Consumption of Distance: An exploratory investigation of understandings of distance of Danish tourists

by

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STUDENT DECLARATION

Concurrent registration for two or more academic awards

I declare that while registered as a candidate for the research degree, I have not been a registered candidate or enrolled student for another award of the University or other academic or professional institutions.

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I declare that no material contained in the thesis has been used in any other submission for an academic award and is solely my own work.

Gunvor Riber Larsen
March 2013

ABSTRACT

This thesis focusses on tourists' relationship with distance and argues that tourism travel can be understood as consumption of distance and that distance has intrinsic values for tourists. Distance's role for holiday mobility has previously been established through studies of how distance influences travel behaviour. This research, however, turns the focus from distance as an instrumental element of holiday mobility towards the intrinsic roles of distance. It conceptualises how tourists integrate distance into their choice of holiday, so generating consumption of distance.

Consumption of distance is theoretically developed through theories of consumption, mobility and tourism motivation, based on an understanding of distance as both a physical and relative phenomenon. This conceptualisation of consumption of distance is then applied to an inquiry of whether and how 30 Danish tourists consume distance when they travel on holiday. The conclusion of the research is that some tourists do, sometimes, consume distance when they travel on holiday, and that this happens when distance is integrated into their holiday mobility as symbolically, as experience or as motivation.

This research establishes how tourists understand distance as phenomenon, which differs from the way distance is often conceptualised in academic studies of how distance influences travel behaviour. It identifies distance as a significant attraction in its own right for tourists and as a motivator for their holidays. Further, the research offers a definition of consumption of distance, which outlines how tourists relate to distance, and how they integrate distance as an intrinsic element into their holidays. These contributions show that distance is more than an instrumental element of holidays and that distance is a factor which is desired and embraced by tourists for its intrinsic value.

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GLOSSARY

This glossary explains how the words in the list below are used in this thesis. These words are central to understanding the research or are words that are not commonly used within tourism studies.

Corporeal: Corporeal refers to an activity that involves the body; a bodily activity as opposed to a mental or psychological activity. In this thesis corporeal is used when an argument refers to the bodily movement of a tourist across distance.

Distance: Distance is the phenomenon that is at the centre of this research, and will be discussed in detail in the second chapter of the thesis. In this research, distance is understood as spatial separation and a relationship between places, whose dimensions are expressed through representations of distance. Distance is thus a multidimensional phenomenon, with a physical dimension measuring distance in kilometres and relative dimensions measuring distance in entities other than kilometres. Kilometres are used as the measurement unit for physical distance in this thesis, as opposed to miles, because this is how the participants in this research measure physical distance.

Instrumental: When something is instrumental for a process, it has an important influence on making that process happen. In this research distance is seen as instrumental to holiday mobility because of the necessity of movement across distance in order for a tourist to reach their holiday destination.

Intrinsic: When something is intrinsic, it is a fundamentally important element of the nature of a thing or a process. This research focusses on distance's intrinsic, as opposed to instrumental, role for holiday mobility, i.e. the situations when distance is a fundamentally important element of holiday mobility, beyond the necessity of movement across distance in order to reach a holiday destination.

Manifest: Manifest is an expression often used in mobilities studies, and refers to a person's actual performed mobility. In this thesis manifest is used in this way, and

specifically refers to the activity of travelling from one place to another. The difference between manifest and corporeal is, that manifest relates primarily to the non-personal facts of a journey, where corporeal relates primarily to the bodily movement that is part of a journey.

Transit: Transit is the movement from one place to another, and in this thesis transit refers to the journey of the tourist from home to their holiday destination and back again. The expression includes all aspects of such a journey: the manifest and corporeal movements, as well as the tourist's attitudes towards the journey, and the meanings it has for the tourist.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This thesis is rooted in a personal interest in the movements of people, why they move, how they move and the meanings attached to these movements. This interest was shaped through studying various perspectives of mobility during an undergraduate degree in geography and a master's degree in urban planning and management at Aalborg University in Denmark. The completion of these degrees did not, however, satisfy my desire for research, and carrying the interest of mobility into Ph.D. research was a natural next step. After relocating to the UK, an opportunity to undertake Ph.D. research was given by the University of Central Lancashire, at the Institute of Transport and Tourism. The initial aim for the research was to explore 'consumption of tourism', the title given to the Ph.D. research by the Institute when they advertised the studentship. This was therefore also the research focus for the first few months, but due to my personal interest in mobility more generally, the question of how it would be possible to merge 'consumption of tourism' with a strong focus on mobility was ever present.

The perspective that would come to underpin the research and the thesis finally emerged on a train journey from Preston to Oxford. Here, staring out of the window, looking at a bleak November landscape, questions about how it would be possible to bring tourism, consumption and mobility together were focussed by the tangible transcendence of distance a train journey represents, and it became obvious that distance would be an important element of such research. How do tourists understand the distance they travel across? How do they engage with it? When and in what forms is distance important for travelling? It is important at all? Especially the question of how tourists engage with the distance they travel across holds the scope for exploration of various themes: the role of the transport mode, the context of the journey, the fact that more and more people seem to be travelling longer and longer distances, both for work and for leisure. What does this mean for their engagement with distance? Could at least some of this engagement be understood as a form of consumption of distance (inspired from conceptualisations of how place is consumed, and the need for an emphasis on consumption within the research)? These questions led to the central questions that have guided this research: do tourists consume distance? and what could it mean, more theoretically, to consume

distance?

On that train journey it became clear that incorporating distance as a central element into the research would satisfy the aims of research set out by the institute, as well as fulfil the desire for continued research into aspects of mobility. A subsequent review of the literature further revealed that previously there had been little focus on distance as it is seen from the tourists' point of view. Many studies engage distance from a quantitative macro-perspective, but none seemed to have asked the tourists about how *they* view and experience distance. Thus the focus on distance from the perspective of the tourists emerged, and it remained so throughout the research.

Distance has also been an important element of the work with this thesis beyond it being the academic focus. The thesis was written in Northern Ireland, supervised from England, the empirical research conducted in Denmark, and partly funded by a Swedish University. This has meant continuous travel between the four countries (by train, plane, coach, car and ferry), a lot of distance covered, and a lot of time spent in transit. Echoing the situation of that first contemplation of distance and how travellers engage with it on the train from Preston to Oxford, the spatial context of the research was a good opportunity to 'live' the research, and encounter first-hand the experiences of travelling which were also the academic focus for the research.

Distance is a central element of holiday making, not only because any holiday requires spatial movement, but also because distance plays a role for holiday decisions and experiences. Perceptions of distance can influence the choice of destination and decisions about how to travel to that destination, and they can become part of the holiday experiences through the activity of corporeal travel. The influence of distance on tourism has received substantial academic scrutiny, but previous studies of relationships between tourists and distance have not explored how the tourist *understands* distance. Rather they have focussed on how tourists' perception and cognition of distance does not match 'real', i.e. physical distance, and how this influences their travel behaviour. Another body of research into relationships between tourists and distance uses distance as a proxy for a range of factors that determine tourists' travel behaviour, and thereby becomes an explanatory factor in examining why tourists travel to given destinations. Neither sort of research engages with tourists' own understandings of distance though, nor evaluates the intrinsic role distance can have for holiday mobility. The research presented in this thesis addresses these gaps by exploring *how* tourists understand distance, and by identifying and conceptualising tourists'

intrinsic engagement with distance as 'consumption of distance'.

Distance influences tourists' travel behaviour, and does so both negatively and positively (Nicolau, 2008). On the one hand, distance can be a restrictor and a dissuasive dimension of destination choice, because the travel across distance is viewed as difficult, and entailing physical, temporal and monetary costs (Taylor and Knudson, 1973). On the other hand, distance can have a positive influence, especially in terms of satisfaction resulting from the journey itself (Baxter, 1980), encouraging travel over longer distances. McKercher and Lew (2003) and McKercher et al. (2008) show that distance's influence on travel behaviour can broadly be understood using the distance decay model, that argues that when distance increases, interaction decreases (Eldridge and Jones, 1991), and that distance can be viewed as an appropriate 'proxy variable that accounts for many other factors that affect the attractiveness or unattractiveness of travel between two places' (McKercher et al., 2008: 223). Nicolau and Mas (2006) show both the positive and negative influences distance can have on travel motivations, and Nicolau (2008) shows that tourists' sensitivity to distance is related to a number of variables: a greater willingness to travel longer distance is associated with high income, living in large cities, the use of travel intermediaries, the interest in discovering new places, with variety-seeking behaviour and with the motivations of search for climate, curiosity and visiting friends and family.

