds of the dwelling-place, and the cushions of familiarity. It invariably exposes us to danger, hard tests of endurance, the inclemency of weather, and the embarrassment of not knowing foreign languages, laws, and customs. All paths bear the imprint of the birthcanal, of the struggle and pain it enforces and of the freedom it promises. The journey breaks us loose from the self-evident, the habitual, the familiar, and the reoccurring.

Journeying assumes a new form when it is allied to steady progress; travelers set a pace and settle into a routine. Travelers also need to be careful not to be drawn back by the pull of those remaining behind. The main concern at this point is steady progress based on sound judgment, and the traveler shows affection for reliable companions such as his horse, his car, his compass, or his weapon.

Jager (1974) terms the next aspect of the journey as coming forward, a period of achieving visibility following the pain of departure and the strict discipline and containment of (the phase of) steady progress. Coming

forward reaches its height when the traveler comes into view of the object of his journey, the shrine of the deity. Whatever is hidden beneath the cloaks of custom, titles, wealth, impressive manners and pompous language comes into view as the journey wears on; it constitutes a "coming forth," a revealing of that which is of ultimate importance about, and to, the person, the past, the landscape, and the gods.

The journey not only discloses and brings into view what remains hidden in profane repetitive existence, but also may be viewed as a disclosing and an "asking to see." Stated again, "journeying is a coming forth . . . the journey as an expressive struggle to reach the place of manifestation, and as individuating movement out of a protective enclosure, is itself a petition for the gods to make their presence known" (Jager, 1974, p. 233).

This last phase of a journey demands a faithful transmission of the message to a home audience, and it requires the theorist to bring order and relevance to a chaotic mass of events experienced throughout the process:

Homecoming constitutes the great reflective and hermeneutic task without which theoretical effort remains incomplete. At this stage of the journey the theorist places himself between the fullness of the events and the vivifying presence of an eager audience . . . in view of the city and backed by the great upsurge of the real, the theorist comes

to experience his journey in a new way. From this position and within this perspective, the great interpretive labor can run its course. (Jager, 1974, p. 234).

Psychological Analyses of Travel

Student Travel

Beginning with the literature relating travel to education, Gmelch looked at what students do and learn when they traveled abroad to Caribbean villages (1992) and Western Europe (1997). Using journals and travel logs, as well as behavioral observations by the researcher, Gmelch was led to the conclusion that needing to make decisions continuously and dealing with the demands of daily life in unfamiliar settings fostered personal development in his students when compared to merely learning about the places and cultures visited. Hence, what students learned specifically about Europe often was superficial, yet their experiences of being challenged in new settings contributed to personal growth and increased the educational value of the trip. According to Gmelch (1997), despite limited immersion in the cultures visited, students initiated leisure traveling and entered into situations of their own

choosing rather than passively accepting organized field trips.

A major source of information in this study was derived from student journals. At the end of the term, a 20 item open-ended questionnaire was also administered, and many informal conversations in and outside of the classroom also served to provide additional information. Taken in combination, results indicated that students believed they learned more from travels than from academic courses. On weekends, students rode trains to various destinations, and decisions about where to go next often were made with little planning. On these excursions the journey seemed much less important than the destination. As the term progressed, however, many students slowed down and stayed longer in the places they visited.

When first reading student journals, Gmelch was struck by the superficiality of his students' engagement with the culture at hand. In fact, a colleague reading descriptions of what students wrote suggested that Europe was more like a shopping mall than a place to challenge one's cultural categories. Upon further examination, however, the summer spent living and traveling did have an impact on two broad areas of change - self-confidence and adaptability. Being

able to handle situations even when alone, unable to communicate easily, and unsure of the culture were typical declarations of self-confidence. Being able to cope with surprises, problems, and lack of home comforts were seen as examples of becoming more adaptable (Gmelch, 1997).

These findings are consistent with results of other studies looking at the impact of international study programs. For instance, Hansel (1988) compared 1,260 American students going abroad for one year to a control group. The students who traveled appeared to become more adaptable, able to communicate better, able to think critically, and more aware of their home country and culture. Similarly, a comparison between students before and after their year overseas and a control group of comparable students remaining at home found that exchange students returned with more empathy for the viewpoints of other nations, better work habits, and greater persistence. In general, sojourning students "achieved a number of the goals of a liberal education in terms of personal and intellectual development" (Carlson et al., 1990, p.114).

Ransbury & Harris (1994) applied theoretical models of group process to travel and learning experiences in hope of enhancing the effectiveness of a study abroad course.

Using a case study format, they discovered that cooperative learning takes place to the extent that students are involved in the planning, organization, participation, and evaluation of the experience. Overplanning by tour leaders, though, cramped the students' initiative to learn as individuals.

Support for Gmelch's (1992, 1997) thesis that having to cope with change and solve problems promotes personal growth is also to be found in the work of Chickering (1969), Kauffmann et al., (1992), and Bruggemann (1987). Chickering (1969), for instance, argues that growth requires stimulation and is not simply a process of maturational unfolding. Other, more empirical analyses have produced results further supporting this idea. For example, educational psychologist Donald Biggs (1992), in attempting to assess the costs and benefits of study abroad for Cypriot students, used the word "surprises" to refer to discrepancies between the students' home culture and the host culture encountered. It is this exposure to discrepancies, or conditions of difference, that presents students with surprises, troubles, or enigmas. These, in turn, become potent influences in the students' development when resolutions are attempted.

Continuing in an educational vein, Dukes, Johnson, and Newton (1991) examined possible long term benefits of taking the "semester at sea" program, which consists of 50 days of full-time college coursework in liberal arts combined with 50 days of travel and observation in 12 countries. Administered by the University of Pittsburgh, this program takes place aboard an ocean liner equipped as a residential campus. Ten years after their initial experiences in this program, participants answered open-ended questions about outcomes of the program and completed the Purpose in Life Test (Crumbaugh, 1968).

Results of this study showed that meaning as expressed by scores on the Purpose in Life Test endured past the end of the travel/study trip; in fact, scores remained stable for years. Addressing alternative explanations, the authors point out that increased scores may not only be a result of the program, since students who participated began the voyage with feelings of purpose that were greater than those of other college students. In addition, subsequent meaningful life events may be necessary to capitalize on earlier feelings of purpose, as evidenced by an increase among certain subgroups. For example, people who became parents ten years after the program had scores among the

highest of any reported group. These parents included respondents who already had high scores on tests 6 years after the program. Results of an analysis of covariance required by this kind of data revealed that both parenthood and purpose in life had statistically significant effects on Purpose in Life Test scores reported ten years after the program.

Dukes, Johnson, and Newton (1991) also claim that results from the open-ended questions revealed that participants attributed meaning to the voyage itself. Most changes involved self-development, as evidenced by 93% reporting that it "made a difference in their lives." Many, in fact, used the metaphor of "having their eyes opened." Additionally, 87% of participants cited a desire to travel as the principal effect of the voyage upon plans for the future. Finally, 77% reported becoming more interested in the world.

Support for the value of experiential learning, based on travel, also comes from a study of 14 students and their professor who went to Costa Rica to learn through travel about political, socio-economic, and ecological conditions. The most significant results of this study concerned personal growth. In this regard, the authors claim that

students in this program successfully encountered and grew to appreciate different lifestyles, politics, and ecological conditions, and that they met the challenge of communicating in a foreign language setting (Krans & Roarke, 1994).

Based on a college professor's 20 years of experience, general considerations for innocents traveling abroad (with respect to cross-cultural interactions) include understanding that mastering the appropriate behavior takes precedence over mastering the language (Serrie, 1984). Although the two skills overlap, they are not the same. If a foreign guest speaks the native language, he or she will be held to a higher standard of correct behavior. Breaking a social norm one is expected to know is worse than an instance in which the foreigner knows little of the language. Also, assuming complete responsibility for one's actions is important, and Serrie (1984) advises us not to use cultural ignorance as an excuse for cross-cultural misunderstandings.

The literature on teachers gaining international cross-cultural experience includes a study by Wilson (1984), who looked at a short-term sojourn of 12 teachers in Nigeria. The impact of even a short-term international

experience such as this may produce dramatic consequences, as evidenced by self-reports of teachers going to Nigeria for a six-week summer trip. One full year later, participants agreed that they had grown a great deal because of the Nigerian experience, especially in cultural understanding. The author concludes that even short-term international experience will affect teachers by improving their teaching about the places they visited, engendering responsibility for passing on the experience, and encouraging teachers to attempt additional cross-cultural encounters.

Travel and Personality

Turning to possible personality changes associated with travel, the California Personality Inventory (CPI) was administered three times to 154 teenage exchange students and to 112 control students who did not travel to Japan for 1-month homestays. First given prior to the exchange, the CPI also was administered at its conclusion and a third time 4 months later. Results indicated that the overseas group produced increased scores on flexibility and independence and became less conventional compared to those

in the control group. Those who were the first members of their families to travel abroad and those who paid a high percentage of their trip expenses themselves were found to have produced the greatest change (Stitsworth, 1989).

An additional finding of this study was students electing to study a foreign language, beyond the required one or two semesters, showed significantly greater personality change than those studying a language only for one or two semesters. The author speculated that students choosing advanced language study possess pre-existing qualities making them more enthusiastic about exchange activities. Supporting this notion are studies by Welds (1986) and Hansel (1985) in which it was found that pre-existing experiences - including studying a foreign language - seem to predispose individuals to travel internationally.

Using an Eriksonian framework, Talanian (1979) looked at extended travel in young adulthood and its role in the developmental process. Erikson (1975) described a period of moratorium within late adolescence as a life state in which the young person can experiment with patterns of behavior that are both juvenile and adult, and thereby delay adult commitments. This construct would also seem to

apply to travel insofar as travel may provide experimentation and exploration that is half playful and half serious. Those who choose travel as a means of adaptation are leaving an all-too-expectable environment in which growth is not being promoted. Changes related to travel can act as a catalyst to internal change in proportion to an individual's readiness, receptivity, and capacity for adaptation.

To evaluate these possibilities, Talanian (1979) studied 11 participants from age 25-35, all of whom had traveled in young adulthood. Each participant had been abroad for six months or more, and at the time of the study had been back for at least six months. Results indicated that the decision to initiate travel was made in response to a need for a transition with regard to work, after a break-up of a love relationship, or, more simply as a basic wish to travel. None of the participants, however, considered a desire to escape as the primary motivation. According to Talanian (1979), extended travel did function as a moratorium that, to varying degrees, served as an adaptive means of coping with the developmental issues of young adulthood.

Travel and Self-exploration

In addition to typical modes of travel found in mainstream psychology, some kinds do not fit within standard empirical confines. One example of such an inquiry is provided by the neuroscientist John Lilly (1972), who described his explorations of the so-called territory of inner space. Speaking in computer metaphors prominent in his day and in the field, Lilly (1972) reported becoming aware of programs of various kinds while in sensory isolation or in other alternate states of consciousness. Some programs, he claimed, are caused by expectations of what he would experience in a session. The limits of one's beliefs set the limits of one's experiences and this would also apply, he felt, to everyday life as well. Learning one's limits allows for a transcending of those limits and making one's beliefs more open. Under these conditions, a new set of limits is formed with still new beliefs existing beyond those.

In these cases traveling is more than changing "mental location;" rather, it involves an analysis of oneself and a corresponding working through of issues, as in psychotherapy. Providing a frightening example, Lilly

(1972) acknowledged that he had lethal programs within him that could destroy him if he gave into them or if he was not aware of their presence. The specific episode he reported concerns the night of an accident in which he lapsed into a coma. Upon subsequent exploration with his therapist, he became aware of research he conducted 20 years before regarding the bends. This research, which he had supposedly forgotten, allowed him to inject himself with a foam made with a detergent while giving himself an antibiotic shot. The syringe had residual detergent that he failed to clean. "By accident" he injected this potentially lethal detergent, and bubbles circulated and lodged in his brain, cutting off oxygen to his visual cortex.

Although almost completely recovered from this incident, he was disturbed by the realization that part of him could use information to kill the rest of him. Although he was not trying to commit suicide, he decided to perform a more thorough self-analysis to root out these "programs," and with his analyst's help was able to piece together the story. This example reminds us of the adventure of the process of deep self-exploration. Even when employing an information processing metaphor,

traveling with a strong intent, as is the case with Lilly (1972), may be the most daring form of travel.

More than showing up at a destination, traveling with special intent defines a decidedly different approach from previous investigations concerned with student travel, although similar concepts are addressed. Along the lines of Jung's analytical psychology, traveling-with-an-intent allows one to find and experience something in a foreign culture that amplifies one's own vision (Montero & Colman, 1997). Such travel involves a more extensive use of active imagination and deals with the complete culture, including its myths and rituals. The more closely and intensively one participates in this new culture, the greater are the rewards, although the immediate experience is not always pleasant.

An example described by Montero and Colman (1997) concerns a trip to the backcountry of Peru to witness a festival with strong echoes of ancient ritualized human sacrifice. The call for the authors was for a deeper and broader understanding of the death-rebirth archetype, the repetitive demand by life to give itself up for its own renewal. Such a journey allows an investigation of travel as a "crossing technique" in that it can awaken collective

consciousness as well as enhance a dialogue with unconscious forces. The general principle is to establish a perspective larger than the one that typically encases us. This is accomplished by releasing the grip that ordinary awareness has on the person in order for something new to enter. The result can be a lasting change from the person's present limited and constricting perspective to a more encompassing view of the Self, which embraces the totality of conscious and unconscious possibilities.

Along similar lines, shamanism, as one of humankind's oldest traditions, constitutes yet another form of travel. Roger Walsh (1990) provided a reasonably narrow and precise definition of shamanism as a family of traditions whose practitioners focus on voluntarily entering alternate states of consciousness, experience themselves traveling or "journeying" to other realms at will, and interact with other entities to serve their community.

Montero and Colman (1991) claim that shamanic healings parallel the process they described, despite differences in form. Self-exploration in such cases begins with steady drumming, rattling, or chanting and includes the presence or participation of community members. The resulting trance state can lower the degree of ego control and open a

potential to the spirit realm. In all healing systems, intent, which includes the capacity to integrate the otherworldly experience into everyday life, is critical to the outcome. According to these authors, intent is the common factor that connects shamanic ritual and purposeful travel, travel that is a journey into one's self as much as to a different physical location.

Travel as a spiritual quest is not as common in the literature as overseas student programs or various proposed motivations. Nevertheless, Quinney (1990) provides an example of such travel as a means by which a person "comes home," expressed as a transcendent experience. In this specific case the location was the rural Illinois landscape, although the homeplace ultimately was found to be unconnected to a particular geographical location. In a world where traditional material and religious answers are not convincing, claims Quinney (1990), travel signifies searching for an eternal principle. The isolation of a Midwest landscape provides an opportunity for solitude and to experience the Ultimate; through quieting the mind we can be free of the preconceptions of the past and the expectations of the future, which allows us to be compassionate.

The Psychology of Expeditions

Turning now to scientific expeditions, Mocellin and Suedfeld (1991) performed a content analysis of the diaries of polar explorers. Entries from members of British polar expeditions, occurring from the mid-19th to early 20th century, were categorized into a number of different areas: physical and social environments, positive and negative affective appraisals of the experience, and states of consciousness. Results indicated that Antarctic expeditioners showed more negative responses than did their arctic counterparts, although there were many positive and negative experiences reported by explorers in both regions. A somewhat surprising finding, from the perspective of polar psychology literature, was that the least stressful phase of these journeys was that of the polar midwinter. Arousal and tension were higher during the trip from the home port to the polar base and just before the voyage home.