How tourists perceive distance has also received attention, with Ankomah et al. (1996) showing how the choice of destination is related to how far away the tourist perceives it to be to that destination, and Cadwallader (1976) argues that the tourist's perception of distance influences three central travel decisions: whether to travel or not, where to go, and which route to take. Research into tourists' perceptions of distance has shown that interpretations of distance are individual and subjective (Ankomah et al., 1995; Lin and Morais, 2008).

Common for research into distance's influence on holiday mobility is, that distance is understood almost exclusively as kilometres (or miles), time or cost, and there is given little attention to the way in which the tourists conceptualise distance. The understanding of distance applied to research into distance's influence on holiday mobility is primarily a theoretical one, chosen by the researcher(s), without questioning whether this corresponds with the understanding the tourists have of distance. One reason for this can be, that most studies focussing on distance and tourism are concerned with macro-level analysis of how distance statistically relates to holiday

mobility choices, but this thesis argues that, if an understanding of distance's role for holiday mobility is to be developed, it is important to know how the tourists, those whose choices constitute holiday mobility, understand distance. That, therefore, is one of the main foci for this research.

Further, little attention has been given to how distance can be an *intrinsic* element of tourists' holiday mobility, and not only a deterministic value, acting as a proxy for other factors (McKercher et al., 2008). The other main focus for this research is thus how distance becomes intrinsic to holiday mobility, which is conceptualised as tourists' 'consumption of distance'. That *travel* can have intrinsic values for tourists has been established by, for example, Moscardo and Pearce (2004), but the role of distance in that process has not received enough academic scrutiny to fully understand in which way(s) distance is important for intrinsic travel.

The empirical research has been conducted in Denmark, where Danes have been interviewed about their holiday mobility, and the role distance plays for their travel behaviour. Denmark was chosen as the setting of the empirical research because of the relatively high holiday mobility displayed by Danes and because conducting the research in Danish allowed the researcher the highest level of engagement with the data, as Danish would then be the native language of both the researcher and the interviewees.

Because of the apparent gap in knowledge about how tourists understand distance in relation to their holiday mobility, this research is explorative, and is an open investigation into tourists' understandings of distance. Through conceptualising tourists' intrinsic relations to distance as consumption of distance, and using this as a framework for inquiring into how tourists understand distance, and what role distance plays for their holiday mobility, this explorative research provides important new insights into tourists' relationships to distance, which helps us understand better why people travel.

Research Questions

The aim for this research is thus to explore whether and how tourists consume distance:

- How can the relationship between tourists and distance be understood as consumption of distance?
- To what extent do tourists consume distance?

Based on a review of the literature on distance, contemporary consumption, mobility and tourism motivation, 'consumption of distance' is defined, and used as the framework for the analysis of whether and how the tourists participating in this research consume distance through their holiday mobility. 30 interviews were conducted with Danish tourists, about how they conceptualise and engage with distance in relation to their holiday mobility, and these interviews have formed the basis for this research's analysis of tourists' consumption of distance.

Contribution to Knowledge

The main contributions of this explorative research to the current knowledge about holiday mobility are the conceptualisation of some relationships between tourists and distance as consumption of distance, and the establishment of how tourists understand distance in relation to their holiday mobility. This thesis argues that tourists' consumption of distance must be understood through their relationship to distance in the form of distance as symbolic, an experience and holiday motivation and the research shows that some tourists do, sometimes, consume distance when they travel on holiday. This research also offers new knowledge about tourists' understanding of distance, where this research shows that distance to tourists is a spatial separation, made relevant through relations between places, and expressed through representations of distance. These representations of distance, of which the tourists in this research mostly use time, cultural difference and physical distance as measures of spatial separation, show that to tourists, distance is a multidimensional phenomenon.

Further, this research contributes with new insights into the language of distance and into how tourists experience the outbound and return trip differently, in spite of the distance being the same.

Thesis Structure

Chapter Two: Distance discusses the phenomenon at the centre of this research, which is distance. It focusses on how distance has been conceptualised within the social sciences, primarily geography, as a multidimensional phenomenon. It is important to outline what is meant by distance before exploring distance as a potential consumer good for tourists. This chapter therefore provides a common theoretical ground for the conceptualisation and analysis of consumption of distance presented in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter Three: Consumption of Distance conceptualises 'consumption of distance'. This is based on discussions of the nature of contemporary consumption, mobility theories and tourism motivation. Consumption of distance is developed both as a theoretical framework for understanding how distance can become an intrinsic element of holiday mobility, and for this research's analysis of whether tourists can be justifiably said to consume distance when they travel on holiday.

Chapter Four: Methodology outlines how the research was conducted and contextualised. The research is qualitative, using in-depth interviews with tourists, and set within a social constructionist ontology, where relationships between tourists and distance are explored using discourse analysis.

Chapter Five: Analysis presents the analytical findings of this research. The chapter has five sections, and each discusses a specific relationship between tourists and distance identified in the interviews, namely: tourists' representations of distance, choice of destination, holiday transit, classification of their holiday, and attitudes towards distance.

Chapter Six: Discussion of Tourists' Consumption of Distance brings the theoretical conceptualisation of 'consumption of distance' together with the analysis findings, and discusses whether it is reasonable to understand (some of) the relationships between tourists and distance as consumption of distance.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion summarises the theoretical and analytical findings, reviews the contributions and implications of the research and makes recommendations for further research into the consumption of distance by tourists and other mobile individuals.

CHAPTER TWO: DISTANCE

Introduction

The following two chapters present the theoretical conceptualisation of consumption of distance, which will later form the basis for the analysis of whether and how tourists consume distance. This first theoretical chapter focusses on the object being consumed: distance. It is argued that distance signifies spatial separation, and is a relation contextualised through various dimensions of distance, thereby establishing distance as a multidimensional phenomenon, that is relative to the contexts it is understood within. The next theoretical chapter conceptualises consumption of distance, where the theoretical understanding of distance is framed by a discussion of how it is possible to understand the relations tourists have to distance as consumption.

Bauman (2000a: 171) says: '[m]ost things involved in daily life one understands well enough until asked to define them: unless asked, one would hardly need to define them in the first place'. It would be difficult to find anyone without an intuitive understanding of what distance is, as it is indeed a concept that is used by most people on a daily basis, and therefore probably mostly seen as a simple concept, that needs little further definition. In most situations, referring to such an intuitive understanding of distance is not a problem, either because distance is being used in its widely, albeit implicit, understood form, or because distance is not at the centre of an inquiry.

In this research, distance *is* at the centre of the inquiry, and it is therefore not enough to assume a reasonably uniform understanding of what distance is. Distance needs to be discussed theoretically for the purpose of the exploration of whether and how it is possible to consume distance, because any intuitive understandings of distance are too ambiguous to form the basis for such an analytical inquiry. An explicit understanding of the nature of distance must be established, but as simple as the intuitive understanding of distance might be, distance emerges as a more complex concept when it needs to be defined in greater detail. In the acknowledgement that it is distance that is at the centre of this present research, and the realisation that distance is not as straight forward as intuitive logic suggests, this first theoretical chapter is devoted to unpacking the concept

of distance *per se*, and therefore concerned with literature primarily from the field of geography, which Watson (1955) claims to be the science of distance.

Distance as Concept

> The (f)actuality of distance is undeniable, yet […] distance is also an idea. Personal experiences of distance are varied. The diverse ways in which distance has been used, worked with, and thought about in human geography also indicate that it is not a simple, one-dimensional phenomenon. Like other terms that we take for granted and seldom interrogate, distance refers to an elusive phenomenon. It is more or less visible and it has a concrete identity, but it is also an abstract notion whose nature, dimensions, and meaning are difficult to pin down (Pirie, 2009).

This dualism of distance being a factuality and also an idea is at the centre of this research. On the one side it is acknowledged that distance is factual and actual, but on the other side it is also acknowledged that this seemingly sturdy geographical entity becomes a complex and dynamic phenomenon if just a few interrogating questions are asked about its nature. It is recognised within social science that distance is a concept that is more than a measure of kilometres from one location to another, even though distance appears to often be reduced to just that. Pirie (2009) shows how physical and relative distance are different, by discussing how some interpretations of distance are attributes of the physical world, and therefore can be conceptualised as physical distance, while other interpretations of distance are attributes of the human and built environment, and therefore become relational, most noticeably to time and cost, but also to cognition of distance, the effort of overcoming distance and felt distance. Physical and relative distances coexist and do not contradict each other, rather together they constitute layers in understandings of spatial separation.

Distance has possibly been known by both academics and lay people as a measure of separation throughout human history, and in 1955 Watson identified distance as a fundamental spatial concept (Watson, 1955). Bunge (1962) proclaimed nearness, a property of distance, to be the cardinal issue for the geography discipline, and in 1963

Nystuen included distance in his list of independent concepts that he suggests represent the basic set of concepts that are necessary to a geographer's spatial point of view and therefore accepted as undefined (Nystuen, 1963). Other concepts on Nystuen's list were pattern, relative position, site and accessibility. These concepts he sees as fundamental to spatial analysis because they are independent of each other, i.e. that none of the concepts are needed in the description and definition of the other. Many of the words and concepts used in spatial analysis are, according to Nystuen, interdependent, but those that are not, the basic concepts, must be *described* in detail:

> The definitions of the words we employ to invoke a spatial point of view are tautological. We break the circle of definitions at some point and settle on a group of words which are accepted as undefined. We must, however, describe the properties of the concepts to which the undefined words refer (Nystuen, 1963: 373).

These remarks about describing the properties of the concepts fundamental to a spatial point of view of geographers were made in a time when the science of geography was primarily focussed on spatial analysis and had a different view on spatiality in relation to time than today, but his emphasis on the importance of the exploration of core concepts, among these distance, is justified.

The constants of distance

The conceptualisation of distance has a history that sees changes in emphasis on which properties of distance that are important for spatial analysis. The properties of distance are many, and, as expressed by Pirie (2009), they co-exist, and the properties that are viewed as important depend on the purpose of a given analysis. There are, though, some constant properties of distance; those properties that do not seem to have changed along with how other geographical and spatial concepts have been viewed.

In 1970 Tobler presented a spatial understanding, which he termed the first law of geography, that says that everything is related to everything else, but that near things are more related than distant things, i.e. than things that are further away. This idea of some form of differentiation in space is the primary constant of distance, regardless of how it

has otherwise been conceptualised. Distance as a phenomenon, first and foremost, signifies spatial separation of people, places, objects, ideas etc., regardless of how this separation might be understood and contextualised.

Spatial separation in language is denominated through what Tobler (2004) calls ordinal distance, such as far, further and furthest or near, closer and closest. Distances are thus expressed by words such as near, far, close, proximity and further. These imprecise, but yet very useful descriptions of distance, often heard in everyday conversations, show how distance is an expression of spatial separation. Units of the measurement of distance are only relevant when the context and the purpose of interpreting the spatial separation is identified, but, outside this context, distance, in one way or another, signifies any spatial relationship of separation (Gatrell, 1983). Nuances to this observation about what distance is, are given by Watson (1955), who argued that distance is that which outlines the extent of a phenomenon, be it natural or social, and Pirie (2009: 242) frames distance 'as something that could account for difference'. Based on these theoretical observations about distance, this research will apply an understanding of distance as spatial *separation*, but including into this understanding the acknowledgement that distance is also a *relationship* between the places it separates. This focusses on distance as a signifier of more than just 'not here', as all places are separated by distance (depending on which scale is used), but also a relation between places, distance is made relevant to the places it separates, rather than an omnipresent phenomenon.

Another constant property of distance is friction, which can be conceptualised in two, not mutually exclusive ways. Distance can be seen as frictional because most distances are not symmetrical (Tobler, 2004), i.e. when the impact of distance is context dependent and the same distance comes to represent different magnitudes of impact in different situations. Friction of distance can also be conceptualised as the actions needed to overcome distance between places, often in terms of time, money and missed opportunities. This understanding of friction of distance is often cast in a negative light, although separation, and therefore friction, of distance should not exclusively be viewed as a bad thing. In some situations it is desirable to be separated from something or somewhere by distance, such as war zones, or places of economic decline etc.

The understanding that distance denominates a spatial separation, and the understanding

of distance as friction are the properties of distance that have remained constant, regardless of how distance has otherwise been differently conceptualised, primarily by geographers. The reminder of this 'description' of distance, which is what Nystuen (1963) argued was necessary prior to any analytical engagement with the fundamental concepts within geography, focusses on the dimensions of distance that have changed with the different perspectives geographers have had on distance. Those are the physical and relative dimensions of distance, but regardless of how they are understood, distance will remain spatial separation, signifying a relation between places. However this relation is contextualised, these are the two propositions of distance this research rests upon.

Physical distance

Gatrell (1983) conceptualises distance as a spatial relationship, concurring with Tobler's (1970) argument for distance's importance for the strength of a relation between things or phenomena. Before embarking on his explorations of more relative forms of distance, Gatrell defines Euclidean distance between places as the straight line that can be calculated by using mathematical formulae (Gatrell, 1983: 25). This Euclidean distance has elsewhere been called line distance, absolute distance or engineering distance (Pirie, 2009). In this thesis it will be called physical distance, which is what Pirie (2009: 246) calls the distance that 'is a mere attribute or property of the physical world itself or of its mappings'.

Physical distance is often represented by uniform units, such as kilometres or miles. It is transferable from context to context, but in addition to this being a reflection of the usefulness of physical distance as concept, this must also be viewed as a sign of the *lack* of usefulness of the concept, exactly because it carries with it little context, that could be significantly relevant for interpretation. There is a significant difference between knowing the physical distance to a given place and knowing for example the time-distance to that same place, but this appears to often be forgotten when physical distance is applied as the most natural form of distance. The characterisation of physical distance as fundamental is further being challenged by the history of the measurement units used to describe physical distance. It was only in 1983 that international agreement was reached about how long a metre actually is (the length of the path travelled by light

in vacuum during a time interval of 1/299 792 458th of a second (BIPM, 1983)), and the metric measurement system, which uses metres as the basic element was only introduced in France in the late eighteenth century, while in other countries other measurement systems are used, such as the imperial system used in the UK and USA (Pirie, 2009). Regardless of this, physical distance as concept did exist in historic times as well, where empires with great expanses of land used these decontextualised and abstract measures of space in the control of their territory, as for example the Romans did when they built their road network (Pirie, 2009).

Gatrell (1983) recognises physical distance as a relationship, but calls it a particularly constrained one. This is because physical distance has been lifted out of any context within which its use is relevant, and therefore to use physical distance as a parameter in empirical analysis could be naïve. Physical distance is a simplistic measure, that fails to capture the reality of distance, but rather focusses on 'how the crow flies', which in most cases does not represent a usable approach to distance (Gatrell, 1991). Further to this, physical distance is also symmetrical, and has a universal impact, but as Tobler (2004) has argued, this is not the case when distance is being contextualised in reality.

Therefore, in spite of being an easily measured and understood representation of distance, physical distance is not particularly useful in its own right for analysis of the social world. Other academic fields use distance for their analyses as well, both on scales that are much smaller and much larger than the human world, and also here distance is recognised as most sufficiently measured in other entities than metres and yards; astronomers use time to measure distance, the quantum physicists use wavelength. Physical distance has become one of the most common understandings of distance because of its apparent applicability and interpretability, but any understandings of distance as concept must include, and consist primarily of, the dimensions of distance that are sensitive to specific contexts wherein distance is regarded.

Relative distance

Distances that are sensitive to their context are labelled relative distances by Pirie (2009), although he is only one on a list of authors to highlight the importance of understanding distances as relative. Henderson and Wakslak (2010) draw on construal

level theory (which explores the relationship between perceptions of distance to places, objects or event, and the level of abstraction these are regarded with by the individual) from social psychology in their conceptualisation of physical distance as only one dimension of distance. Other dimensions of distance within social psychology are labelled psychological distances, which are conceptualised as a subjective experience of something (objects or events) being close to or far away from the self. This makes the psychological dimensions of distance egocentric, because the reference point for distance is the self (Trope and Liberman, 2010), and also highlights that distance is not only an element in geographical analysis, but also within psychology, where understandings of distance merge distance 'out there' with distance 'inside' an individual. This is an understanding that is informative and relevant for this research, because it shows that in spite of physical and some relative distances being objective (in terms of kilometres, time and money), they will always be interpreted by an individual through a subjective and emotional lens.