The authors conclude that the popular conception of polar experience as aversive and stressful is incorrect, and seems to be, at least partly, a result of overgeneralization and dramatization. The literature

concerning systematic polar psychology was constructed on a foundation of hardship and danger, combined with an appreciation for the admirable qualities of the explorers. The very term Heroic Age used to denote this era exemplifies such a focus. Assumptions that the environment must be stressful are not only inexact, they seem to ignore the adaptability, flexibility, and toughness of the human spirit (Mocellin & Suedfeld, 1991).

Mocellin & Suedfeld (1991) also point out that misconceptions about polar regions can hinder progress in achieving a genuine understanding of these locations in particular and of challenging environments in general. Their approach assumes the following three points: First, a psychology of challenging environments, or any environmental psychology, must study how people experience the environment and not merely list its observable features (Sells, 1973; Suedfeld, 1989). Second, the positive aspects of challenge should be emphasized rather than concentrating on destructive stressors. Such an emphasis would widen psychology's traditional concern with the pathological consequences of stress (Antonovsky, 1979; Segal, 1986).

Third, the important but largely unexplored place for unobtrusive methods, like content analyses of narratives (Nelson, 1973; Taylor, Robinson, & McCormick, 1986), needs to be considered. Although fully acknowledging deprivations, hazards, and discomforts, Mocellin and Suedfeld (1991) question whether experiences were appraised as uniformly negative when they were happening. If not, a narrowed focus on the dramatic aspects of the polar world, owing to selective memory, may have overgeneralized such a perspective and enabled it to continue ever since.

Travel and Creativity

Travel has been associated with creativity; in one examination of this topic, Kupferberg (1998) notes that while there seems to be some agreement that intellectual mobility is of potential value for scientific progress, there is no theoretical consensus as to why travel should enhance creativity. After years of pondering this question, the conclusion he reached was that creativity is a highly complex phenomenon that may be captured in terms of three different travel-related models: the migrant, the stranger, and the traveler. Unlike the model of the

traveler, both the migrant and stranger models have been acknowledged. The migrant model, for instance, emphasizes the movement of scholars between institutions, especially in different countries. The stranger model suggests that the marginality of an outsider enhances creativity because of his or her other limited commitments to and identification with a specific community. Despite the theoretical difficulty of making traveling a distinct model of creativity, there is substantial evidence for the effects of traveling upon creativity, which are clearly different from those of migration and marginality (Kupferberg, 1998).

Kupferberg's (1998) use of the word *traveling* means geographical mobility having no particular purpose other than itself. The traveler seems to be looking for some kind of transforming experience, or "passage" in an anthropological sense, although such experiences need not be ritualized. Retaining the open-endedness of passages, he argues, is a precondition for them to become innovative. Migration, the role of the stranger, and traveling are acts involving human agency and encounter; attempts to escape are both supported by and restrained by institutions, cultures, or home communities. The emphasis is not who we

are, but who we become by our encounters, and creativity is a transforming experience, not a mere repetition of prior models of thinking (Kupferberg, 1998).

How experiences of the unfamiliar are accomplished, and what their effects are, is dealt with by Rudwick (1996) in a paper that emphasizes the need for two kinds of passages in order for theoretical innovation to occur. The first of these is a necessary precondition, best made at home, of experiencing the familiar. This alone, however, is not sufficient for new insights. The second kind of passage involves experiencing the unfamiliar. This usually requires a prolonged separation from other experts so that a geologist, for instance, does not merely elaborate upon the conceptual views of his teachers or colleagues.

This hypothesis of a temporary severance of social ties with the home community is a significant factor for two reasons. New ideas take a long time to develop, and because they are vulnerable in their initial state, they need to be protected. In addition, the element of time in travel is essential - allowing a radically new idea to grow can take several years.

Perhaps the best example as to how this process works is provided by the excursions of Charles Darwin. His

hypothesis of biological evolution occurred very late during his travels, after his interest in geological evolution and natural science. The emergence of such a radical hypothesis would hardly have taken place without the prolonged travel that allowed him to make frequent observations contrasting the familiar with the unfamiliar. Rudwick's (1986) model attempts to explain why the seemingly purposeless activity of traveling may stimulate creativity. In doing so he posits that travel may create a polarity between home and foreign and between the familiar and the unfamiliar, and that this polarity promotes innovation.

Another important point about travel is that it releases the individual from the institutional pressure to conform to established ways of thinking and may open him or her to other ways of considering things. When institutional order is removed, the social legitimacy and back-up of the chartered passage can lose its stronghold upon the mind of the traveler. Although the familiar remains present, home institutions are not present as an everyday reality. Thus, the person may be said to move through open space and travel becomes more important than

the routinized and predictable presence of the everyday life-world (Leed, 1991).

Tourism and Vacations

A considerable portion of the literature on travel involves leisure studies. Although many researchers have studied many different aspects of travel, it is possible to find an overlap among various research studies. Included here are issues involving vacation satisfaction, variations in cultural contact, travel motivations, and attitude change. Typically researchers attempt to operationalize a concept and study it empirically. One example is provided by Razran (1954), who reported that positive and negative experiences can cause a corresponding attitude change towards various objects, with such objects having no direct connection to the experiences. As applied to a traveler, under negative conditions, contact with local persons could result in negative attitudes towards other aspects of the country in question. This could occur even if the contact with locals is genuine.

Salter and Teger (1975), therefore, tested the hypothesis that cross-national contact leads to enhancement

of attitude towards the countries visited by controlling for this variable - differentiating genuine from superficial contact - that had been neglected in previous research. Participants in both a work and travel group were given questionnaires before visiting Europe (time 1), on the return flight home (time 2), and after being home for the same length of time spent abroad (time 3). Two control groups, consisting of persons not traveling, were also tested at time 3. Results showed that, compared to the control group, at time 2 the travel group was significantly more positive on all attitude dimensions measured. By comparison, the work group reported more negative outcomes than the control group.

In this study, members of the work group had greater genuine contact with the host nationals because they worked side by side with them for a substantial length of time. Members of the work group also experienced more negative conditions than those in the travel group since the work was physically difficult. Results seemed to suggest that subjects in this work group generalized their feelings about the specifics they came in contact with to other dimensions with which they did not come into contact. If contact occurred under pleasant circumstances, the

generalization of positive affect overruled any benefit of intimate genuine contact; likewise, if contact was under satisfying conditions, it made up for superficiality (Salter & Teger, 1975).

In a similar vein, Triandis and Vassiliou (1967) studied maximum, medium, and minimal contact groups of Greeks in the United States and of Americans in Greece. Their results indicated a positive correlation between contact and favorability for Greeks in the United States and a negative correlation for Americans in Greece. This latter finding was taken to mean that because Americans generally could not speak Greek, they experienced limited contact. Members of a maximum contact American group, however, who could speak Greek, had the most favorable attitudes of any group. This study also found that a variety of status inequalities during contact produced the same attitude change as did equal status situations.

Further examining the issue of status, in the Salter and Teger (1975) study the American work group joined working class groups in France and Italy, basically achieving equal status with them. *Travel* group members, in contrast, came into contact primarily with innkeepers and waiters, so they maintained a superior status relative to

the aforementioned work group. Results of this study, consistent with earlier work (Miller & Bugelski, 1948), revealed that equal status between visitors and hosts did not affect attitudes as much as the *quality* of the experience with the local population did - how they spent time together and how pleasant and satisfying it was. This result provides support for the seemingly obvious finding that positive and negative experiences affect attitudes, at least as measured by questionnaires. If mere cross-national contact is all that someone seeks, then persistent negative attitudes may remain or ensue if the quality of the experience is not taken into account. This would seem to be the case even if contact involved equal status, intimacy, and lots of it.

Concerned with the area of travel motivation, Figler et al. (1992) factor-analyzed his earlier Travel Motivation Survey to define a hierarchy of five independent motives involved in pleasure travel. Accounting for 46.6% of the total variance, the five factors in decreasing order were (1) anomie/authenticity-seeking, (2) culture/education, (3) escape/regression, (4) wanderlust/exploring the unknown, and (5) jetsetting/prestige-seeking. Figler et al. (1992) claim that these data empirically support various notions

proposed in the travel literature and provide data on the relative importance of each motive. They further noted that they were able to establish test-retest reliability for each factor.

Along a different line, Fisher and Price (1991) used path analysis to develop and test a model of the relationship between international tourism and visitors' post-vacation attitudes toward the destination culture. These researchers examined linkages between various travel motives and vacation satisfaction, intercultural interaction, and post-vacation attitude change. Results revealed that intercultural interaction was a crucial variable in understanding international pleasure travel. There was a strong direct relationship found in this study between intercultural interaction and post-vacation attitude change. According to the authors, this finding demonstrated the strength of the variable of intercultural interaction apart from the variable of vacation satisfaction or of travel motivations.

This finding, however, is in contrast to research (Amir, 1969; Pearce, 1980) showing vacation satisfaction as an important moderator variable in the relationship between intercultural interaction and attitude change. What this

suggests is that host countries have a unique opportunity to affect satisfaction and intercultural relations by influencing the types and expectations of pleasure travelers. Both meeting new people and education act as travel motivations, and both are directly related to intercultural interaction, which has a strong direct relationship with attitude change. Host countries, claim Fisher and Price (1991), are more likely to attract travelers who are receptive to intercultural interaction by promoting vacation experiences as opportunities both for education and as a chance to meet new and exciting people.

The motivation to escape (Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987; Lounsbury & Hoopes, 1985), in contrast, would not seem to be the best one to encourage intercultural interaction because of the negative relationship between the two in the Fisher and Price (1991) study. Typically identified as escape from routine responsibilities, the familiar, and urban stress, critical factors in the escape motivation are the physical and social differences between home and a destination environment (Crompton, 1979). Fisher and Price's (1991) results revealed a strong positive relationship between escape and vacation satisfaction and a negative relationship between escape and

intercultural interaction. This result suggests that it is not mandatory to have intercultural interaction for a satisfying vacation. Supporting this observation is a study by Iso-Ahola (1982), who proposed two major dimensions of leisure and travel motivations: escaping and seeking. Both kinds, despite their different purposes, can be satisfying.

Fisher and Price (1991) also examined possible relationships between intercultural interaction and the kinship motivation (Lounsbury & Hoopes, 1985; Woodside & Jacobs, 1985; Crompton, 1979). Concerning the interaction of friends or family who are traveling together as a way of enhancing kinship relations, this motivation is different from a socially-related motivation to interact with new people in a host culture. Such interactions among family members would seem to lessen intercultural interaction because the emphasis would be on social interactions with friends or family in the traveling party and not on individuals in the host culture. Not surprisingly, results indicated only a weak positive relationship between intercultural interaction and the kinship motivation (Fisher & Price, 1991).

A Coping motivation to travel (Fisher & Price, 1991) is concerned with using vacations to adjust to a problem that cannot be changed, like a death in the family, or using such time to develop a plan to deal with a particular problem regarding some conflict. Coping is related to the motivation to escape, although it is conceptually differentiated in terms of one important factor: it involves using a vacation to facilitate psychological adaptation in contrast to forgetting about a particular environment or problem. Because the vacation is employed as a coping mechanism, the tourist is not overtly interested in cultural stimulation. The desire here is to use a location to provide distance from the situation, thereby enabling the person to deal more effectively with the problem or conflict. Coping motivation, not previously identified in the literature, was found to have a strong negative relationship with vacation satisfaction in Fisher and Price's study (1991).

In a more detailed examination of the specifics of intercultural interaction, Amir argued that "casual intergroup contact has little or no effect on basic attitude change" (1969, p. 334). To effect positive changes in cultural attitudes, more intimate contact is

required. In addition to the circumstances of contact, the characteristics of the individuals also seem to matter (Reed, 1980). Both Amir (1969) and Robinson & Preston (1976) reported that positive attitude changes can only be achieved when participants are perceived to be of equal status. As previously mentioned, however, these results were not consistent with those reported by Triandis & Vassiliou (1967).

Another factor to consider in analyzing the relationship between cultural interaction and attitude change is the original attitude of the individuals involved. For instance, if a host culture tends to view Americans as rich, spoiled, and demanding, continued contact may reinforce this impression through selective attention consistent with such beliefs (Nisbett & Ross, 1980). According to Amir (1969), the greatest opportunity for positively influencing intercultural relations is when original attitudes are already positive or at least neutral. In addition, Pearce (1980) found that tourists' post-travel attitudes were significantly predicted by the combination of vacation satisfaction and pre-travel attitudes towards the particular host culture.

Turning now to the consumer behavior literature, the following factors determine leisure satisfaction existing across a variety of leisure situations: intrinsic satisfaction, perceived freedom, and involvement (Unger & Kernan, 1983). Leisure, in this context, usually is defined in terms of psychological experience or state of mind. In contrast to more abstract, psychologically-based motivations, consumer research has identified motivations based on physical characteristics of tourist destinations and not on personality variables. Examples included here are scenic beauty (Goodrich, 1977), good fishing (Hollender, 1977), and sunshine along with a relaxed tempo and friendly natives (Dann, 1981).

Also within this category of the travel literature is the concept of a travel career introduced by Pierce and Moscardo (1985). Influenced by sociology, this concept proposes that tourist experiences may be seen as belonging to different levels of a career in travel. Individuals progress through lower levels of travel experience before moving up to reach higher, more advanced levels. This movement follows the five-level motivation scheme of Maslow (1954). A key factor in the concept of a travel career is that of authenticity or genuineness; those who seek

authenticity will only be satisfied when they feel they are perceiving genuine people and environments; that is, are "backstage" in Goffman's (1959) terminology. Those who are indifferent to authenticity will be positive towards experiences that simply meet their needs.

MacCannell (1976) also used Goffman's (1959) notion of front and backstage to classify environments as authentic or not. A preference for, or an indifference to authenticity may explain differences in tourist reactions to travel experiences according to a number of writers including MacCannell (1976), who states that authenticity is a connection between truth, intimacy, and sharing the life behind the scenes. Owing to its relevance to the present study, the issue of authenticity, which appears in many parts of the literature, will be further examined in a later section.

Pearce & Moscardo (1985) analyzed written descriptions of holidays and found a link between "travel careers" and "authenticity" in the travelers' holiday descriptions. In this study, authenticity was assessed in terms of both people and places following the idea of MacCannell (1976): totally frontstage (e.g., Disneyland), partially front and back regions, and back regions (e.g., farmers and a

wilderness area). The less experienced travelers were more concerned with physiological experiences in terms of Maslow's (1954) need hierarchy, that is, with food and water, whereas those at higher career levels placed more importance on the authenticity of their interactions with the people visited. Previous research has shown that tourists progress from physiological to love & belonging to self-actualization concerns during their travel careers (Pearce & Caltabiano, 1983).

Completing this section is an article by Cohen (1974), who, in a matter-of-fact style, described the tourist as a voluntary, temporary traveler having an expectation of pleasure resulting from the novelty and change experienced on a relatively long and nonrecurrent round trip. In attempting to develop this definition, Cohen (1974) examined six aspects of the tourist role: First, the tourist is a temporary traveler with a fixed place of abode, a permanent address even during the trip. The requirement of a full-fledged tourist is met only if the trip extends for more than one full day, the one day traveler being an excursionist. Second, the tourist is a voluntary traveler who is able to terminate his or her trip whenever desired.