After having discussed physical distance, Gatrell (1983) turns to four other dimensions of distance, that he notes are important for understanding spatiality. The dimensions of distance he mentions are time-distance, economic distance, cognitive distance and social distance. Pirie (2009) adds effort distance and affective distance to the list of relevant distances, and Cooper and Hall (2008) includes network distance:

- **Time** distance: is distance measured in the time it takes to travel from one place to another. This is an intuitive and common way of representing distance, where the measure of distance is not only in relation to physical properties, but also, and primarily, to the speed with which a journey is undertaken, and therefore the transport mode (Gatrell, 1983).
- **Cost/economic** distance: is distance measured in the cost of travelling from one location to another (Gatrell, 1983). Although not as common as time distance (Pirie, 2009), it relates the physical distance to the mode of transport, as some are more expensive than others, and therefore it is possible to conceive of two different economic distances to a location where the physical and even time distance is the same, exemplified by 1st and 2nd class tickets on trains.
- **Cognitive** distance: is the distance that is conceived or 'cognized' (Gatrell, 1983:

63) as part of the judgement of the spatial separation of locations, which might be more linked to personal experience and perception than to knowledge of physical distance. Gatrell (1983) notes that it is important to differentiate between cognized and perceived distance, and he conceptualises perceived distance as the estimation of a distance that the individual can actually see, i.e. it is a shorter and closer distance. Cognized distances are then the estimations of distance that an individual cannot see, for example to holiday destinations. Cognitive distances have in particular been used to explore perceptions of distances in urban landscapes, which are influenced by, among other factors, route networks, an individual's recognition of the urban area, and level of detail in the street-scape along a route (cf. Golledge et al., 1969; Lee, 1970; Cadwallader, 1976; Coshall, 1985; Crompton, 2006; Lin and Morais, 2008).

- **Social** distance: is a measure of the interpersonal distance, especially in relation to differences in social class and socio-economic characteristics (Gatrell, 1983). This understanding of distance as a difference in the social premises is also present in **cultural** distance, where the distance is denominated by difference in cultural background (Hofstede, 2001; Shenkar, 2001). An important element of cultural distance is 'the Other', a term that denotes people or cultures that are different from oneself, and is used in the establishment of groups and cultural or social identities (Galani-Moutafi, 2000).
- **Affective** distance: is a measure of distance that is closely linked to human emotion, where the distance is measured by the separation from significant others, and therefore might feel longer or shorter than the physical distance (Pirie, 2009). This can also be termed **emotional** or **felt** distance, and should be understood as relevant both in relation to an individual's emotions towards significant others, who might be in separate locations, but also in relation to the past, where nostalgia plays a significant emotional role for perceptions of distance (cf. Lowenthal, 1985 on nostalgia in relation to places).
- **Effort** distance: was initially a measure of the energy needed to cover physical distance, such as fuel or corporeal effort, but has later come to also include the emotional hassle involved in travel (Pirie, 2009), making this form of distance highly subjective (Stradling, 2006).

- **Network/route** distance: is the distance that is measured by infrastructural accessibility, where the route travelled from one location to another is dependent on the provision of a transport network, where the route goes through accessibility points (such as airports and bus stations) (Cooper and Hall, 2008).

The relative distances summarised here do not represent an exhaustive list of relative distances, but describe the most common relative distances in the literature. What constitutes a relative distance must be understood in relation to which distance is being conceptualised. Nystuen (1963) argues that

> distance may have several properties. In one study it may be scaled off in miles, feet or some other unit measure. In other circumstances the distances between elements under study may only be ranked as near, next nearest, and so on, without reference to scalar measure. This is a different type of distance, and these differences have important bearing on understanding the difference between geographical problems (Nystuen, 1963: 373 - 374).

Therefore, relative distances can be conceptualised as any phenomenon that somehow describes the importance of spatiality in a relationship. The specific substance of the relative distance is dependent on the relevant context, so, for example, time distance becomes time distance because time is used to demarcate a spatial relationship.

What emerges from this review of literature on distance is not a clear understanding of what distance actually is. The relative distances listed above are all theoretical suggestions of the dimensions distance can have. The views of distance offered by Gatrell (1983) and Pirie (2009) outline, also theoretically, various properties of distance, that are very relevant for understanding distance, but do not offer much clarity about how distance can appropriately be understood as phenomenon. Such an understanding is important for this research, and therefore, based on the above reviewed literature, distance is in this thesis understood as a phenomenon that consists of three 'layers': spatial separation, relations and contextualising dimensions, as illustrated in diagram 2.1 below.

The bottom layer of distance is the spatial separation that distance signifies, but because

spatial separation is omnipresent, distance only becomes a relevant phenomenon when there is a relation across this spatial separation. Such a relation could be, for example, the desire or intention to travel to a holiday destination, but also trade links and social connections in a geographical network. Some relationships will be stronger than others, and there will be zones of relevance, where clusters of stronger and weaker relationships will exist, while other spatially separate areas will not have any relations. Distance is thus a relationship across spatial separation, and this relationship is contextualised through the top layer of distance in the diagram above: the contextualising dimensions of distance. These are the physical and relative distances discussed above, and are empirical representations of distance. It is through these that distance is evident and experienced, and through these the influences distance has on individuals and societies are felt.

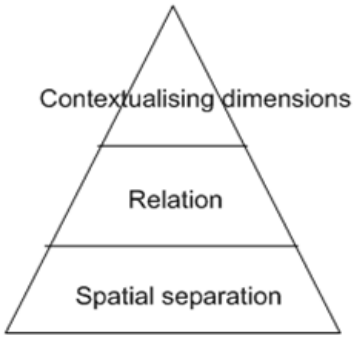

Diagram 2.1: Distance as phenomenon

This is the understanding of distance that is adopted in this research, for the purpose of exploring whether and how tourists consume distance. Henderson and Wakslak's (2010) comment that different understandings of distance (the top layer in diagram 2.1) should be conceptualised as dimensions of distance rather than as separate distances altogether is a relevant conceptualisation in relation to this research. To cast the range of types of distances as individual entities could narrow the scope for exploration of how the perceived distance, that is a result of the interplay between many different types of

distances, relative and physical, comes into existence. By adopting the view that the relative distances and physical distance are but dimensions of a resultant distance, an inquiry is allowed a more flexible understanding of the nature of a perceived distance.

Distance thus becomes relative when it is understood in relation to specific and individual contexts, and when a number of questions are being asked about distance. Do I want or need to transcend a given distance? How long will it take? Can I afford it? What route will I travel by? What mode of transport will I use? Who will be travelling with me? When distance is being questioned with actual travel plans in mind, physical distance is no longer the only relevant information about a given distance. Distance does not hold meanings on its own, but is given meaning by its contexts and the locations it is in between. Alone, distance does not relay context or contents to social relations; rather distance signifies relationships (between places, spaces, objects, phenomena etc.), therefore giving distance importance as a bearer of potentiality, that gives meaning to the places it connects and separates. Cooper (2010) discusses distance as 'an immanent absence which keeps human action forever on the move', and notes that 'nothing is complete or self-contained but is the result of the continuous movement *between* things' (Cooper, 2010: 247, emphasis in original), highlighting distance's importance as a conveyor of meaning.

That distance is relevant, and probably most appropriately known through its relative representations, suggests that despite distance's widely accepted deconstruction into measurement units of metres, kilometres, yards and miles, it is an entity that is constructed socially by individuals and societies performing and referring to distance through mobility, in relation to their ability to overcome distances through various technologies. Bauman (1998) opens his essay about the human consequences of globalisation with a reflection on how distance, and in particular perceptions of distance, have changed over the past centuries. Distance is a matter of how fast (or slow) you can get from where you are, to where you want to go:

> [F]ar from being an objective, impersonal, physical 'given', 'distance' is a social product; its length varies depending on the speed with which it may be overcome (and, in a monetary economy, on the cost involved in the attainment of that speed) (Bauman, 1998: 12).

This representation of distance as time, understood as speed, shows distance as a social construct, whereby perceptions of distance and ability to perform distance is dependent on individual and social conditions, such as capability of mobility and transport provision, i.e. the speed the individual is able to travel.

The link to transport technology is an important feature of distance in contemporary society, where the physical distance from one location to another has not changed through history, but the technology, and therefore potential speed, has (for some, at least) and along with that the perception of how far it is from one place to another. The understanding of somewhere being far away is not only linked to the physical distance but also to the cost, both in terms of time and of money, of covering the distance between here and there. Thus covering distance is dependent on the ability and desire to cover it, and to understand distance as merely metres and yards is not a particularly relevant distinction, because a mile is a mile, but whether you want to travel it and how you do it is an altogether different matter, and this is where the elusiveness of distance starts to appear. Because when does distance become relevant? Is it important whether it is ten miles or a hundred miles to a place you have no inclination to go to anyway? But the distance to a place you want or need to go does matter, but more so does the means by which you are able to go.

Distance and Timespace

A discussion of distance has to include a discussion of space and of time, because the three concepts are linked to each other, and they are important for understanding social spatial relationships. The conceptualisations related to distance, space and time are mostly relevant within the theoretical boundaries of academia, and the developments of thinking about space and time described in the following section have probably gone largely unnoticed by normal people going about their spatial lives. Yet time and space are important for the current theoretical understandings of distance as a relative, socially constructed and multidimensional concept, and for the theoretical development that has led to this position. Space is a concept which it is necessary to define in relation to distance, because both space and distance are often reduced to physical distance. Both space and distance are spatial concepts, but with different understandings of spatiality

(Massey, 2005). Where space is a 'product of interrelations' and a 'sphere of coexisting heterogeneity' 'always under construction', an imagined 'simultaneity of stories-so-far' (Massey, 2005: 9), that acts as a holder of multiple meanings, temporally stretched to varying degrees (Lefebvre, 1996; Shields, 1997; Massey, 2005), distance is, as it was discussed above, a concept that emphasises order of magnitude and signifies relationships between the places it separates. Because of this closeness, and yet difference between space and distance, this present discussion of distance needs to include some reflections on space, and how academic conceptualisations of space have influenced understandings of distance.

Time is also important for understanding distance, most noticeably because speed is a significant element of how distance becomes relevant in everyday life. As highlighted above, developments in transport technologies have made travel faster for some, and therefore distance becomes more differentiated economically and socially. It is not always a physical distance that is relevant, but the speed with which it can be overcome, and it is in the attainment of speed that distance can become socially differentiated, as physical distances are the same for all, but the time needed to be spent on overcoming distance differs according to economic and social contexts.

There is an on-going academic discussion related to how time and space are adequately conceptualised. Kant (1724-1804) established the modern philosophical basis for treating time and space as separate entities theoretically, where the dimensions of the concepts are validated through human experience (Janelle, 2001). Such a separation might not have been explicitly expressed within academia in previous times, but the nature of the relationship between space and time must, however, have been contemplated by earlier philosophers such as Socrates and Saint Augustine. Certainly there are linguistic suggestions that a lay separation of time and space existed before Kant made it explicit, expressed through words such as here, now, hence, thence, later and further. Kant's philosophical separation of time and space has had an important academic influence, because, even though later theoretical conceptualisations regarding time and space have argued for the necessity of viewing the two concepts as one, empirically the Kantian view of time and space still offers a more practical approach to temporal and spatial explorations (Janelle, 2001).

Urry (1995) views the emergence of time and space as separate and independent as one

of the defining characteristics of modern society. Historically, the field of geography has been concerned with spatial description (for example as seen in Watson's (1955) conceptualisation of distance as extent), and this favoured an emphasis on space, with time not being viewed as particularly important for analysis. In early modern conceptualisations of space, the focus was mainly on space as an objective container of human activity, that merely served as the neutral backdrop to the social realm, and regional description of both environmental and social patterns. Space was absolute, empirical and did not play any specific role in the development of the social (Janelle, 2001). In the 1960s this led to an approach to the analysis of space, which favoured the quantitative and the testing of hypotheses, but did not put emphasis on qualitative and reflexive characteristics of space, nor on the agency that the 'blank canvas [of space] that is to be filled with human activity' could have on human activity (Hubbard et al., 2004: 4). Space was mappable and these maps could be designed to show the relevant characteristics of a given space; topological, political, economical, demographical, climatological etc. The conceptualisation of space came to be one where space was

> a surface on which relationships between (measurable) things were played out […] this placed emphasis on the importance of three related topics – direction, distance and connection. […] Human activities and phenomena could be reduced to movements, networks, nodes or hierarchies played out on the Earth's surface (Hubbard et al., 2004: 4).

From the 1960s onwards this strong emphasis on space rather than time was challenged through a desire within the geography research field to move on from being a descriptive to a predictive science, and the conceptualisation of space itself changed. The quantitative view of space was challenged, and conceptualisations of space were developed that placed emphasis on human interpretation and social relations as important elements in the production and consumption of space. Coming from a range of different interpretive and ideological angles, writers such as Massey (1984), Castells (1989), Soja (1989), Giddens (1990), Harvey (1990), Lefebvre (1991), Gregory (1994), Taylor (1999) and Wallerstein (1999) who have all argued that the absolutist understanding of space was flawed, that sociality and space define each other and that it

is not meaningful to understand them as separate. Contemporary ideas of space argue that space is related to meaning, culture and representation, and that space is no longer absolute, nor can it be conceived as outside of human existence (Hubbard et al., 2004).

To become a predictive science, geography needed to embrace time in its analyses, as a factor that is equally as important as space, which was advocated by authors such as Janelle (1968; 1969) and Hägerstrand (1973). While some geographers maintained their focus primarily on spatiality (for example Schaefer (1953) and Bunge (1962)), this new focus on both time and space in analysis meant that temporal elements of spatial actions and developments were explored, and came to play important roles in geography's contribution to understanding the human condition. Especially Hägerstrand's time-geography was, and still is, influential and it was instrumental in introducing the temporality of action into spatial analysis. Time-geography seeks to capture how an individual's possibility for action is guided and constrained by temporal and spatial resources, and that it is only within the interplay between these resources that a human is free to act. Everyday each individual is faced with restrictions in time (such as the time spent at work, in school, caring for others, engaging in hobbies, many of which are fixed in time) and in space (where the locations in which the daily activities takes place, such as the work place, the home, the school), and these restrictions determine the scope for actions (Hägerstrand, 1970; Hägerstrand, 1973; Åquist, 1994).

During this period, when time came to be regarded equally as important as space in geographical analysis, the two concepts remained understood as separate by academics, probably, as Janelle (2001) argues, mostly for practical reasons in relation to empirical analysis. Like space, time has been at the centre of an on-going discussion about its nature and about how human perception and emotional attachment to time has changed (Adam, 2004), but unlike the discussions of space, which were mainly situated within the field of geography, time was primarily discussed within the field of sociology (Urry, 1995). Pirie (2009) argued that before modern times, time and space were probably not perceived as separate, partly because there were no transport technologies that made one individual's timespace different from another's, but also, as Bauman (2000a) highlighted, there was no need or desire to conceptualise them, let alone conceptualise them as different from each other. But with the technological developments in modernity '[t]ime was different from space because, unlike space, it could be changed

and manipulated – and most importantly, made shorter, less costly, and so more productive (Bauman 2000a: 173). Time as a tool was

> deployed primarily in the ongoing efforts of overcoming the resistance of space – shortening distances, depriving 'remoteness' of its meaning as an obstacle, let alone a limit, to human ambition […] The relation between time and space was to be from now on [in modernity] processual and dynamic, not preordained and stagnant. The 'conquest of space' came to mean faster machines. Accelerated time meant larger space, and accelerating time was the sole means of enlarging space. In this chase, space was the game and the stake; space was value, time was the tool (Bauman 2000a: 173).

This understanding of time as a resource for society is not shared by Giddens (1990), who rather views time 'as a measure of chronological distance and stacked information, a measure of stretching across societies' (Urry, 1995: 17). Giddens suggests that time was emptied, i.e. decontextualised and disembedded from social activities, when clock-time was adopted and time no longer had a strong relation to place (Giddens, 1990). Instead, he argues, time is no longer structured in relation to social activities, but has become a universal entity, split into seconds, minutes and hours, and standardised across the globe, lifted out of local contexts. This academic conceptualisation of time as empty has been challenged by Adam (1990), and by Dodgshon (2008), who claims that in this post-modern period, time is no longer a single entity. Rather, multiple temporalities exist, and no single conceptualisation of time can any longer be said to have hegemonic validity. Time needs a context to be properly understood (an understanding that parallels the critique of physical distance), and this context is given by space.