Third, the tourist is on a round-trip; the final destination is the point of departure. Cohen (1974) admits some fuzziness in the definition here, since some travelers linger in host countries either by arriving as tourists and deciding to remain, or by deriving income from their country of origin but taking up semi-permanent residence elsewhere. Fourth, the tourist's journey is not just a short trip or excursion, but is long relative to the traveler's previous experience and the norms of society.

Fifth, the tourist is on a nonrecurrent trip; again, borderline cases appear in which one may own a summer house or a weekend house some distance from the regular abode. And sixth, the tourist's trip is noninstrumental, meaning it is an end in itself.

To further classify potential problems, Cohen (1974) lists several partial tourist roles in which novelty and change are combined with other purposes. These include thermalists (persons who take the waters at spas, etc.), students, pilgrims, old-country visitors, conventioners, business travelers, tourist-employees (in this case the journey depends on one's occupation only in the sense that it finances the travel), and official sightseers who

ostensibly travel on official business but who devote a large part of the trip to sightseeing.

Conclusion

The vast collection of work directly relating to or associated with travel allows further investigation. All the reasons for, modes of, and results of traveling suggest possibilities for research, although the lack of exploration into empirically based, first-person accounts of travel leaves little doubt as to the kind of research needed. In addition, other travel researchers have indicated the need for qualitative studies (Golledge-Franz, 1991). Clearly, then, the goal of this study is to provide an inquiry into the meaning of travel using an empirical-phenomenological method. Results of this type of analysis should be able to provide support for other findings, many of which have a degree of consistency among themselves despite differences in methodology.

Although a substantial portion of the literature related to travel consists of historical and literary analysis, much of the empirical research relies on prior presuppositions. Although some of these assumptions may be

supported by research of quality, they cannot address fully the meaning of travel as it is lived. Similarly, first-person accounts found in the literature provide valuable insight into particular aspects of travel, but they lack a rigorous, global investigation of the phenomenon.

Consequently, the present study will examine travel experiences as lived to offer a more complete understanding of the experience of travel.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Although the field of psychology was considered part of philosophy for a long time, its emergence as a separate academic discipline occurred with the establishment of Wundt's laboratory at the University of Leipzig in 1879. Adopting the methodology of natural science, which proved so successful in physics and chemistry, served to confer respectability on the newly separated field (Chaplin & Krawiec, 1979). Consequently, traditional experimental psychology often focused on methodology over and above subject matter. In addition, it held the belief that the only topics worthy of study were those lending themselves to natural science methods.

Although when used appropriately, natural science methods are exceptionally useful and powerful tools for psychology, there are clear shortcomings associated with their use. In addition to its tendency to ignore disciplines such as history and economics, scientific psychology has also shown little recognition of recent developments in other sciences, despite a substantial

length of time in which to do so. Instead of questioning the application of natural science methodology to psychology, however, this chapter will simply present the methodology used in this study.

Procedures Used in the Present Study

Rather than providing a detailed critique of natural science psychology and logical positivism, or an account of the historical development of phenomenology and phenomenological psychology, this chapter will focus on the specific methodology used in this study. A dialogic, or phenomenological, interview was used to gather qualitative data on travel. Such an interview is not to be thought of as a survey-questionnaire interview, but rather as a conversation or discourse (Mishler, 1986).

The individuals chosen to be interviewed were selected on the basis of having had experience with the phenomenon of interest (in this case, travel) and a willingness to discuss it with me (Colaizzi, 1978). Each participant, or co-researcher in Giorgi's (1989) terms, is considered to be an "expert" on his or her experiences of travel, and the purpose of the interview is to attain rich descriptions of

their experiences. In the present study, the specific request made of all participants was the following one: "Tell me about some times you've traveled that stand out to you."

Since there are no further pre-set questions, the course of dialogue is set by the interviewee. Subsequent statements, summaries, and questions by the interviewer were designed to evoke further description and to clarify the experiences. This approach was used to ensure that the researcher would be able to stay as close as possible to the experiences of the participants. The focus of the interview is theme- and not person-oriented; it seeks to describe and understand the central themes defining the meaning of the experiences. It also seeks to describe the experience itself, without theoretical explanation. For this reason, all interviews focused on specific situations and action sequences as opposed to general opinions. This was done in order for the meaningful structure of the phenomenon of travel to emerge (Kvale, 1983). In other words, a phenomenological interviewer is required to put forth considerable effort to remain attentive to the experiences shared, and not to analyze personality or any other aspect of the interviewee.

The overall goal of thematic interpretation is to develop a description of the meaning of travel, and to provide this description to a reader that will enable him or her to "resonate" with it. The main themes should reflect each protocol, and every participant should have experiences present in the overall thematic structure. The interview is a human event that yields interpretable data if approached properly (Pollio, Henly, & Thompson, 1997).

During analysis of the protocols, as well as during the interviews, the interviewer seeks to allow the phenomena to emerge without being directed, insofar as possible, by his or her presuppositions, constructed belief systems, or theoretical models. Gadamer (1975) states that any interpreter inevitably brings suppositions to the text since they are aspects of the person's cultural and personal background. Although the researcher can never fully eliminate his or her bias (Merleau-Ponty, 1962) and can never avoid having a vested interest in the research (Colaizzi, 1978), it is still possible to become aware of these biases. It is not so much a problem that interpreters or texts are historically rooted, only that this may become a problem if, and when, it is not taken into account (Gadamer, 1975).

The presence of the University of Tennessee Phenomenology Research Group also serves to make this process more rigorous. Before conducting any interviews with participants, the researcher is required to undergo a "bracketing" interview to help identify and sensitize personal presuppositions regarding the study and its possible meanings. During this process the primary researcher is interviewed by another member of the research group and usually asked the same question later research participants will be asked. Thus, the researcher explores his or her own experience with the phenomenon being studied. The resulting protocol is read in the research group, and is treated in the same way as a protocol from a participant except for not being included in the final thematic structure. Bracketing is not meant to eliminate presuppositions, but to alert the primary investigator to such personal biases as may exist with respect to the phenomenon of interest.

During the interpretive process involving research participants, themes are rendered in the words and terms of the interviewees, not in the abstract language of social science. Since some textual interpretations are conducted in the presence of an interpretive research group,

challenges to the adequacy of any proposed description of interview data may be made by any member. Group members often notice theoretical presuppositions and provide alternative perspectives, reducing the likelihood that any text will be described in an overly simplistic way. In addition, the group provides a public test of whether a given interpretation is supportable by the text (Pollio, Henly, & Thompson, 1997).

The process of interpreting the text involves the reader(s) in a continuous back and forth movement between the various parts of the protocol, and between the parts of the protocol and the protocol as a whole. This principle of interpretation is called the hermeneutic circle (Gadamer, 1975; Valle, King, & Halling, 1989). During this process, the researcher gropingly moves towards a deeper understanding of the text (Polkinghorne, 1989). The meaning of the separate parts is determined by the global meaning of the text, although closer determination of the meaning of textual sections may come to change the totality, which, in turn, may again influence the meaning of separate parts. Moving between the various parts and the whole is, in principle, infinite. It ends, though, in practice when one has reached a sensible meaning; that is,

a valid unitary meaning, free of inner contradictions (Kvale, 1983).

Hermeneutic Principles

In terms of the present study, the logic of a hermeneutic approach was implemented in three ways. First, during group interpretation, an interview transcript is read out loud in the group. During this public reading, potentially viable meanings are discussed and interrelationships among various parts of the text proposed. Reading the text aloud in a group orients each member to the style of the participant and may alleviate the difficulty of organizing and interpreting a text that a primary researcher often has in the beginning stage of a project. After a few interviews have been interpreted in the research group setting, the primary researcher often interprets the remaining transcripts alone (Pollio, Henly, & Thompson, 1997).

A second implementation of hermeneutic principles involves idiographic interpretation. This is when "an individual transcript serves as the text that leads to a case-study description for that interview" (Pollio, Henly,

& Thompson, 1997, p.51). To further quote, such case studies, as they are referred to, "provide a summary of descriptive interpretations noting prominent meanings, relations, and patterns present in each interview. In addition, the meaning of figural domains (objects, people, events) may be discussed by the group and the investigator" (Pollio, Henly, & Thompson, 1997, p.51).

A third implementation of hermeneutic principles occurs in the development of more nomothetic thematic descriptions. This means that "the whole of an interpretation is broadened to include all interviews on the same topic" that, at this point, "yields a process of interpreting each interview in the context of all other interviews" (Pollio, Henly, & Thompson, 1997, p. 51). The rationale for looking across all interviews is to improve the researcher's interpretive vision, not to establish some sort of generalizability.

At this point, themes describe experiential patterns that are exhibited in diverse situations. By looking across interviews, the researcher is able to consider a diverse set of experiences, and it is easier to recognize ways in which one situation resembles another. The researcher and, periodically, the group continually assess

how the developing thematic understanding fits each successive protocol. It is important to point out that the emerging thematic structure needs to be modified if experiential uniqueness emerges in a specific transcript. Each subsequent modification would then be evaluated relative to all previously analyzed protocols.

Phenomenological Research Methods

Despite differences from more traditional psychology with respect to data and results, phenomenological research has concerns with issues of rigor, precision, and validity. Interviews are systematic descriptions of a particular phenomenon, and the methods of analysis and interpretation are specific and conducted with discipline to minimize bias. Conclusions are designed to be consistent both within a protocol and between protocols; additionally, the process of arriving at thematic descriptions is open to public scrutiny (Thompson, Locander, and Pollio, 1989).

Since there are no tests for homoscedasticity or normal distributions on the data, and no performance of inferential statistics, phenomenological investigation requires alternative criteria to judge its adequacy.

Whether a reader can also see what a researcher saw when adopting the same viewpoint, regardless if he or she agrees with it, is the key criterion of qualitative research proposed by Giorgi (1975). When applied to the process of phenomenological interpretation, "the criterion of validity becomes whether a reader, adopting the world-view articulated by the researcher, would be able to see textual evidence supporting the interpretation, and whether the goal of providing a first-person understanding was attained." (Pollio, Henley, & Thompson, 1997, p.53)

Polkinghorne (1989) further requires the researcher to ask whether the conclusions inspire confidence because the arguments leading to them have been persuasive. Pollio, Henley, and Thompson (1997) offer a similar evaluation of the validity of phenomenological research when they ask if there is convincing evidence for believing that the thematic description affords insight into the experiential world of the participant. Support for this proposition needs to be evaluated methodologically and experientially. If the procedures are rigorous and applied competently, and if they are appropriate to both the phenomenon under study and the specific question being asked, then the methodological criterion has been satisfied.

"Does the interpretation provide insight to the reader or evaluator?" is the question asked in order to satisfy the experiential component, according to Pollio, Henley, and Thompson (1997, p.54). Insight here refers to issues of plausibility and illumination. A plausible conclusion is one in which a reader sees the relationship between data and interpretation; illumination allows the reader to see the phenomenon being studied in a different light, one that affords a new understanding. Only if all four criteria are satisfied is a phenomenological study judged valid: the methods are both rigorous and appropriate and the results are both experientially plausible and illuminating. Only when these conditions "are met does phenomenological description attain the rigor and insight that it aspires to attain" (Pollio, Henly, & Thompson, 1997, p. 56).

The issue of generalizability in the context of phenomenological research usually refers to how applicable the findings of a study are to people not included in the study. Since dialogue constitutes the data of a study, identical repetition is not possible, not even "within" subjects. Re-interviewing a respondent will not necessarily reproduce situations and meanings identical to those of the first interview because the respondent may

have new insights as a result of the interview or intervening life experiences (Kvale, 1983). The important question, though, is whether the thematic structure is replicable. Although the specifics of an initial interview cannot be repeated, the meanings derived are not likely to change despite cross-interview variations. This is because factual details and individual situations in the data are not significant in themselves but only in terms of what they reveal about the meanings of the phenomena being investigated. Although a second researcher replicating a phenomenological study would not necessarily produce identical descriptions, the two sets of themes should be similar enough to be understood as encompassing the same meanings (Giorgi, 1970; Kvale, 1983; Wertz, 1986).

In some cases, however, a different research group studying the same phenomenon may yield a discrepant interpretation. According to Kvale (1983), such cases may reflect the limitations of perspective and judgment of one or both groups. As long as both interpretations can be shown to emerge from their respective data, phenomenological research looks upon this discrepancy not as an instance of unreliability, but as a complementary view. Such a view has the possibility of leading to a

fuller understanding. Wertz (1986) notes that the various meanings are not blind to each other or to the data.

Assessing relationships among the various interpretations reveals partial or mistaken understandings and may yield a more comprehensive description of the meanings of a phenomenon.

Participants

The ten participants for this study were of varying ages and backgrounds. Two were undergraduate students - one nontraditional (older), the other a teenager. Four participants were in graduate school or finishing graduate school at the University of Tennessee. The remaining four participants had bachelors or masters degrees, including an international flight attendant, an architect, and two teachers - one interviewed in Georgia, the other in Thailand. There were four males and six females. The researcher recruited the two undergraduates by offering extra credit in courses they were taking and selected others on the basis of availability.

Before being interviewed, each participant read and signed the consent form. The dialogue began with "tell me

about some times you've traveled that stand out to you," and participants were free to talk as much or as little as they wished. When transcribing the interviews, all identifying information was removed. The phenomenological research group analyzed the initial bracketing interview and six of the ten protocols; the researcher analyzed the remaining four alone.

The Thematic Structure

A specific thematic structure, describing experiential patterns and interrelationships among themes, is the final product of an existential-phenomenological study. The thematic structure is presented both in verbal and diagrammatic form, the verbal description usually involving a list of themes and their inter-relationships. The diagram is offered in order to provide the pattern of themes and their inter-relationships in a more wholistic form, emphasizes its gestalt-like qualities (Pollio, Henly, & Thompson, 1997).

Constructing the final thematic structure was a painstaking and lengthy procedure involving the formation of preliminary themes from initial collections of meaning

units for each interview. After this came the process of incorporating additional information into these themes, information pointed out by the phenomenological research group. Following this, the process involved testing a tentative structure by applying it to all 10 interviews. The primary investigator and the interpretive research group worked carefully to include each person's complete description in the global thematic structure, and it was important to acknowledge and incorporate alternative views offered in the research group. A final aspect of the present procedure consisted of modifying the structure and testing it again in the research group until a satisfactory degree of agreement was reached with every protocol. Thus, the process of continually comparing emerging themes to the interviews continued until all themes were thought to account for all experiences of travel offered by all participants.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Results of the present thematic analysis are presented in both textual and diagrammatic form. The textual rendition is meant to describe each theme in detail, whereas the diagram is intended to include all themes in a single gestalt (see Figure 1). Five themes emerged from the various protocols: (1) Perspective (strange - familiar), (2) Challenge (dangerous - safe), (3) Freedom (open - closed), (4) Connection (intimate - separate), and (5) Authenticity (real - "touristy").