The academic acceptance that time and space could not be theoretically understood as separate is illustrated by the development of two concepts trying to capture the practical implications that technical and social developments have for the human experience of time and space: time-space convergence and time-space compression. Time-space convergence was developed by Janelle (1968; 1969), in order to describe how the developments in transport technology over the past 250 years have resulted in

significantly decreased travel times, and thereby resulting in a feeling of the world shrinking and shorter distances. As the distances have not actually changed during the time of technological development, the feeling of them becoming shorter is a result of the increased speed of transport and interaction across distance, and this increased speed of transport of both people and goods, and the simultaneous decrease in the transport cost significantly reduced the effort required to overcome distance (Janelle, 2001; Knowles, 2006). Time-space convergence was (and is) not uniform, and has not resulted in all places being felt as closer to everywhere else in terms of time and cost distance. Some locations have experienced the opposite: time-space divergence. This is an increasing separation between places when for example no, or inefficient, transport links exist, or a transport service is terminated (Knowles, 2006). What time-space convergence and divergence contributes to time-space analysis is 'the recognition that physical points (place on the earth) are in relative motion with respect to one another whenever functional measures (such as travel time and cost) are used as the distance metric' (Janelle, 2001: 15747).

Harvey (1989; 1990) added to the conceptualisations about timespace through the development of time-space compression, which tries to capture how everything is speeding up, and continues to do so, making social analysis of timespace challenging. The time-space compression concept explains how time is being compressed in relation to space, so that more space can be covered in less time than previously, because of the increased speed of transportation, objects and information. Harvey's focus was primarily the speeding up of capital movement, but his concept has a wider applicability, because of the increased speed with which mobility and social interaction also generally is taking place. But neither is equal, not everything is speeding up with the same acceleration, and this causes some locations, and the human activities that take place there, to be at a different pace, leading to struggles to 'hold on to more familiar understandings of space and place and negotiate the consequences of radically foreshortened time horizons' (Thrift and May, 2001: 7).

After having gained equal importance in geographic analysis, the two concepts of time and space have been slowly merging, coming to be conceptualised as one dimension rather than two. Timespace seeks to capture the idea that there will always be both a spatial and temporal element to an event, and that to separate the two makes little sense,

because it does not reflect the conditions of any relevant situations. Thrift and May (2001) argue that the distinction of time and space is not adequate for geographical analysis, and that:

> [W]e need to 'overcome … the very formulation of space/time in terms of this kind of dichotomy … [and to recognise instead] that space and time are inextricably interwoven' (Massey, 1984: 260-261) part of a multidimensional space-time able to cope with multiplicity (Rodowick, 1997; Assad, 1999) (Thrift and May: 2001: 2).

It is important to bear in mind that the processes described above of separation and reunification of time and space, and the similar development of distance being divided into physical distance, that became dominant, and relative distances, and then reunited in a multidimensional understanding of distance, has been a theoretical one, and one which most others than a group of specifically interested academics have been unaware of. In the theoretical discussions of the separation and emptying of time and space, at the hands of technological developments, and their subsequent reunion, these changes have been portrayed as hugely influential on the social and economic conditions in modern society, and as having played a significant role in shaping contemporary theoretical geographical and sociological thinking.

However, the extent that these changes have been experienced as major shifts in the everyday lives of people can be questioned, probably because their understanding of space is different, and more practical, than that of the theorists'. Lay conceptualisations of space are closely linked to how a given space is *used* by the individual, and thus takes on a much less abstract form than 'theoretical space' (Gottdiener, 2000; Lefebvre, 1991). For ordinary people, space is first and foremost something that is used, it is where their activities take place, thus linking space and place together through manifest activities. Gottdiener (2000) argues that this use of space by people in their everyday lives is consumption, a view that is echoed by Goodman et al. (2010). This is an understanding of space which will be discussed in further detail later in this thesis, as it lends insights into how it is possible to understand how tourists' relationship to distance can also be conceptualised as a form of consumption.

Lay conceptualisations of space are therefore more tangible than theoretical ones. Another reason for this, to use Bauman's (2000a) argument again, is that unless there is a specific reason to seek an understanding of anything beyond its practical implication for one's everyday life, a definition is not sought. It is not a necessary part of everyday life to conceptualise space in a theoretical way, so therefore, mostly, it is not done. The distinction between space and place become blurred (and unnecessary), because spatial activities are undertaken in real places, that in a sense 'grounds' space in place (Cresswell, 2004).

It was also argued above that time and space cannot be understood as separate from each other, but such a distinction does not appear to be one that is difficult to make on a daily basis. People are of course aware that all their activities stretch out in time and space (or maybe rather: place), but time and space are used as separate 'resources', that each frame activities in a different way. This has been spelled out explicitly by Hägerstrand (1970), who shows how both the temporal and spatial dimension of everyday activities determine the activities it is possible for an individual to undertake during a day.

The reason for this apparent mismatch between academic and lay understandings of especially space, but also the link between space and time, is therefore found in the degree of engagement with these concepts, and in the purpose there is for engaging with the concepts. Theoretically space and time are used as concepts that underpin research that aims at understanding the human condition, whereas space and time for ordinary people going about their everyday lives are just the frameworks within which their activities takes place. Space and time are thus engaged with by people at a very practical level, while academics' engagement with the concepts represent a theoretical endeavour.

Timespace and distance

Fluctuations in the academic conceptualisations about space and time have thus moved from being non-explicit, and possibly unnecessary in pre-modern times, to the prioritisation of space over time during geography's spatial turn. Later recognition of the importance of a temporal dimension to spatiality came in heavy modernity, and the current position is that it is only valid to understand the two concepts as one dimension, timespace, in light modernity (using Bauman's terms for description of the stages of

modernity (Bauman, 2000b)). This change in perception over time can also, albeit to a lesser degree, and certainly less explicitly, be traced in the academic conceptualisations about distance. When time and space were still academically perceived as one, before the advent of technology's transformation of transport, distance was not conceptualised as separate from time and space, although a separation of the two can be seen in language. Rather, they were all merged in one understanding of spatial and temporal extent, that was reliable, set in a specific context but, measured by today's obsession with accuracy, not particularly usable. Later, the relationship between time and space was changed by the increasing speed of transport (Giddens, 1990; Harvey, 1990), and in this process distance as a relative concept was viewed as irrelevant, and made distance primarily a tool to measure space: physical distance. Within the context of communication, distance has even been declared dead (Cairncross, 1997), and the increasing speed of everything, captured by Harvey (1990) in time-space compression, led Virillio (2000) to suggest that the end of geography is in sight, hinting that distance has lost its relevance. This might have been a reasonable argument if the speed-up was equal and even, and distance was only physical distance, but as the above discussion has shown, distance is not only physical distance, and the relative dimensions of distance have not been annihilated by technological developments. Rather, distance in all its dimensions is highly relevant, exactly because of the increasing development of technologies that enable human interaction across distance, both virtually and physically. When time and space were conceptually reunited (Bauman, 2000a) this multidimensionality of distance was again highlighted, and physical distance was reunited with its relative dimensions. These dimensions are becoming increasingly accepted as the most relevant elements of distance, as these are the epistemological faces of distance, the distance-reality as it is being constructed socially.

Distance and Tourism

The reason for discussing the nature of distance as phenomenon is to be able to explore whether and how tourists consume distance, so therefore an examination of how distance has been conceptualised within tourism is relevant. Tourism is manifest, desired travel and therefore a spatial activity, and any decision to travel for leisure will involve some form of reflection on whether and how to transcend the distance between

home and a given destination. The transcendence of distance tempts tourists with promises of something different in another space and place, and sometimes even gives the illusion of the possibility of seeing another time. For tourists, the price of desire for somewhere else is the overcoming of distance. However, the tourist often does not appear to give much thought to this prerequisite, because (infra)structures are in place to enable the tourist a reasonably smooth transition from being an everyday-human to being a tourist, where the actual movement across distance is often a routinised and mundane activity, that is not significantly different from everyday mobility, only in its destination (Edensor, 2007). Corporeal mobility is such an obvious part of tourism that it is often forgotten by researchers (Urry, 2002), and when it is remembered it is often reduced to a practical problem for the tourist, rather than regarded as a subject in its own right (Haldrup, 2004). Through the focus of this research on tourists' understanding of the distance they travel across, the corporeal mobility of tourism is regarded as more than 'a practical problem', and therefore this section explores how distance has been discussed in relation to tourism.