Although no theme appeared in every protocol, each was present to some extent in all interviews. Each person presented a unique point of view on his or her taking up of the experience of traveling, although all five themes were contextualized by all 10 participants as taking place against the ground of the "home world" of the participant. In sum, therefore, traveling can be said to describe an experience of "not being at home" or of "venturing out," contrasted against the ground of one's own home world. It entails "moving out" as opposed to "staying put." When

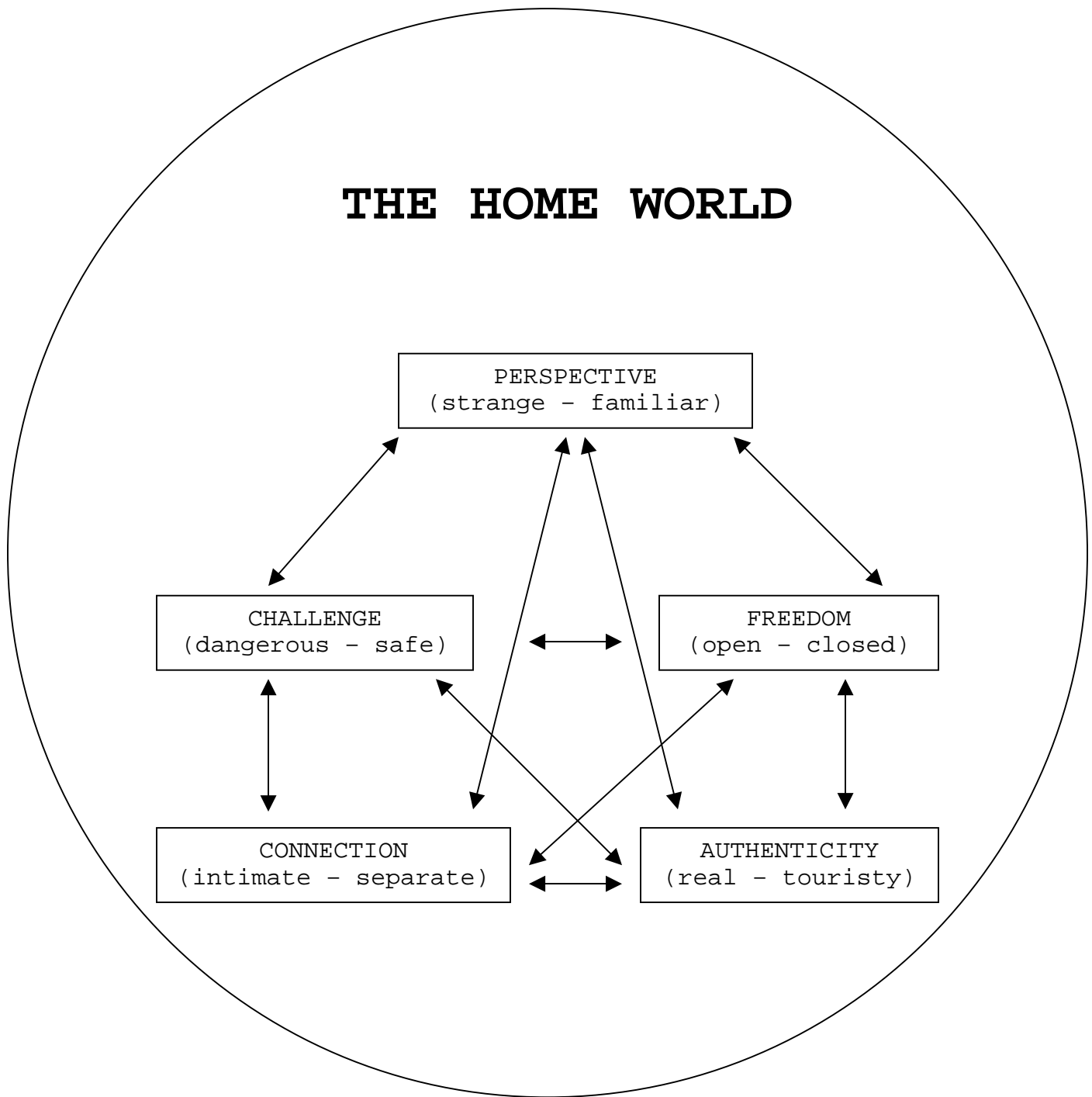


Figure 1: Thematic Structure of the Experience of Travel

someone talks about an experience of travel, it may be described in terms of the following specific themes: perspective, challenge, freedom, connection, and authenticity. The specific meaning of each theme will be described in greater detail in a later section of this chapter.

The concept of the "home world" refers to the experiential origin from which the travel experience is based. This origin consists of familiar physical surroundings, schemas, socio-cultural construction, or whatever form or forms it may take. The crux of the experience of travel is a movement away from the realm of the commonplace, called the area of one's home, or home world. Although there are many possible patterns to this movement, which will be delineated in the following themes, each form of travel originates from the person's home world.

The situations participants spoke of when describing their experiences of traveling included taking trips to national parks in the western United States, visiting friends, either vacationing in or exploring Mexico, Japan, Czechoslovakia or other countries, searching for one's family roots, going to a rally protesting egregious

corporate crime, and going places with one's family for various reasons. Additional examples consisted of visiting the Olympics, trying to cross borders, getting lost in the mountains, going to a beach without speaking the local language, and backpacking in remote locations. A complete list of the situations described on a person by person basis is found in Appendix A. Despite the wide variety of situations noted, participant experiences were able to be described in terms of five coherent themes.

Below are the titles, written in the form of nouns, of all five major themes. Following each theme, in parentheses, is an experiential description for that theme. The adjectives contained in parentheses represent the range of possible movement away from the home world. Such movements vary from "not at all" to "far out," as characterized by terms the participants used to describe sundry aspects of travel. The same person sometimes reported experiencing all points along the continuum at different times, as will be exemplified by excerpts from various interviews. Specific examples from the participants are provided to illustrate each of the themes, with specific participants being identified by a number denoting the order in which they were interviewed.

Theme #1: Perspective (strange - familiar)

Traveling necessitates leaving the realm of the familiar, in whatever form or forms that takes, and encountering the realm of the strange. It entails moving from the known, ordinary, and expected to the unknown and novel. The contrast between these two extremes results in a comparison, which is the essence of having perspective. Whether the movement of travel results in new understanding, a cognitive framework, an emotional insight, or simply an interesting awareness of difference, its consequence entails having a new standpoint. Noticing and being emotionally moved by this change invariably captures our attention. To illustrate what is meant by the theme of perspective, consider the following set of quotations:

"You just have a different perspective on what it is to be American once you've seen the way other people see it." (#5)

". . . basically when I think of traveling, I think of uh, going someplace that's different . . ." (#1)

"It gave me a fresh perspective, it was intense in that it gave me a fresh perspective to look at Atlanta . .

. so that put things in perspective and allowed me to take a different view on things" (#9)

Participant #7 noted:

"That was pretty eye-opening too, especially in Mexico City 'cause it was so huge. Um, you know, we kinda traveled through some of the rural parts where little kids were running around with no shoes and shirts . . . yeah, just seeing the differences in living conditions, um, stepping out of you know, comfort zone or whatever, is eye-opening . . . I think that's how we grow and learn."

Participant #6 pointed out that an encounter can be characterized by varying degrees of strangeness from the slightly unexpected to the bizarre. For instance, "the most amazing evening in Turkey was the first night when we heard the call of prayer. It was the most other-worldly sound; it was amazing."

A specific episode described by Participant #8 illustrates an experience of unfamiliarity:

"Well, the trip to Colorado was the first time I had flown and it was funny 'cause I got on the plane and I was first. And I had my daughter and I saw these cushy-cushy seats and I thought, everything in my life is such a rush that I never got to ask how do we know where to sit, you know, and I just thought like on a bus you just pick a seat and sit down. But I thought those seats were a little too cushy (laugh). So I kept walking and thinking I better keep walking and see what's going on so I just picked a seat and sat down and my ex-husband said 'you're not supposed to sit there.' And I said 'Well, how do you know where you're supposed to sit?' And he said 'it's on the ticket.' And he showed it to me because I hadn't flown, I didn't know, nobody told me, the ticket lady didn't say your seat is blah blah blah. So we had to fly into LaGuardia and I just, I think we had a forty five minute stop and we had to

go from one end of the terminal to the other. And I just practically ran following my husband hollering 'how do you know where you're going?' And he was saying 'read the monitors and they announce on the plane before we left.' And I was so clueless that it was very stressful 'cause carrying a baby and running in the airport, not knowing where you're going especially not having anybody tell you, how do you know your way around"

Participant #3 described his view of travel in terms of what it is not:

"I had been, had been abroad but only to Ireland, which for me doesn't even count because my family, I have so much family in Ireland, it's like going home . . . travel in the literal sense of the word is just like uh, going anywhere I suppose, but yeah I've never found traveling in the country particularly interesting. I've never found America interesting. Maybe I will one day, now that I've been in Asia I have some perspective; I would like to travel more in America, but uh travel to me has always meant going outside the country"

The strange also comes across: "I'm just like this drunk American sitting on their couch - just weird you know! And then we went to a nightclub and I met all of her friends, none of 'em spoke English. We were dancing, and the whole thing was very surreal to me." (#3)

The following excerpts from various participants present further examples of moving away from the familiar world, a process bound to provide perspective when compared to the traditional, the expected, the known, and the ordinary:

"What I want to do when I travel is to see how other people live . . . I'm comparing to how I live in hopes that I'll use this to choose my better direction about how I want to live my life." (#6)

" . . . experiencing things I can't experience in Atlanta." (#10)

"I think travel is a unique opportunity to find another layer to yourself . . . it's a chance you know to see how that environment can affect you. Do you learn from it, do you grow from it, do you resist it, do you um assimilate um do you stand strong in your position, which also tells you a little bit about you. And I don't think you learn anything about yourself if you don't go somewhere else, into an environment that is not 100% comfortable." (#2)

The following excerpt from Participant #9 comes close to exemplifying this theme most fully:

"Canyonlands, which is fascinating, standing on the edge of a cliff and looking out, seeing just a small dot and an even smaller, or a ribbon of dust coming from behind it knowing that that's a 4 wheel drive making a run, and you think 'you can't even see it even with binoculars' it's just so far away, that high up and you're overlooking and you feel so small, so it's really, it's humbling to me to be out West . . . it's the same thing with astronomy . . . being in places like the ocean, feeling small when I'm standing beside the ocean, the foam of the ocean and the spray and everything."

Continuing in a later section, Participant #9 noted:

"I think there's a clarity and there's a release when you can put yourself in the grand scheme of things . . . break it down even more, we're cells and we're systems and we're

biochemicals . . . it really makes your problems just fall away, they dry up, shrivel up, and fall off."

Theme #2: Challenge (dangerous - safe)

Leaving the security of the home world entails a certain degree of risk, which is reflected by terms such as safety and danger. Although outright panic or traumatic encounters were rarely reported, participants often described being scared or at least bothered by the uncertainty of stepping out of one's comfort zone. This uncertainty, however, also was described as experienced as exhilarating or as a learning experience. Whether characterized by fear or anticipation, the theme of a challenge of some sort frequently appeared, and it was described as a fundamental aspect of the movement of travel. In general, the home world represents comfort, whereas venturing out entails risk; the notion of risk, though, can at times be almost a requirement, as opposed to being a threat.

To exemplify the contrast between fear and anticipation when moving away, Participant #10 noted that "if something bad happens then it's just, that's part of my vacation. I may not like it at that time but later on it's

just a whole new experience for me . . . For me a travel would be more like exciting travel. Um, having some fun things and having some problems come up . . . a traveling would be having different challenges or having different situations come up . . . travel, well, it's a vacation but it's a time to um challenge yourself."

This participant further explicated her position:

"Travel is more [pause] about life, or about living . . . I'll welcome any surprise on a travel . . . but traveling, anything could happen. I would be expecting anything to happen."

[Interviewer:] ". . . but that could be dangerous."

"Yeah, but that's just a part of the challenge. Yeah, the traveling is full of challenges."

Participant #9 expressed a similar theme:

"I want to challenge myself to not just be with the comfortable all the time. I want to be stimulated, I want to be challenged. I want to experience some fear, some uncertainty, some, you know, some aspects of 'I don't know what's gonna happen, I can't control everything.' Sure you plan and you want to be safe, you know I'm not out risk taking or anything, but you want some, want some different scenery, some you know not just the vistas and the different you know scenery as mountains or whatever, but different scenery as far as experience goes."

In contrast to looking forward to problems,

Participant #8 focused on the fear:

"Yeah scary, very scary . . . when we went to Atlanta and my brake light came on and I started to freak out about that because my mode of transportation if it breaks down then what am I gonna do? I have my daughter's friend, my daughter, and my son and I'm responsible for the trip . . . and it's eleven o'clock at night and we're still driving

from Myrtle Beach and it's dark and the things that could happen if we did get a flat tire and we pull over and who knows what could happen."

At a different point she stated, "On a short trip then I know the duration is not as long as [pause] where on a long trip like on the way to Tennessee I was so afraid."

At another time in the interview, Participant #8 immediately related the following when asked of another specific time she traveled: "To the airport in Montreal, those Canadians, driving like mad people. And that's the other thing too, other drivers, and that's not, I don't worry about when my daughter drives and I try to tell her it's not you, it's the other drivers."

Other descriptions that reflected experiences of leaving security and the comfort of home are noted in the following quotations:

"We were in the Czech Republic and we were driving to find this place. And we had this rental car and I'd never driven in Europe, well I'd driven in Europe but I'd never driven there before. And when we were driving around it was like, terrifying." (#5)

"It's just an example of how to me, how vulnerable you are when you travel - you're, you know, you travel in an airplane and you're completely at the mercy of the weather and all kind of shit. You travel in a car [pause] car problems so it really stresses vulnerability, I really felt that going out west for sure." (#1)

Participant #7 described two times when the theme of Challenge stood out to her:

"The Olympics was one of my first experiences in a big city, um, taking public transportation, there were just tons of people there for the Olympics and you know, it's a big city too. Um, that was pretty eye-opening because of the bombing that went on when I was on the subway, like the next day I just realized any minute you know, someone could pull out a gun or have some kind of weapon on them that could just end my life and everybody else's . . . [Washington D.C.] was like a risky situation, there was always the risk of arrest hanging over your head."

Finally, Participant #3 expressed the complete range of the theme of Challenge by being potentially thrilled and horrified. The following took place at a beach resort one weekend:

"Angels and devils, so I guess like that, that's what you run into when you travel, it's like you're vulnerable you know, like you just, things can fuck up really badly you know, but then again people are really nice and sometimes they'll help you out. There are random acts of kindness out there . . . but there's, there's that element of uh things that go really wrong, yeah, you're always just like one little fuckup from things going really awry."

[Interviewer:] "But that's O.K.?"

"Yeah, that's good. I mean what's the, well alright I won't say what's the worst that can happen, the worst that can happen is something really bad, but like, I just remembered that night I didn't remember the name of the hotel I was staying at but I happened to have the card in my wallet. So she was like 'O.K. I'll drop you off at the hotel,' well she didn't say it like that, she said something like 'you, stay where' and I said [laughs] 'I, stay, here' but if I didn't have the card, you know, where was I gonna stay? You know, so shit like that, but that makes it more exciting. And what's the worst that can

happen in that situation? O.K., I don't have the card, O.K. so I sleep, I sleep at her house maybe, or I sleep [pause] on the beach, or in somebody's doorway, that's pretty cool."

Theme #3: Freedom (open - closed)

Issues of freedom and control frequently appeared in the protocols. Travel can bring out feelings of being restrained, confined, or controlled by somebody or something. Conversely, travel can also lead to experiences of openness, freedom, and spontaneity - a release from being trapped or limited in various ways. As with Challenge, movement away from the home world may entail either a positive or a negative experience. In general, however, participants equate the home world with confinement and venturing out with liberation.

For example, Participant #1 noted, "so the whole process of traveling including driving through the bleak, depressing desert of Texas and Oklahoma was a real fuckin' nightmare. I mean it's just like this is in the way - get me to the mountains."

Referring to Alaska, Participant #7 stated, "because there's like, I guess a limit on where you can go because of the lack of roads, but it didn't stop us from going

anywhere. I still got to see a lot of places, it just maybe takes a little bit longer."

Participant #10 delineated two kinds of vacations that reflect the dichotomy of fun trips that are planned out and involve a high degree of control, and traveling that is spontaneous and challenging, which requires her to be flexible. The following quotation refers to the second type.

"I don't like to plan it, I like to be flexible. There's a word [laugh]. I like to be flexible when I get over there. I don't like to be, 'so O.K. you have to be at this hotel by this date and this time.' I like to be flexible and go along with the flow . . . I don't want to plan for it ahead of time. I don't want to plan anything ahead of time. Anything can happen. I mean I may have forgotten to get a visa like in Prague [laugh]."

In the case of Participant #3, restrictions were described as imposing on him in the form of other people.

"It's suffocating I think to travel with someone from home . . . having a friend there is kind of like having your anchor, like this person is there, he's gonna watch over me . . . if you do something like share a look, it's like you're both aware of this little, this little trip you're going on, but if there's no look, if there's no anchor there like you're really floating out on your own, and weird things just seem to happen when you're on your own."

For Participant #2, limitations were described as taking a different form:

"We would really just like to enjoy the city for what it is, not for what they tell people who don't live here it should be, or what they tell people who don't live here what it is . . . I don't like staying in commercial hotels;

I don't like going to chain restaurants; I don't like any activity where you sort of walk me through it and tell me what I'm supposed to think - I hate all that . . . it's easier to get trapped."

For this person, the purpose of travel was (and is) to release her from her sense of being controlled. She does this in order to get in an inspiration mode, which she feels does not occur often owing to her heavy work schedule. She also reported not wanting to have to justify going somewhere.

"It should be an opportunity to experience others and experience other environments and other cultures, just sort of the blanket other, and in experiencing the other you should have a deeper experience of yourself and have a new understanding or new awareness of self . . . if you go, sort of with this pre-determined, 'this is what I'm gonna do, this is what I'm gonna see, this is what I'm gonna enjoy' list, and don't go with the experience, you probably aren't open to receive any new information." Furthermore: "I guess it's sort of like free space . . . I think that inspiration is definitely more likely to happen in that state of mind 'cause that's when things just come to you and it's not forced." (#2)

The theme of freedom was also expressed in comments made about other topics. For example, Participant #9 noted:

"I just really have a hard time with anybody holding, you know, holding me down or holding me back from things. To me travel should be free, it should be open. That's why I backpack light, I carry just what I need . . . some people think well you're closed in by all the trees especially up in the Smokies but you're really not."

Noticing the similarity to other enjoyable activities,

"it's the same thing with music, the music I enjoy, I like a lot of new age and jazz music; it's not limited . . . literally, jazz is very open and it's very free."

This participant also related experiences of freedom in one situation to other aspects of his life: "I really do, want to get away from confinement, whether it be in my job . . . I get so sick of being congested . . . with no room and when I go out West it's like I can let my defenses down and totally be . . . all the places I want to go, Ireland, Canada, out West, they're all open, there's something about that open space, yeah, I need to be open and not limited, not confined."

For Participant #4 the focus was on resisting the "closed" and breaking away from being confined and trapped:

"For us it was 'we're going to Cyprus,' that's just where the family is . . . so it was guaranteed, there wasn't going to be any variation. The only variation was when we went back and we stayed there. Everything else was pretty set . . . later on as a teenager I saw traveling as a way to get out of Cyprus 'cause I was never very happy there. So traveling to me was almost, I would almost say an escape, to get away from there and uh, all the traditional kind of roles . . . [laughing] I mean it was just, just thinking about school right and being in school and not really being able to reach our true potential. Like, you know, wanting to go to university and kinda being held back by teachers saying, you know, that that's never gonna happen . . . so we wanted out."

Where this person went was described as not mattering to her because it was going *from* someplace, and she ended up enrolling in college in the United States:

"I was not only removing myself from the home environment which was very conflictual a lot of the time but also just from the culture in general. I never really felt that I fit in there you know. Um, so kinda wanting to get away from that and find myself in a different place, which I think I did . . . I think Cyprus has really held me back and if anything brought out the worst in me [laughs] and didn't really give me the freedom and the space to develop into who I was to become. It was a very restrictive environment . . . I wanted to get away from that restrictive kind of environment . . . I wanted no one to bug me."

Referring to her move to the highly populated campus, she noted that

"It was just so awesome just to be there and to be completely free. It was just brilliant. I didn't know anyone, it was exciting . . . on the scale of being restricted and being free, you know, it was just really easy to go from here all the way to the other end and that not being too good either" (#4)

Theme #4: Connection (intimate - separate)

Participants spoke of a connection with people and the world as an important aspect of their travel. Regardless of the object of encounter - family, oneself, the environment, God - participants reported feelings that moved along the continuum from separation to connection.

Additional terms used to describe this theme include shallow and dead on the side of the profane, and words such as deep, alive, unified, together, joined, magical, and flowing on the side of the sacred. Often experienced as a byproduct of traveling, connection also may be its primary purpose.

Participant #2 offered the following description:

"The lessons are usually with people. And it's not the trained tour guides who will go around and tell you the spiel that they've learned but the people who've really experienced it, um really know, when you go to a restaurant they can talk about when their mother started it, her recipes and how it's so important to use just a pinch of oregano, you know, where the furniture isn't all the same. Just someplace that has some character, and it feels like somebody's inviting you into their life, instead of somebody who has opened up your wallet."

This participant continued:

"It boils down to what's important. And I think at the end of the day, every day, people are really the most important things and a lot of time it's really easy to forget that. And I always want to know more about people, always want to know more about the way they think, um why they do what they do, um who they are, what makes them tick, all that - I think it's fascinating."

Another participant reported that "I've traveled alone and I hate it. I don't even see the point of it . . . because to me travel without a discussion is not travel. Or it's not what I want to do." (#6)

Speaking about city life, he stated:

"I think when you talk about atmosphere and when you talk about aesthetics, I like to think of it as a setting, as a stage, as the back drop for living a life . . . if there isn't activity on the street, it's dead. And I won't say Rome is a bad place but I had a very bad experience in Rome. I went on Christmas I guess, Christmas day and everyone was at home with their families. In that city I didn't have a family to stay with, I was with a group of people but we were essentially not a part of the city and it was a horrible travel experience because I felt like I was in a dead city where nothing was living, because there was no one on the streets. So I'm looking at these big buildings which, you know, you can say are beautiful but without the people in front of them they are just these dead skeletons."

Elsewhere, this participant also described his relationship to physical objects insofar as they allow him to relate to people, providing other examples of the range of possibilities from separateness to connection:

"An empty café is not beautiful. Really, I mean if there aren't cups of coffee on the table, if people aren't enjoying it . . . a street is beautiful not only because of the construction but by the way people interact with that street. You know, if it's a straight street with nothing on it, no matter how beautiful the architecture is, if it tends to just channel people through the street it's not that great. But if there are shops along that street, if there are places to stop, if people linger on the street then it's probably beautiful . . . the quality of life in a city can be judged by the quality of life on its streets."

Comparing Knoxville, Tennessee with other places, Participant #6 further noted:

"I remember I came back from Europe once and I was driving . . . and I was thinking where are all the people? Dumb questions. Why don't I see people on the streets walking, talking, meeting each other? And of course it took me about fifteen minutes but I looked out my window and all the people were in their little cars on the interstate."

And actually Knoxville had a tremendous amount of life. It was all individual, isolated in these cars. And you know, at eight o'clock at night you say: 'Well why is the city dead?' Well, it's not dead, it's all on the interstate. They are all driving back and forth between west town and east town (laugh) but they're all separate."

Participant #4 spoke in terms of "home" when striving for connection in some other place.

"If I think of comfort level and being able to exist in a place where I have people, because people are important to me kind-of-thing, then this [America] seems to be the place where I think I would settle down . . . because if I define home as the place where you were born or the place where your roots are or your parents are, but it doesn't feel comfortable, you know they just irritate me these Cypriot people (laughs) they really do. They just bug me. I just can't grasp the mentality, and I don't want to. So I can't see that as home . . . I think on some deeper level, and this is just now that I've just thought about this, but if I think about home as being the place where I was born or the house that I was born at, maybe in my mind kind-of-thing, since I can't go there, maybe that's what I'm striving to kind of find . . . in a way not being able to go have has kind of made me who I am in terms of going to different, you know being exposed to different countries and cultures and developing who I am now."

For Participant #5, connection was described as involving her family, and her descriptions were typically more of being intimate than of being separate:

"It was about going home and going somewhere deep inside rather than far away . . . it's not always about going somewhere far away, you know. I mean I've taken other trips to far away places but somehow those don't stand out. I think it's about trying to figure out who I am. I think that's what all these little journeys are about. And that's why family is a big part of it 'cause family is a big part of who I am. What does it mean to be Czech or half-Czech in my case? What does it mean to be American? What does it mean to be from a farm in Virginia?"

Participant #5 also referred to a place on her farm about which her relatives had told stories over the years. This particular location provided a new link with her family history:

"So when I was about 13 my cousin and I decided that we would go back to the picnic pond. And so I went there and I just loved it like the moment I saw it. I was just so crazy about it. It was so much prettier than the ugly cow-ponds that we had, you know the other ponds on the farm which were just nasty because the cows would bathe and drink and whatever (laughs). So, there was just something neat about it. And I'd found out it had been my grandfather's favorite place also and so I thought that was kind of a communion with him. I keep finding out we have things in common even though I never really knew him."

This participant's questioning into her ultimate identity mirrored that of other methods of self-exploration found in various spiritual quests. In terms of travel, however, participants tended to view an encounter with the environment and various natural settings as essentially commensurate with spiritual connections.

Participant #9 provides a clear example:

"Going out and enjoying the handiwork and the framework, and the artistry and tapestry of nature and of uh, it really, it evokes some spiritual response, almost like a religious experience, like William James described, his religious experiences. It's something that's deep. That's why I crave traveling . . . there's just something that's captivating that's in my soul while I'm there, there's nothing that worries me . . . it definitely is a religious experience, just classify it just like William James did, that would be my experience of spirituality."

Participant #9 also compared metaphorically connection with people with that of connection with nature:

"It's about an intimate connection, with not only the person you're with but also being with the environment, it's something about the openness is just extremely relaxing to me . . . something about it, just a magical mystical, mystical place . . . it's like changing your oil, you know that you do on a daily basis, but then you change your oil and filter, you really get everything out. And that's what going out West and going to an open area is. It really cleanses the entire system. It's an overhaul, rather than just maintenance. It allows you to get away from everything, that's a good analogy, it's the only one I can think of."

An additional instance of this theme may be seen in Participant #10's reference to being on a ship:

"At night I can stand out there in the middle of nowhere. You can't see any islands and it's at night. All you see is the water, well, actually you can't see the water, it's so dark. But when you look up and when you look in front of you or around you, it's all stars. Then the water is of course dark, so it looks like another part of the sky. So that's what I enjoyed. I mean you don't, you just sit there and just don't think about anything, you just stand out there, just get hit by the wind. That was nice."

Finally, Participant #1 described two episodes of moving from separation to connection. First:

"I had been in Florida for you know 15 years and I started going up into the mountains with a couple of friends of mine; it was like a new, another world, and uh, we got in the habit of going every October for the colors, the change of the leaves with my cousin, it became a, it became almost like a religious pilgrimage in a way."

The second example concerned Glacier National Park.

In this excerpt he explained how a location can create a strong impact.

"The intensity of a place can overwhelm all your other, all your other emotions, like we were completely burned out, frustrated, irritable from driving this giant truck . . . and as soon as we saw what it was, everything else melted away - fatigue, frustration. It was a topography unlike any of the Southern Rockies; there were mountains whose proportions were unlike anything I've ever seen . . . the proximity of the mountains, the shallowness of the, just the narrowness of the valleys and the whole proportions of the landscape were just incredible, and the mountain lakes."

On this occasion he was not anticipating such a degree of fulfillment:

"And the main thing that I remember was the last night before we left, we walked up this, went up to the very peak of the thing, went up on this high trail, and it was like a series of things happened that were just, it was surreal. We went up this trail, and first of all there were just amazing wildflowers everywhere. That alone would have been completely stunning. Then there are mountain goats grazing all around us, right next to us. You look down on these crystal blue lakes, and the views are incredible, and *then* this unbelievable full moon rises, and it's just like God damn, what's gonna happen next, is Jesus gonna come up from behind the mountain? It was just like a series of *amazing* things. And we, um, we were just absolutely blown away. We walked down from the trail and it was like maybe 30 minutes drive back to where we camped and we didn't say a word (both laugh). We were just like, [mumbled] I mean conversation was ended."

Theme #5: Authenticity (real - touristy)

Participants reported being concerned with authentic travel. What was specifically referred to as "authentic," and what was not, naturally depended on each individual participant. The commonality, though, was that they all made judgments in terms of significance. One typically sees oneself as an example of genuineness with respect to traveling, and one may judge others as not exemplifying such travel. Despite the variety of situations encountered, the crux of this theme is that participants make a distinction between greater and lesser; they make value judgments about the real and the merely trivial.

A number of persons explicitly mentioned transnational corporations and globalization in this context. Many looked down on the so-called "touristy" aspects of travel and expressed a clear preference for the "real," explaining what this meant to him or her, or, in some cases, what it did not mean. Choosing terms like "vacationy" and "touristy" and occasionally expressing contempt or disgust reveals the seriousness with which some participants described this aspect of their experiences of travel. Other words used to describe this would be shallow and

dead. On the "worthwhile" descriptive side appear terms such as impact, meaning, merit, satisfaction, and poignancy. In short, participants are telling us what is important.

Participant #3, in his unique style, illustrates not so much a continuum extending from touristy to real, but a sharp bifurcation:

"That's why it drives me nuts . . . I find that appalling, I really can't tell you how disgusting I found that because you have these pretentious Eurotrash who are like, you know they're, they fancy themselves like world travelers, you know - they got all the gear, they got all the, you know, fucked up haircuts and rings in their noses and stuff, and 'yes we're so sophisticated, you know, we're such world travelers' but they're in this like fucking nucleus of, I mean that's like little Europe! And, and it's in Bangkok. They're really not experiencing Bangkok at all, and they're all speaking their native tongue, and uh, oh God it was awful! And they're all traveling with their friends, uh that's, to me that's the opposite of what I see traveling as . . . I think you should just go out and do completely on your own. I'll uh, if I can avoid it I'll, I'll never travel with another person again, barring like little jaunts, little vacations, stuff like that, but like real serious travel to another country, I only want to do it alone. That's the only way to go."