The effect distance can have on the destination choice can be both positive and negative. Nicolau (2008) discusses this conundrum, which is mostly based on a spatial, i.e. physical, understanding of distance, but it nonetheless shows links to relative distances:

> One train of argument holds that distance – or geographic position of the tourist origin relative to destinations – is considered a restriction or a dissuasive dimension of destination choice, as the displacement of an individual to the destination entails physical, temporal, and monetary costs (Taylor and Knudson 1973). Alternatively, another line of research proposes that distance can lend positive utility. Baxter (1980) shows that the journey itself, as a component of the tourism product, can give satisfaction in its own right so that, on occasions, longer distances are preferred (Nicolau, 2008: 43).

Nicolau (2008) goes on to explore the factors that might influence whether distance becomes a positive or negative element of a destination choice, and he identifies five variables that could explain different individuals' sensitivity to distance in relation to

their choice of destination:

- personal restrictions: income and number of children
- socio-demographics: size of the city of residence and age
- trip characteristics: use of intermediaries and transport mode
- tourist behaviour variables: interest in discovering new places and variety seeking
- motivations: search for relaxation, search for climate, curiosity, and visit friends and relatives (Nicolau, 2008: 50).

His exploration is based on an empirical inquiry of individual tourists' destination choices, and the conclusion is that a greater willingness to travel further is associated with high income, being a resident in a large city, the use of intermediaries and the interest to discover new places, variety seeking behaviour and the motivations of searching for climate, curiosity and visiting friends and family. Inclination to not travel far is associated with having children under the age of 16, and when the purpose of a holiday is to simply relax (Nicolau, 2008).

Cohen (1972; 1988) offers another view on how distance is important for understanding tourism. In his effort to offer explanations for tourists' motivations to travel, he argues that tourism must be understood as social relations, and that a tourist typology can be based on an individual's desire for familiarity or strangeness as part of their tourism experiences. This leads him to label four categories of tourists: the organised mass tourist, the individual mass tourist, the explorer and the drifter (Cohen, 1972). These represent tourists within a continuum ranging from desired familiarity with the destination/holiday experiences to a desire for the unknown. While the link between physical distance and destinations that offer the tourist familiarity or strangeness is not necessarily linear (physically close destinations can seem strange, and familiarity can be produced far away, in for example holiday resorts), there is a clearer link between cultural distance and familiarity/strangeness of holiday experience. The 'environmental bubble' (Cohen, 1988) of familiarity creates a feeling of cultural proximity that appeals to the types of tourists labelled by Cohen (1972) as organised and individual mass tourists, while the explorer and drifter type tourists are more likely to seek out

destinations and holiday experiences that are unfamiliar to them and their normal cultural context. Chen et al. (2011) relate Cohen's familiarity-strangeness continuum to physical distance by suggesting a linear link between long haul travel and culturally different destinations versus short haul travel and culturally similar destinations. This is undoubtedly true for many holidays, but Cohen (1972; 1988) emphasises that distance in relation to tourism is more than the physical distance from home to destinations, that it is the tourist's relation to a destination that determines whether it is familiar, and therefore feels closer, or appears strange, potentially resulting in it feeling further away from home. This is an important insight for this research, as it highlights the relativity of distance and firmly establishes distance as a phenomenon within tourism that is more than just physical. This understanding of distance in relation to how the individual tourist is able to relate to their destination will emerge later in this thesis as an important element of how tourists understand distance.

Hall (2005; 2008) is also concerned with distance in relation to tourism, and he argues that distance is basic to tourism accessibility, and that the 'distribution of travel behaviour in space and time reflects an ordered adjustment to the factor of distance' (Hall, 2005: 69). As reviewed earlier, Hall (2005) has presented a list of relative distances that influence tourism: time-distance, economic distance, cognitive/perceived distance and social distance. These 'relativist notions of space in a non-physical sense' (Chapman, 1983 in Hall, 2005: 69) are elements of a discussion of the distribution of tourists and their destination choice based on spatial interaction models, such as the gravity model and the intervening opportunity model. The gravity model states that the interaction between two locations is a result of the strength (usually the population number) of the two locations and the distance between them (Ravenstein 1885; 1889; Wrigley, 1980 in Hall, 2005), in a relation whereby interaction becomes inversely related to distance. The longer the distance between the two locations, the less likely an interaction is, a phenomenon termed distance decay by Eldridge and Jones (1991). The effects of distance decay has long been recognised within social science and geography as a concept that outlines how distance exerts a frictional effect on demand (McKercher and Lew, 2003), but Hall (2005) claims that the influence of distance decay has not been fully explored in relation to what impact it has on the distribution of tourist arrivals. Hall (2005) notes, that understanding distance decay and the influence it can have on

tourist travel behaviour should not regard distance purely in its physical sense, but rather recognise different perceptions of distance, that can inform a destination choice. This emphasises the possibility of relative distance decay (i.e. distance decay, where the distance element is one of the relative distances discussed above), where a tourist's choice of a destination physically further away than other potential destinations could be a manifestation of distance decay in relation to for example time-distance or cost-distance, if the chosen destination was prioritised over other, physically closer destinations based on shorter travel time or because it was cheaper. The introduction of relative distance understandings challenges the normal understanding of distance decay, but does not invalidate the idea behind distance decay in relation to understanding distance's role for destination choices.

Within the context of tourism, the intervening opportunities model, developed by Stouffer (1940), outlines that the choice of destination will be based on which destination, among a number of destinations offering the same attractions, is closer (Hall, 2005). Hence it is the relative distance to a destination in comparison to distances to other destinations that becomes a determining factor for the destination choice, not the absolute distance. The intervening opportunities model offers, however, a slightly simplistic view on distance in relation to tourism destination choice, bearing in mind the above discussion of distance as multidimensional. The model says that it is the closest destination that will be chosen, but in order to apply this model analytically in an empirical context, awareness needs to be focussed on what type of distance that is the basis for the judgement of which destination is closer. It might be physical distance, but it could just as well be time distance or cost distance (Prideaux, 2000). The issue of accessibility is also important, how accessible a destination is (perceived to be) has an important role in a tourist's choice of that destination, which is linked to the type of distance(s) being applied to a tourist's assessment of the destination and the travel to that destination.

These two (essentially quantitative) models for understanding how tourists make their destination choice both have distance as a central element, but distance must not be understood only as a physical entity, because tourists do not only make their holiday decisions based on distance measured in kilometres. Distance understood in a non-physical, relative sense is also important, and probably more so than physical distance.

That distance is an element of a tourist's destination choice is not surprising, and has been established by a number of theoretical and empirical studies (cf. Kim and Fesenmaier, 1990; Wamsley and Jenkins, 1992; McKercher and Lew, 2003; Hall, 2005; Cooper and Hall, 2008). Also Ankomah et al. (1996) have explored how distance becomes an element in tourists' destination choice, and they argue that cognitive distance, i.e. the distance a tourist *perceives* there to be to a destination, is a primary evaluation criterion for destination choice. The perception of distance is influenced by the apparent mis-estimations of physical distance by the tourists, where the further away a destination is, the more the physical distance will be overestimated, and the distance to closer destinations will be underestimated.

The apparent mis-estimations of physical distance by tourists leads to at least two observations about the relation between tourism and distance that are relevant for this present research. Firstly, it highlights the fact that physical distance is not necessarily experienced uniformly by tourists, in spite of its standardisation through uniform measurement units. The second, and more important observation about distance and tourism in relation to this research into tourists' potential consumption of distance is, that physical distance does not appear to be the measure of distance to destinations most widely used by tourists. This echoes Hall's (2005; 2008) reflections on how distance becomes part of a tourist's destination choice, and outlines that for the purpose of exploring whether and how distance might be consumed by tourists, physical distance should not be regarded as a distance-dimension that has prominence over other distance-dimensions, and therefore not be understood as conceptually any different than the other, relative distances discussed above.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has established how distance as a phenomenon is to be understood as part of this research into whether and how tourists consume distance. Distance signifies spatial separation, and is a relationship between places, which is represented in a specific dimension, physical or relative, of distance, that is an individual's contextualisation of that spatial separation. The dimension of distance that an individual uses to represent distance is the form in which that distance is most relevant in a given situation, thereby making distance a multidimensional phenomenon, where the

representations of distance dimensions are analytical distinctions rather than theoretical ones. This chapter listed some of these distance dimensions, that have received attention in the literature, but also acknowledged that any representation of a distance dimension is valid if that is a relevant representation of spatial separation for an individual.