Following is another attempt, by Participant #2, to formulate a clear dichotomy between touristy and real:

"We just had the best time - it was just, we were in New York, we weren't trying to see everything that had to be seen, do everything that had to be done and follow this very 'we're in New York, ooh let's be tourists' kind of schedule. But you know, we were like 'oh, let's go get a slice' . . . we had been doing the tourist stuff all day and it drove us crazy, we were about to go out of our minds, and then finally we just like, we went out dancing,

we walked along the street, we stopped at this, we stopped at one of those, can't call them grocery stores, street stores and bought fruit and juice at 3 o'clock in the morning, and right next door got a slice of pizza (laughs) you know, walked back, watched people in just the craziest outfits, people made comments, and we just howled, and it was so much fun and it was because we were really experiencing the city and not experiencing the tourist traps and really enjoy being with each other."

Another participant made a clear distinction between being a tourist and getting to know people:

"Studying architecture, studying Urban Design, you know, we know that the design of the city affects how people live but I think there's a thousand other factors and so by visiting these towns and by staying at least a little bit of time, I get sort of an overview by meeting the people living there, not by being a tourist, um the sum total of what life is like there . . . I think a tourist is a passive by-stander. They are not engaged in the life of the city, they don't meet the waiters, you know; I hang out with the waiters (laughs). They don't meet the people working in the factories; I know a lot of people who work in them. I'll say a kielbasa factory." (#6)

On another occasion, however, this participant explained how he became merely a tourist:

"Someone was arranged to pick us up at the airport and we traveled into Istanbul and this guy arranged, he was a friend of a friend of ours, one of my best friends, and he owned a peanut factory in Romania and so he was determined to impress the friends of his friend. And so we had a very good time seeing the city. And I think we saw it in an unusual way, I mean we went from, we probably saw the best of the best. We stayed at some of the best locations in Istanbul and ate at the most amazing restaurants. And I normally don't travel like that so it was a very interesting treat. Um, but until we got to Ismir I don't know that I actually felt like - I was a tourist in Istanbul. Even though we were with someone who knew the city, it was difficult to talk with him because of language problems and um, you know we were just being treated very

well. But when we arrived in Ismir we stayed with my friend and her mother for a couple of weeks so that was a completely different experience. That was her mother going out and buying lottery tickets for us, you know, going out to dinner with her grandparents, meeting younger people in bars who were friends of ours . . . And so I think it was the lack of communication that kept us out."

Speaking of a public, peaceful protest against the appalling policies of the IMF and the World Bank,

Participant #7 expressed what was real to her:

"It was almost like we had a goal, you know, something to go do in D.C. - at least for that trip anyway - versus just coming back to school or something. It was more meaningful to go to D.C. . . . going to our nation's capital to stand up for a cause or something was very meaningful, versus 'Oh, I'm going to college now (laughs).' I don't know, that's really meaningful too, but in a different way I think."

Another participant noted that

"whenever I travel again outside of the country, outside of the U.S., I will go to someplace that isn't quite as uh, vacationy or well-known or Americanized or popular, to really experience being away . . . I don't want to go to Montego Bay in Jamaica and be surrounded by McDonalds and Ruby Tuesdays and places like that." (#2)

She continued to plainly differentiate what is real from what is touristy:

"I hate chain bookstores. They have no - they don't have a soul! You know? There's no warmth, no feeling, no character, it is just mass production at its best, and I wanna go someplace and really experience it. I don't know that you can do that in places that don't have their own character. Referring to chains in general, "there's nothing intriguing about them. There's no lesson in them, there's no history in them, it's just capitalism with freshly painted walls, that's really it. But if you stay in a place like a bed & breakfast, that tends to be a house

of somebody." With respect to a particular bed & breakfast, "that place has its own life, it has a feeling, an aura, an essence, that's part of the traveling experience I think . . . yea, there's more to be learned than by the major tourist attractions. It's generally not where the lessons are, I don't think."

An excerpt from Participant #9 concludes the theme of Authenticity, beginning with describing the worthiness and high value of the real:

"I've been different places that are beautiful and they're alright but they've all been with crowds of people that, you know, you really can't isolate and reflect and get into yourself and really see who you are and philosophize . . . yes, a lower form, it's not as intense . . . I do consider experiences. I rate them on the order of influence and significance and the amount of intensity that they carry, the amount of, um, and I guess I don't, I really know what I measure it on, I guess I measure it on how much reflectiveness I can have, how much down time I can have."

Furthermore: "You can maximize each experience, but there's also different experiences that have greater potential, at least in my own life."

The relevance of the real is also exemplified by the common act of comparing oneself to others. As Participant #9 put it:

"so many people go, they leave the big city job, they go into a vacation where they go right back into the same situation. They're in a hotel with tons of people, they're being pampered, they're being spoiled, they never see anything but four walls . . . they want to be taken care of rather than take care of themselves."

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to develop a thematic description of the experience of travel. During all of the interviews, each participant talked about what stood out in his or her experiences of travel. All interviews were transcribed, and the resulting protocols became the data for this study. The primary researcher, at times along with the assistance of an interpretative research group, conducted an interpretative analysis of the protocols that led to five major themes: Perspective, Challenge, Freedom, Connection, and Authenticity. To receive feedback from participants concerning the degree to which these themes seemed, to them, to capture their experiences, attempts were made to contact each participant. Of the eight that I was able to contact, seven responded, and all offered no objections to the five themes mentioned as descriptive of their experiences of travel.

Previous research on vacation satisfaction (Golledge-Franz, 1991) recommended employing qualitative methodology to pursue questions concerning dissatisfaction with and

global lack of enthusiasm toward vacations. The procedure used in this study was designed to allow complete freedom on the part of participants to discuss whatever was figural for them; as a result, some commented during the dialogue how they had not thought of certain aspects of their lives and travels until the process of the interview brought it up for them. Such positive comments are consistent with other benefits researchers have found to result from participation in qualitative research (Hutchinson, Wilson, & Wilson, 1994).

The bracketing interview was designed to make manifest presuppositions or biases on the part of the primary researcher so as to enable me to become aware of possible influence they might have upon both the interviews and the subsequent process of thematic analysis. Results of the bracketing interview, conducted in the same way as other interviews, indicated that I described many of the same themes as did other participants, except for an additional emphasis on exploration. Though modified on several occasions to fit different situations encountered, the phenomenology research group described the primary researcher as a "careful explorer." Recognizing this orientation prior to conducting the interviews and

performing the thematic analysis was critical. As a result, the primary researcher not only subjected his experiences to examination for personal gain, he also became more able to interpret other protocols without continually seeing everything in them as exploration - a theme no one described as strongly as he did. Theme #1 (Perspective), theme #2 (Challenge), and theme #3 (Freedom), however, do seem to address many of the same issues as "exploration."

Discussion of Results

There is a considerable degree of interrelationship among the five themes. For example, the experiential realm of the familiar can be secure and reassuring; likewise, remaining in familiar places can be experienced as restraining. Moving out to the unfamiliar can be frightening, or it can be liberating. Similarly, striving for connection can take the form of avoiding the "touristy" and searching for the "real." In addition, participants also described emotions as inherent aspects of all five themes. From the fear of venturing out into the unknown, to the magic of satisfactory relationships, to the

intensity of freedom, both liberating and frightening, emotions were associated with, and perhaps even defined the experience of travel. In short, the thematic description of the experience of travel necessitates interconnections among themes as well as a recognition of their emotional significance to the traveler.

All themes were contextualized by what I have called the home world of the participant. Each instance of venturing out or moving away was contrasted with the familiar space of home. Home is not to be understood literally, as just an abode. Characteristics of the commonplace, rather, whether of a particular mindset or culturally-based mode of being or an ordinary state of consciousness, make up the realm of one's "home." Hence, movement away from the ordinary, the known, or the expected to the space of the strange, the dangerous, and the open forms the basis of the way in which travel was described. Travel as "that which is not at home" presents a comparison participants frequently made when traveling; obviously, "not home" was contrasted with the ground of the physical and mental places of the known and the familiar, otherwise referred to as the "home world."

Perhaps the best description of the basic structure of travel might involve the metaphor of a cave considered as home. In this familiar surrounding, both security and restraint prevail. Moving out from protection, however, not only involves potential danger, but potential freedom as well. Paradoxically, this contrast shows us the relationship between the safe "end" of the theme of Challenge, and boredom and other characteristics of the "closed" end of the theme of Freedom. The continuum from safety to danger can be said to be juxtaposed with the continuum from closed to open.

When venturing out, the metaphor of the cave also shows us connections between (1) the constellation of features associated with vulnerability and risk found at the danger end of the of safe-dangerous continuum of Challenge, and (2) spontaneity, flexibility, and other liberating aspects of the open end of the open-closed continuum of Freedom. In terms of the theme of Perspective, a movement from the familiar to the strange simultaneously necessitates a change in point of view with respect to the home world. Thus, leaving the positive and negative properties of home (the cave) entails moving out along multiple thematic meanings - Perspective, Challenge,

and Freedom - and such movement invites the paradoxical qualities just described. The search for connection and the real are additional features of this travel. In a broader symbolic context, some of us who are psychodynamic-oriented might consider it appropriate to substitute womb for cave in the current metaphor.

Before discussing present results in light of previous research and other work on travel, it is worth taking a look at what was *not* figural for participants. The actual process of going somewhere, the trip itself, was rarely mentioned, despite the topic ostensibly being that of "travel." For instance, Participant #10 works as a flight attendant, but never once spoke of flying as travel in the interview. This seeming omission, however, is fully consistent with the requirement of travel to include the idea of leaving one's home world (in this case inside a moving airplane) so as to experience "traveling."

Obviously the word "travel" elicited many stories and evoked many meanings, but when it concerned the trip itself it often was discussed in a primarily negative way. For example, consider the following quotation.

"I'm probably different from most people 'cause I don't like to travel. I hate traveling. I hate it, I hate

the process of packing, I hate carrying luggage, I would give anything to have somebody to carry the luggage for me . . . yeah, it's a pain in the ass. I hate all of it . . . I love planes, I have no fear of flying, I love the feel of leaving a place, you know when you're taking off from the airport, I love that. You know, things are changing, I love trains, I love travel on trains but I hate luggage. I hate the idea of it. If I can ever afford to, I'll Fed Ex it from one location to another (laughs)." (#6)

Similarly, Participant #1's entire protocol could be summarized with the statement that he likes to travel except for the traveling part: "But, I mean, it's not always negative, but yeah the negative does stand out in the process of travel . . . I wanted to just be at the destination . . . I don't think about the process, the process is just a means to an end . . . getting there can be a real pain in the ass."

In addition to physical change aspects of travel, purely cognitive aspects of travel such as evaluations or expectations prior to undertaking trips were rare in the present set of protocols. Researchers studying travel motivation (Figler et al., 1992; Cohen, 1979; MacCannel, 1976) have offered quantitative and qualitative support for

several motives and even a hierarchy of their importance, but much of the variance remains unaccounted for in their studies. Consequently, additional understanding of the meaning of travel needs to be considered. Interestingly, though, the number one motive for travel in Figler et al.'s (1992) study was termed authenticity, except when the sample consisted of college students - in this case, culture/education was the most important motive. Even though Figler et al. (1992) looked at pleasure travel exclusively, there is agreement between the claimed primary motive to travel (authenticity) and, for some in the present study, the most important aspect of their travels.

Participants in the current study focused on telling stories, and they frequently expanded the dialogue into more philosophical issues as a consequence of a change in perspective. They also considered the consequences of traveling alone versus traveling with others. In addition, they also mentioned having a purpose, whether to visit friends or introspection, although a specific discussion of expectations, evaluations, or any other cognitive process was notably absent. Thus, results from the present study do not support a strictly cognitive model as appropriate to

understanding the experience of travel from a first-person perspective.

Considering further motivations for travel, there occasionally appear in advertisements the notion of a "Type A" vacation and a "Type B" vacation, or some similar version, emphasizing either spending time relaxing and getting away from it all, or focusing on stimulation and finding excitement. In addition to these two contrasting possibilities, escaping your present situation also appears in advertisements as a reason to travel. Results of this study indicate that understanding the theme of Perspective, along with its continuum from the familiar to the strange, is critical when comparing one's everyday life to something new. Taking this into account, either a calm vacation or an action-packed one could be decidedly different from one's ordinary life.

Similarly, escaping from one's present situation might involve any one of a number of experiences depending on the person's current way of being-in-the-world. Hence, conceptualizing travel experiences in terms of familiar-strange provides an understanding in greater agreement with the lived experiences of participants, as opposed to merely

categorizing kinds of vacations without taking one's home world into account.

As previously mentioned, some of the literature concerning travel assumes the existence of various motives to travel, as if each of us, as an organism, requires something to initiate "travel behavior." Perhaps this assumption explains the failure of such approaches to account for a majority of the variance pertaining to travel motives (Figler et al., 1992). The present study used an empirical-phenomenological method to inquire into the meaning of travel, without resorting to previous literature or mandatory philosophical presuppositions to structure the interviews or otherwise guide the inquiry. There was no specific attempt made to ascertain travel motives. This method of employing fidelity to the phenomenon, including strategies to become aware of bias, resulted in the formation of a constellation of themes defining the experience of travel independent of presuppositions found in the literature. Participants in the present study simply did not speak of incentives or motives to travel.

Relating Present Themes to Previous Work

With respect to personality changes resulting from travel, the present study has little to contribute because it intentionally avoids an analysis of such issues. This is also the case regarding vacation satisfaction and attitude change, although the protocols do contain some small number of comments about satisfaction in terms of worthiness, authenticity, openness, connection, and sufficiently moving away from the home world. The theme of Perspective, however, may be related to personality change. It would not be an exaggeration to say that participants were moved by their experiences of encountering, confronting, and dealing with aspects of the strange and the previously unknown.

The results of the present study do not offer specific support or refutation of proposals in the literature on student travel, culture shock and intercultural communication (Stewart, 1986), or career levels (Pearce & Moscardo, 1985). Similarly, relating the process of travel to developmental psychology, scientific expeditions, and creativity were only indirectly addressed. That the present study has no aim to prove or disprove a particular

hypothesis does not mean that its results are irrelevant. Participants spoke of issues they felt were of paramount importance, and they often related them to concepts found in the travel literature. In addition to the aforementioned theme of Authenticity, participants often described their experiences in ways consistent with that of travel literature.

The view of travel as a search was common. Also addressed in Jager's (1974) work on the linguistic development of theorizing and its relation to travel, participants spoke of searching and of the significance of travel with a purpose. What they were specifically looking for varied according to the theme most figural at the time; instances of this were connection with family, a liberating trek, and communion with nature. In many cases if one's experience did not contribute to satisfaction along some dimension, that which was considered responsible was clearly pointed to and even rebuked. Stated differently, if one wanted to reach the satisfying "away" portion of a continuum (Authentic encounters in New York City, for instance) and one was being held back from such a "real" experience, then the search would be considered a failure.

Searching, then, deals with Authenticity and Connection, as a "movement out" to find that which may be missing.

The theme of Authenticity requires further explication. Placing value on particular aspects of any kind of travel is, of course, dependent on personal and socio-cultural preferences. What seems important is not the specific value, but that we make judgments and determine the degree to which experiences meet certain criteria. Qualities such as power, impact, relevance, enjoyment, and importance, and descriptions such as worthy, genuine, eye-opening, influential, serious, intense, and significant all result from encountering authenticity and a quest for the "real," regardless of form. Often a hierarchy or ranking was offered; for example, Participant #2 rated New York City, Mexico, and Los Angeles differently depending on "enjoying time to myself" or being concerned with exciting, interesting things to do.

In addition, some participants described travel as authentic when it corresponded with the "away" portions of the other themes such as intimacy and openness. That which facilitated movement away from ends associated with the home world was looked upon as authentic. Similarly, that which kept one bound in the realm of the dull, trivial, and

profane and did not offer unity was ranked as lesser.

Perhaps Simmel's (1994) notion of the mobility of the door is relevant in this context. Representing the possibility of stepping out from limitation to freedom, a door allows for movement out and can result in one's meeting with contentment and, therefore, it can yield an experience as authentic. "Life flows forth out of the door from the limitation of isolated separate existence into the limitness-ness of all possible directions" (Simmel, 1994, p. 8).

Examining the theme of Connection, participants spoke of moving towards relationships with family, friends, and others, a communion with nature, and even with the Divine, when spiritual experiences were mentioned. Although these experiences are arguably inseparable, Martin Buber (1970) listed three spheres in which the world of pure relation arises - spheres that parallel participant descriptions: we can have communion with nature, people, or spiritual beings. Despite his insistence that Buber's *I and Thou* is not translatable, Walter Kaufmann (1970) successfully explicates Buber's work regarding his I-it and I-Thou relationships. This is relevant to the current discussion since travel may bring about new ways of relating.

Likewise, there are different ways of relating to others in terms of Buber's "I-it" and "I-Thou."

The sense of I, our stand in relating to the world, changes depending on our relationship to and with the other. Consequently, the "I" is different in each kind of relationship. In Buber's formulation this is true not only for the individualist-collectivist distinction found in Eastern and Western cultures, but also when relating to things in the world as objects (as an "it"), or, conversely, when we meet or relate to them in communion (as "thou"). Buber contrasts I-it with I-Thou in the following terms: "The It world hangs together in space and time. The You-world does not hang together in space and time. The individual You *must* become an It when the event of relation has run its course. The individual It *can* become a You by entering into the event of relation" (1970, p. 84).

The latter portion of the quotation refers to situations in which we engage in authentic loving, meeting, or encounter; we do not endure perpetually in the Thou mode and it is the "melancholy of our lot that every You must become an It in our world." (1970, p. 68) A change from I-it to I-Thou can also occur. This happens when the other

ceases to be a mere collection of qualities that we give names to, and there is a genuine encounter, one outside the boundaries of strategy and time that can be characterized as an experience of communion.

The conceptual literature on travel (e.g., Tuan 1975; Tuan 1986; Game 1998; Simmel, 1994) is more challenging to relate directly to the specific findings of the present study, since such analyses tend to be abstract. The concepts of space and place, the stranger, and Wilderness (Tuan, 1986), though, consistently fit with the lived experiences of the present participants. This fit is most noticeable in the theme of Perspective, where there is confrontation with the strange and metaphors for the strange such as the forest (Tuan, 1986). Encountering what is "out there," whether a stranger (Tuan, 1986) or another representation of our collective projection of otherness, is the experiential essence of venturing out, of moving away from the known, expected, and ordinary.

Discussion of Travel Literature

Travel literature would seem to be better suited for thematic analysis than is the case for more psychological

or sociological writings on the topic of travel. Of the vast amount written, the themes in fiction most resonating with the present results are those deriving from an analysis of sea voyages (Foulke, 1997). In these narratives, the protagonists encounter unruly waters and savage peoples, which clearly represents the "strange" and the "other" discussed in connection with the theme of Perspective. Similarly, Knox-Shaw (1986) observed in English novels a contrast between one's home culture and confronting unfamiliar people. Encountering an unknown territory was an overriding theme in these works, and unvisited "places" clearly parallel the "out there" found in the theme of Perspective.

The discovery narrative (Greenfield, 1992) in the context of political, economic, and military expansion and domination in the formative years of the American Empire, forms a major portion of American travel fiction. Along with the discovery narrative belong the journey of successfully completing personal goals (Brown, 1993) and the notion of a quest (Stout, 1983). Also relevant to the current discussion is the journey of home founding, a theme in 19th century literature, and the slightly changing emphasis on limitless wandering without a specific

destination found in 20th century literature. Both themes derive from a focus on the journey, although the goal of home-founding differs from the less tangible object of one's search in the second case. Participants in the current study did not dwell on the idea of a quest or a long journey, although they did relate to the search insofar as this was a means to reach satisfaction. Satisfaction was attained through meeting "the real," finding Connection in the spontaneity of openness, or in encountering events and situations that were sufficiently dangerous, strange, or unusual. That which did not facilitate a feeling of intimacy, the "real," or of fulfillment of some sort was looked upon as a failure in some sense.

Discussion of Marketing

Turning to economic considerations, applying the results to advertising is beyond the scope of the present study, although it is clear that any focus on a specific kind of vacation needs to take into account the ground of the home world. Selling specific vacations, even if they are marketed to the consumer directly as embodying one or

more of the five themes from this study, concentrates solely on the figure and ignores the ground. What this means is that a crucial aspect is missing in determining the consumer's pattern of moving away or venturing out.

Consider persons viewing themselves as sufficiently immersed in anxiety-producing, unpredictable situations at work, for instance. Wanting to take a vacation to move away from this state of affairs to encounter something soothing and calm, they would not be interested at this point in any "vacation" resembling conditions from which they came. Thus, it is of paramount importance to acknowledge the specifics of the home world in order to be able to offer an appropriate contrasting experience.

Geographical and Psychological Journeys

The present results are also consistent with the view that there is little (if any) difference between movement in geographical space and movement in so-called mental space. In this view, a psychedelic voyage into one's bodymind is commensurate with a sea voyage. Furthermore, all travel involves moving away from the "home world" such that we venture out to encounter the unfamiliar, the risky,

and other aspects of "that which is away," regardless of the form or forms this entails. It is not surprising, then, for a simple trip to have profound implications on one's way of being-in-the-world. Similarly, a confrontation with oneself in the form of psychotherapy or a spiritual experience, for instance, may be experientially equivalent to traversing foreign landscapes and dealing with the unknown in an expedition-like fashion. Hence, the term "tripping" for the psychedelic experience and the use of terms such as "journey" to describe the course of substantial changes in one's life, seem appropriate.

The journey, a common topic in both travel literature and literature pertaining to traveling, was examined by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson as a root metaphor in their 1980 book *Metaphors We Live By*. The following statements concern the metaphoric rendition of an argument as a type of journey: "We have *set out* to prove that bats are birds; We will *proceed* in a *step-by-step* fashion; This observation *points the way* to an elegant solution; We have *arrived* at a disturbing conclusion" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 90). Despite each statement being an instance of the underlying metaphor "an argument is a journey," we typically use them

to speak of an argument, and we consider them normal ways of talking about arguments.

Examining this metaphor further reveals that both direction and progress towards a goal are figural. We can also combine a fact about journeys, that it defines a path, with the previous statement that an argument is a journey, into a new conceptualization: an argument defines a path. Examples would be: "Now we've *gone off in the wrong direction* again; I'm *lost*; You're *going around in circles*" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 90). Furthermore, since paths are conceived of as surfaces, we can combine this characteristic (of the path of a journey being a surface) with the original statement that an argument is a journey to conclude that the path of an argument is a surface: "We have *covered* a lot of *ground* in our argument. Let's go back over the argument again. You're getting *off* the subject. You're really *onto* something there. We're well on our way to solving this problem" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 91).

The metaphorical entailments described above make coherent all of the examples that fall under the metaphor "an argument is a journey." Using another example, we can say that love is a journey. Although the basic metaphor is

one of a journey, there are various kinds of journeys we can make. Examples include a car trip ("It's been a *long, bumpy road*; We're just *spinning our wheels*,") a train trip ("We've gotten *off the track*,") or a sea voyage ("Our marriage is *on the rocks*; This relationship is *foundering*") (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 45).

Finally, the psychological journey and geographical displacement or movement as two aspects of the same phenomenon is to be noted in a quotation. As Participant #1 put it: "I ended up, ended up like basically spending two weeks in Santa Fe, two weeks in Crested Butte, I stayed in Yellowstone Park for a week, I hung out, hung out around Denver, um, and it was very . . . it was more, I mean it was obviously a psychological journey too 'cause I was uh, I was uncertain of what I was gonna do, what type of job I was gonna be able to get . . ." Whether psychological or geographical movement, experiential or empirical methodology, or pursuit for Connection or Authenticity, the multiple forms, approaches to studying, and goals of this dynamic process all unite in an inquiry into just what it means to travel.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Situations by Participant

#1: Visiting his grandmother's house when growing up; going to the mountains in the North Carolina area; taking an extended trip to the Rocky mountains and the Southwest for a psychological journey and to look for a job; going to Washington, D.C. for a job interview and dealing with airline hassles; helping a friend move from Tacoma, WA and stopping by Glacier National Park on the way out.

#2: A vacation to Cancun, Mexico with a friend; going to New York City with friends to show the city to another friend who had never been; a trip to Los Angeles, a city that she does not like.

#3: Going with a friend to Spain and Paris; going to Ireland with his family (not travel he said, because he merely visited his family and Ireland is not mainland Europe); while teaching English in Thailand (1) going to the town of Udon Thani, a provincial capital in the northeast, (2) going across the border into Laos, and (3) taking a weekend trip to a nearby beach area with friends.

#4: Going to Cypress every summer for holiday; going to England to visit her family; going to the "biggest school possible" in America; meeting friends in Las Vegas; driving with friends on school breaks to Louisiana, Florida, and Canada; returning to Cypress while on winter break to collect data for a research project in addition to seeing her family.

#5: Investigating family history in the Czech Republic with her mother; a trip to Key West with her family; going to a pond on the family farm; going back to the Czech Republic to further explore her roots.

#6: Going with friends to visit Berlin; visiting friends in Poland for the last 5 years; a trip to a deserted Rome on Christmas day; a trip to Turkey; visiting friends in New York City and ending up working there.

#7: Going with a school group to Mexico; attending the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta; attempting to shut down meetings of the World Bank and the IMF in Washington, D.C.; coming to Tennessee with her parents to attend college; driving to

Canada with a friend on a school break; traveling to Alaska to meet her boyfriend's family.

#8: Driving to a grocery store on Fridays and one hour trips to and from school when a child; going to Colorado (her first time flying); going to Tennessee for "mini-vacations" with her children (either driving or leaving from a confusing Canadian airport); figuring out how to drive to and eventually reaching Myrtle Beach; taking her children and their friends to Atlanta; hiking in the Smoky mountains with a date and getting lost.

#9: A two week road/backpacking trip to Nevada, Utah, and Arizona; miscellaneous short jaunts to New York City, Houston, Cleveland, Cumberland Island (off the coast of Georgia), Florida, and Maine; his honeymoon to Jamaica.

#10: An internship in Prague; a vacation with a friend on a cruise ship; a 12 day trip to Japan to meet relatives; killing time/relaxing while working (not traveling she states) by hand-gliding in Rio and walking around Honolulu.

Appendix B: Information and Consent Form

The purpose of this research project entitled "The Experience of Travel" is to understand the experience of travel from a first-person perspective. There is little research in psychology of the experience of travel, so this study will explore the human experience of travel in all its ramifications. Protocols in this study will undergo a thematic analysis, which will be conducted by a research group composed of faculty and graduate students. This study will be published in the form of a doctoral dissertation, and it is possible that portions of this project will be published in academic journals.

By choosing to participate, you agree to be asked about some times that you've traveled. The interview will last until you are satisfied that you have adequately described such times (typically 45 minutes to an hour). The interview will be audiotaped, and the recording will be held in strict confidence. All identifying information will be removed from the written transcript, and anyone viewing the transcript will sign a statement of confidentiality as an additional security measure. This signed consent form, along with the tapes and transcripts, will be stored securely on University property for 3 years after completion of the study, at which time it will be destroyed. Quotations from the transcript may be used in publications or presentations to illustrate themes, but no identifying information would be included.

Many participants in phenomenological research find the interview to be rewarding, but because your participation is voluntary, you may discontinue participation at any time without any penalty. There will be no compensation for participating. You will be presented with the overall thematic structure when it is completed, at which time you will be able to assess how well it "resonates" with your experiences. If there are any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact me.

Norris Smith
401G Austin Peay Psychology Building
Knoxville, TN 37996
(865) 974-6060

I have read the above Information and Consent Form and agree to participate in this project.

Name: _____
Date: _____
Signature: _____

Appendix C: Transcriber's Statement of Confidentiality

I agree to keep confidential any identifying information, names, or content in the audiotapes that I am transcribing for Norris Smith's project, "The Experience of Travel."

Name_____

Signature_____ Date_____

Appendix D: Sample Transcribed Interview

TRANSCRIBED INTERVIEW WITH A MALE, AGE 45

I: Interviewer

P: Participant

I Tell me about some times you've traveled that stand out to you.

P Uh, well the first thing that comes to my mind is, when our family would travel; I grew up in Augusta, GA and it was very much like, we looked forward every year to going to Florida, to my grandmother's house, and I remember anticipating that, I remember how different scenes than Augusta, where I basically spent , I basically spent my entire childhood there, how we would anticipate you know going there and arriving there, at her house, it was, it's like, basically when I think of traveling, I think of uh, going someplace that's different, usually for . . . at first it was on family vacations. I guess the main thing that stands out to me is when I started going to the mountains, the most dramatic example, in the mid 80s, I had been in FL for you know 15 years and I started going up into the mountains with a couple of friends of mine; it was like a new, another world, and uh . . . we got in the habit of going every October for the colors, the change of the leaves with my cousin, it became, a, it became almost like a religious pilgrimage in a way. It was like *the* event of the year and it was a chance to see an entirely different part of the world.

I So the foliage was the main

P Yeah, the, it was definitely built around the changing of the leaves, and we tried to time it and arrange our vacations so that we'd leave FL in mid-October and we'd drive up to Asheville and, and did this for several years from basically the mid 80s to the early 90s and began to like the mountains so much that I eventually sold my

business and moved up to where I had been traveling toward. You know, I said I don't want to drive here, I want to be here. And uh, besides that the uh, well, I got to think it in terms of the time, it's hard to get it in my mind so - it was basically a situation where I'd come up to the mountains for 5 or 6 years, I was thinking about moving here, before I moved here I did make one other big journey which really stands out and that's when I just basically just drove west and not necessarily planning on coming back if I found a job, so I, I'd been coming to the mountains around Asheville for a couple of years, sold the business, and just drove out west. And that's really the big, the most extensive traveling I've ever done. And it was intense because I was by myself.

I You say you just drove out west

P I, O.K., the only, the only crude plan that I had was I had some friends in Tacoma and my basic thinking was (I: Tacoma . . .) Tacoma, WA, and my basic thinking was I don't care if it takes me you know a month or two months to get there, or maybe I'll find a job in Santa Fe, and just stay there for the rest of my life. It was like, I had been in the sign business, and I still thought at the time that I could simply just get a job at a sign shop or somewhere if I found a place I liked - I'd just get a job and that'd be it. And uh, I ended up, ended up like basically spending two weeks in Santa Fe, two weeks in Crested Butte, I stayed in Yellowstone Park for a week, I hung out, hung out around Denver, um, and it was very, you know, it was very much, uh, uh, it was more, I mean it was obviously a psychological journey too, 'cause I was uh, I was uncertain of what I was gonna do, what type of job I was gonna be able to get, and another thing that made that particular journey intense was I had brought along some, some supplies (laughs) with me, which to sort of explain my state of mind that I still have a little bit to this day, is like I'm always sort of after, I'm always looking for a peak experience, or even combining peak , what I would call peak experiences, and of course the danger of this is you're easily disappointed. And the, you know, the leaves are an example of this: we didn't just want to go see the leaves, we wanted to see the peak. We wanted to find where they were the best and where they were perfect. So it, it's all about the pursuit of perfection, which is kind of doomed to begin with, 'cause you're never gonna find it, and you're

setting yourself up for disappointment, but anyway, so this was my rationale and uh, I, my basic plan, one of my plans when I went out west was to just, I was going to find the highest mountain with the best view and take the best drugs that I could bring (I: O.K.) and combine the drug experience with the natural experience, and just have, have a peak, an experience on a peak, was my (laughs) was my battle plan and

I A peak experience, on a peak, with the leaving changing at the peak time.

P Ideally, ideally. But this, during this trip, uh this trip out west was in June, so the leaves, the leaves weren't a factor, although I've tried to, I've tried to get a triple peak before and you know since then . . .but on this particular trip was in early June, and I, I really did manage to have some pretty intense experiences, and it was all about, it was all about traveling to entirely new places. And uh, you know I could talk about some of the - I guess probably the most, the thing that stands out to me the most is probably Yellowstone and uh, I went, I backpacked way out into the, I was pretty much in the center of the whole place, and even though the rangers advised me that the grizzlies were dense, they still gave me a solo backpack pass to go out to this place. (laughs) And the snow, even though it was early June, the snow had only recently melted enough to even make the trail passable, and I went out there, and uh, you know, there was tremendous amounts of snow still, didn't see a grizzly, but I got to Observation Peak (I: you *did* see a grizzly?) I did not see a grizzly, but I was worried about it. I got out there to Observation Peak and I did a uh fairly substantial dose of LSD, and (laughs) and I am sitting, it-was-just-it-was-I'll-never-forg . . . I was sitting on top of Observation Peak looking south across the expanse of Yellowstone and it's like you look over to your west, you know just 5 or 6 miles away straight line and you see the Norris geyser basin, you know smoking calderas coming up. And you can see the Yellowstone lake in the distance, and it was pretty incredible.

I And you were by yourself (P: I was by) during this time?

P I was by myself totally during this whole trip, and so, and I had a series of experiences like that. I did basically the same thing above Denver, the uh, what's the name of that, I can't think of the name of the zone up there, but it was, it was, it's the big, I guess it's just the uh, I think it's just the Rocky Mountain National Park. But I went up there and basically did the same thing: um, you know, got incredibly high in this incredibly mindblowing place . . . Crested Butte, Santa Fe

I In the Rocky Mountain National Park, were you able to find the perfection of the physical place with the other like you mentioned before?

P Well, it wasn't quite as good as Yellowstone, but it was, I wouldn't call any of them perfection, I would say they were awesome, amazingly awesome, hard to uh, hard to absorb it, I mean it was just too much to absorb really

I How do you mean, too much to absorb?

P It was just like information overload; it's the kind of thing that you have to sort of reflect on later to really, to really integrate the implications of the whole scene. But at the same time, it all, you know, that I was, on one level I was having a good time, but there definitely was a whole other thing where I'm completely by myself, and when I headed out I was under the illusion which I still, that I was like, no problem, I'm Mr. Independent, no problem whatsoever, I could just go for months, but it very soon began to wear on me how, you know I'm by myself, I'm like thousands of miles from anybody I, and it's uh really began to fairly quickly take a toll on me. I was uh just felt very isolated and I felt, I began to feel pretty depressed often, but I eventually, eventually got to Tacoma and saw my friends out there and stayed there, stayed in Tacoma for about 6 months. The job that I had didn't work out and I came back East. I basically had a great time and just, just felt homesick for the East and felt that I just wanted to be in the East, but not in the West, not on the West coast.

I So what happened during the time you were in Tacoma?

P I . . . I got a job, like I said I was looking for a job in the sign business, I got a job working for, working

for a sign shop, and I thought that it could well become something permanent, and I got an apartment, and after 4 or 5 months it became apparent to me that the best thing, the only thing anybody could offer me was part-time jobs, and it was just like it was in Asheville, seasonal stuff. It's like "yeah, we'll hire you, you got a job while our season's going," and then, and then you know when it's not, well you're not hired anymore, and it just began to really sink in on me that there was no security or any type of - I became convinced there was no security in the sign business.

I Was there security in the mountains?

P No, because, because, I mean it's like, there was temporary beauty, but there was no um, no, there's no promise of a future. It's like you're high now, it's beautiful now, but what about tomorrow, I mean, what are you gonna do? It was always hanging over my head, so I, so I came back East.

I O.K. Um, you mentioned before that travel for you is someplace different, or going someplace different in some way. Um, so, could you say the same thing about your trip out west? (P: Oh yeah) Your extended trip out West, was it something you were looking (P: yeah) something that's different?

P Yeah, a lot of the rush of doing that for me is simply, I mean just to wake up and say, "shit, I'm in Santa Fe, I'm in fuckin' Santa Fe New Mexico." That alone, I mean it's kind of like looking at a map for months and months and thinking about it and you wake up and say I am in the map, I mean I am there; I have entered the map or I have gone to the territory, and obviously sometimes it can be disappointing, like Tucumcari (laughs), but Santa Fe was not a disappointment. So a lot of it is about being there, and just being amazed at where you are and how far away it was from where you were and how different it is from where you were.

I You mentioned before that you had expectations for a certain kind of a peak experience and you can have expectations to be in a certain place and be disappointed, um but when you moved to the mountains from FL, you said that instead of just going there part of the time and

visiting you could actually move there (P: yeah) and live there (P: yeah), so in that sense you were trying to . . .

P I was, I was trying to live where I was always traveling to; in other words, I wanted to just be at the destination. I mean, I guess ideally everybody would like to be at, ideally everybody would like to be at some place that was so good that there was no reason to travel.

I Well how did it work out when you moved to the mountains?

P Well, it, it didn't. Basically when I came back, it worked out well because when I came back East I started going to school and I was basically for that whole period of time and still am living near the mountains, so in terms of just being near mountains or the Southern Appalachians I have enjoyed being near them and now it's a situation where my basic form of travel to me is now an hour and a half drive from the weekends, on the weekends to go down to the mountains. That's my basic form of travel, I don't travel near as far, I only go to FL twice a year, the Western mountains are incredible in their own way and, I'd love to go back there too, but uh . . .

I It sounds like traveling for you has been going to a place that's different somehow, looking for perfection in some way, um, and you mentioned that you were by yourself and that it was a psychological experience as well. Is that safe to say how you look at travel, that's what travel is for you, or are there other aspects . . .

P There are other aspects, uh the first and the largest one that comes to mind is like (I: but that's correct so far?) yeah, that's correct, it's largely involved the mountains because I lived on the ocean so it's, it was about going to an entirely different topography, in other words, you go to an entirely different landscape, and it was about going to places of natural beauty. I really, my travel never oriented around culture, really, I mean as far as "I want to go to this city, I want to see what the scene is like," although in Santa Fe I was really amazed by the culture, the culture was part of the fascination for that place, but for the most part it's been the mountains and natural scenery.

I Well, you're mentioning destinations

P Yeah, instead of (I: so) Yeah, I mean traveling, you can think of traveling as you know the process of traveling or as the destination; I guess I think of it as both. I mean I can think of, I can think of a lot of negative aspects of traveling if . . . is that, I can talk about those.

I Well what I mean is that, it seems like for you traveling is looking for a place that's different, and perfect, and something that may require you be alone, I don't know if it's required or not, but it's about going to a specific spot, which is usually the mountains, it doesn't have to be the mountains. In the case of Santa Fe it involved the culture there, but it's about getting to the endpoint in a way.

P Well, it doesn't necessarily involve being alone, that was more out of necessity, I mean there was nobody to go with me when I went West, and it's not, it's not about really seeking, I mean I don't expect to find perfection. I mean, it's about just seeking beauty. (I: O.K.) I guess if I had my preferences I would not go alone, I would go with a, you know, the right companion, but but still my choice, my destinations would I think would tend to be you know naturalistic national parks, state parks.

I The focus is the destination for you.

P Yeah. The focus is the destination. And, I mean that's what I think about, I mean I think about traveling, I don't think about the process, I think about the . . . the . . . the process is just a means to an end. (I: O.K.) And usually in fact, the drive can be scenic and it can be an enjoyable drive, but a lot of times the drive can be . . . getting there can be a real pain in the ass, like when you're flying it can be a tremendous pain in the ass.

I Can you think of a time that . . . (P: oh boy, can I!) when you focused on getting there . . . you were aware of getting somewhere and

P The main thing that I'm aware of, I guess, is the problems of getting somewhere. I mean the thing that stands for to me when I concentrate on the process of

traveling of getting to a destination are the things that have gone wrong, like when I was going west it was a real nightmare for a little while. It was like, when I just started out I was very enthusiastic about the whole thing, and I had a fuel pump that failed on me three times in four days. (I: My God!) I mean, the people would put in . . . I mean, I . . . I left Asheville and I got to about the middle of TN and the fuel pump was gone, and so the dealer there put in a new fuel pump; they replaced the fuel pump entirely. And I got to Tucumcari. The fuel pump was gone, was gone! They put in a new fuel pump in Tucumcari. It died on the way to Santa Fe, which is not far away. I pull into the dealership in Santa Fe, and say listen, I mean God damn it. The fuel pump, I mean I've had two pumps put in, you're not just gonna put in another fuel pump. And the guys in Santa Fe said, "well, they didn't drain your gas?" And I said no. He said, "none of the other people drained your gas tank?" No. He said well, you've got impurities in your gas tank, and every time they put in a new fuel pump whatever the sand or whatever is in the bottom of your tank is ruining the pump. So they drained my tank, put in a new pump free of charge because the other dealership confirmed they put one in, and it was fine, but I had a car that was dying on me repeatedly, and uh so the whole process of traveling including driving through the bleak, depressing desert of Texas and Oklahoma was a real fuckin' nightmare. I mean it's just like this is in the way - get me to the mountains.

I So when you notice the process of going to a destination it's when it's negative.

P Yeah, it's when it stands out to me. I mean obviously I've had a lot of good times where, you know, the scenery is good, but what stands out is the other.

I So kind of like the weather - you only notice it when it's a pain in the ass?

P That's right. I've had a lot of problems flying too.

I Is that when you were aware of getting somewhere?

P Yeah, well, aware of not getting somewhere, is more like it. Aware of not getting somewhere, like when I tried

to get back from Washington, D.C. to Knoxville. One thing led to another.

I What happened?

P I was literally 5 minutes late for the flight leaving Dulles, so I had to reschedule through, across town, raced to get there (I: at National?) at National. I raced to get to National, I got to National and there was a giant thunderstorm in Chicago and they grounded, they kept us there for hours. (I: They re-routed you through Chicago?) Re-routed us through Chicago. We had to wait, just wait on the runway for hours and hours at National. They finally let us take off and we got to O'Hare in Chicago we just, were there for 5 or 6 hours, 'cause I mean the whole, the whole airport was paralyzed and finally left for Knoxville at 2 in the morning. It was another, it's just an example of how to me of how vulnerable you are when you travel, you're you know you travel in an airplane and you're completely at the mercy of the weather and all kind of shit. You travel in a car . . . car problems so it really stresses vulnerability I really felt that going out west for sure.

I So on the way to a destination, all kinds of negative crap can happen and you're vulnerable (P: Yes) but once you're at the destination it's a different story.

P Usually. (I: O.K.) But, I mean it's not always negative, but yeah the negative does stand out in the process of travel.

I But it's safe to say you're vulnerable on the way there.

P I think so, yeah, I feel that way.

I Are there any other times that stand out to you that you've traveled?

P There's one other time that does really stand out to me and it was, I'll try to think of the timing of this, this was after I had started going to school in Asheville so I was more or less settled there, but I flew out to Tacoma so I went to the west coast. This was the most recent time I've been west, and I was helping a friend of

mine move back from Tacoma to FL, so this whole trip involved me just flying there, loading up a giant truck, and he and I driving across country with all of his stuff. And the big thing was, the thing that stands out was going to Glacier National Park, 'cause we came back on the, we came back northern route. And it was just, I mean, even after having been all those places in the west like Yellowstone and Rocky Mountain National Park, and all those incredible places, I give the nod, I give the award to Glacier National Park, which I went to later. It is the most awesome thing I've seen in this country. (I: You said you went back to it later?) I've only been there once. I've only been there once. I'm saying I've got a lot of pretty intense things to compare it to - but this place . . . it's an example of how the intensity of a place can overwhelm all your other, all your other emotions, like we were we were completely burned out, frustrated, irritable, from driving this giant truck, and we parked the truck and got, we towed his car and drove up to, to Glacier and as soon as we saw what it was, everything else melted away - fatigue, frustration.

I What about it had such an impact?

P It was a topography unlike any of the Southern Rockies; there were mountains whose proportions were unlike anything I've ever seen. It was dramatically different from the Southern Rockies. The main thing it's hard to describe but it's just the proximity of the mountains, the shallowness of the, just the narrowness of the valleys and the whole proportions of the landscape were just incredible, and the mountain lakes. And the main thing that I remember was the last night before we left, we walked up this, went up to the very peak of the thing, went up on this high trail, and it was like a series of things happened that were just, it was surreal. We went up this trail, and first of all there were just amazing wildflowers everywhere. That alone would have been completely stunning. Then there are mountain goats grazing all around us, right next to us. You look down on these crystal blue lakes, and the views are incredible, and *then* this unbelievable full moon rises, and it's just like God damn, what's gonna happen next, is Jesus gonna come up from behind the mountain? It was just like a series of *amazing* things. And we, um, we were just absolutely blown away. We walked down from the trail and it was like maybe 30

minute drive back to where we camped and we didn't say a word. (both laugh) We were just like . . . (mumbled) I mean conversation was ended. That was one, and that was a peak, I mean no drugs were necessary, nor were they involved at that time.

I But you didn't look at this on the map and say, "I wanna get there because it looks perfect." It just happened.

P Yeah, I mean we, we wanted to go to Glacier and when we got to Glacier we figured, we looked at the map and said this is, you know, this is the high pass and this is probably the best trail, but we didn't know what it was gonna be like until we went up there. So, it's just, I mean so traveling is about, it's about looking for inspiration I would say. And for me that's going to places of natural beauty, and uh it's about you know getting away from what's bothering you and finding inspiration, and that's about all I got to say, all I can think of at the moment.

VITA

Norris Lee Smith was born in Oklahoma City on October 28, 1966. He was raised in Champaign, IL where he went to Peter Pan nursery school, Savoy and Westview elementary schools, Edison Middle School, and Champaign Central High School, from which he graduated in 1985. At this point he attended the University of Illinois (at Champaign - Urbana) and graduated in 1989 with a B.S. in psychology and a minor in philosophy.

After working as an insurance and annuity broker in Florida for four years, in 1993 Norris attended graduate school at the State University of West Georgia, earning a M.A. in psychology in 1995. Next he attended the University of Tennessee (Knoxville), where he completed his doctorate in experimental psychology in 2002. Norris is currently teaching in Japan for the Asian Division of the University of Maryland.