The next chapter presents a theoretical review of consumption, mobility and tourism motivation, which frames the conceptualisation of consumption of distance. The chapter builds on the review in this chapter of distance as phenomenon, and proposes which elements that inform a theoretical understanding of consumption of distance.

CHAPTER THREE: CONSUMPTION OF DISTANCE

Introduction

In this chapter 'consumption of distance' is conceptualised. The aim of this research is to explore whether and how tourists consume distance when they travel on holiday and, for that purpose, it is necessary to have a theoretical understanding of how distance can be consumed. Through 'consumption of distance' the *relationship* between a tourist and the distance they travel across is opened for exploration. Consumption of distance implies that distance is an 'object' for consumption, hence the attention given to it in the previous chapter, but it is also necessary to integrate understandings from consumption and mobilities theories into the conceptualisation of how it is possible for tourists to consume distance.

In this present research the tourist has been chosen as the potential distance consumer, primarily for the reason that they represent travellers who are free to choose their own destinations and transport modes, as opposed to other travellers such as commuters, business people, migrants and refugees. By choosing to explore the consumption of distance by people who, at least theoretically, have a free or voluntary relationship to distance, this research seeks to capture consumption of distance in the least restricted form imaginable, performed by people with average economic and social contexts. This choice should not, however, be seen as a rejection of non-tourist travellers as potential distance consumers. When travellers assume other roles than the tourist, they may well also be consuming distance, but for the purpose of this present research it has not been explored theoretically how a less free relationship to distance could be conceptualised as consumption.

Consumption

Marx (in Appadurai, 1986) argued that consumption was a by-product of production, with production being the activity through which individuals and groups of people were given their class and place in society. In this understanding, consumption was not viewed as particularly important, other than as the activity undertaken to acquire the goods needed in order to have food, clothes and shelter. In this 'production culture' the

goods and services that were the results of production had only use-value, that is, the purpose of their production was direct use.

In today's society a different emphasis is placed on the role of consumption. This change in emphasis, argues Bauman (1998; 2000b), has involved important displacements, among these a movement from collective production to individual consumption and a stronger emphasis on aesthetics of consumption rather than ethics, where notions of duty (production) have given way to the pursuit of pleasurable experiences (consumption) (Aldridge, 2003). In the contemporary 'consumer culture', social position is no longer determined by the production system, and goods and consumption objects have not just use-value and exchange-value, but also sign-value. Featherstone (2007) has identified three main perspectives, that capture contemporary consumer culture:

- its development is based on, and expanded from, the production of commodities under capitalism,
- the consumption of goods is linked to a social ordering and distinction and
- there are significant emotional elements of consumption.

As such, consumer culture is not just the natural extension of a production culture that has seen the purchase and use of commodities rise because of increases in income. Consumer culture is that too, but the transformation from a production culture to a consumer culture has also seen a change in the reasons why goods and objects are consumed and in which objects can be classified as consumer objects and commodities. Society is now organised around consumption rather than production and almost everything can be consumed in post-modern life. Where consumption earlier was focussed on the consumption of the objects and services that were an outcome of a production culture, today this material consumption is being significantly supplemented by the consumption of intangible experiences, in what Pine and Gilmore (1999) have labelled the experience economy. In the experience economy, the purpose of consumption are good memories of preferably extraordinary experiences, representing a change from modern consumption, primarily focussed on the consumption of tangible goods. This change in focus of consumption from tangible goods to intangible experiences has had a significant impact on all forms of consumption, including tourism, where an important element of tourism has come to be the provision of good

holiday experiences that become good holiday memories for post-holiday consumption (Fridgen, 1984).

Consumption has moved from the periphery to centre stage of analysis of the social realm (Pretes, 1995; Sassatelli, 2007), which has led to contemporary society being labelled as a consumer society (Connor, 1989; Harvey, 1989; Baudrillard, 1998; Featherstone, 2007), where not only goods and services are consumed, but also 'meanings or “emancipated signs”; that is signs which no longer have any fixed referent [a physical or tangible manifestation]' (Campbell, 1995: 99). Saussure (1966), who acknowledges that signs are widely used as communication tools, developed an understanding of how the sign, its representation and its object are in relation to each other. A sign is a constellation that is made up of the signified and the signifier. The signified is the object that is being referred to through the sign, and the signifier is the symbol that refers to that object. A sign only exists when both a signified and an attached signifier exist (Webb, 2009). The change in consumption to also include consumption of signs has meant that consumer objects are no longer just consumed physically, they are also consumed for what they represent, and consumption is no longer exclusively a material activity. Consumer objects can take the form of tangible, material objects as well as intangible signs and symbols, whose consumption requires interpretation by the consumer as well as the audience, with whom the consumer is trying to communicate through consumption. This makes consumption a social process rather than an individual and isolated activity (Urry, 1995) and because of this, consumption becomes important for social positioning, creates reference points for similarities and differences in lifestyles and frames social relationships (Leiss, 1978: 19). Here, it is primarily the consumption of objects as signs and representations that is relevant, but since most consumer objects can also be signifiers of something else or more than they might materially seem, most consumption can be analysed as partly symbolic.

Bourdieu (1984) explored this through the analysis of people's taste, arguing that it is through consumption, particularly of commodities and signs that relate to people's taste, that social relationships are shaped. Social judgment is made based on what is consumed and how, and this acts as a demarcation of social relationships. This again leads back to the goods and reinforces the materiality of a seemingly immaterial process: In the construction and negotiation of social relationships, goods become the currency, they become 'marker goods'. It is through the consumption of these that

affiliations (e.g. sportswear), opinions (e.g. political badges), tastes (e.g. fashion items) and status (e.g. a special brand of car) can be communicated, as can dreams, desires, hopes, cultural indulgences, holiday preferences and ideological convictions. This is the active staging and construction of lifestyle which forms (desired) social relationships and has the individual hoping that the signs and symbols will be noticed and rightly interpreted by the right people. If a marker good cannot be immediately identified and interpreted, it is worthless, and will not help obtain the desired social relations (Bourdieu, 1984).

In the midst of the symbols and the signs are, of course, the goods and objects themselves, which take on multiple meanings. Although consumption possesses some elements of semiotics, all consumption will to a greater or lesser extent be involved with the material (Campbell, 1995). Consumption itself is not a new phenomenon, it has always existed, has always been material and still is. Just because consumption within the social realm is primarily understood as the consumption of signs (Featherstone, 2007: 83), the material to which these signs are attached is still an important factor in the construction of the sign.

To be an audience to contemporary consumption requires knowledge of the signs on display and of how they are to be understood which, in a contemporary society in a state of flux and 'with reference points set on wheels' (Bauman, 2000c: 13), is an increasingly complex task. Navigation in and around the signs and representations, that have the ultimate aim of representing the individual and their often complex choice of lifestyle, is something everybody is engaged in. Campbell (1995) points out that

> they [the arguments of post-modernism] foreground the isolated individual, juggling with assorted signs and symbols in a never-ending attempt to construct and maintain identity in a fragmented and ever-changing environment (Campbell, 1995: 101).

Thus, consumption is part of a wider contemporary cultural and social turn, where the staging of the individual through the display of carefully selected commodities and the engagement in just as carefully chosen activities is aimed at social positioning. The conceptualisation of consumption has been extended by Urry (1995), Lefebvre (1991) and Gottdiener (2000) to also include understandings of contemporary engagement with space. Here, consumption becomes a framework for studying how people interact with

different types of spaces such as production spaces, leisure spaces, home spaces, work space and purposefully designed consumption places. Within this framework consumption is understood as the use of an environment, in Gottdiener's view, that is thoroughly commodified by capital and/or regulated by the state. This has led to most uses of space being viewed as consumption of space, as most spaces could be classified as either commodified by capital or regulated by the state (Gottdiener, 2000). Urry (1995) presents a broader conceptualisation of consumption of *place*, when he uses a human activity, tourism, to explore human engagement with normal and extraordinary spaces. Here consumption becomes any activity that creates meaning in a space, which is set in relation to the purpose and intentions of the activity. Tourism is such an obvious consumption of space, e.g. through the tourists' interaction with holiday destinations, theme parks, national parks, transport networks etc., and it is therefore highly relevant for this research to include the understanding of tourist consumption of space in the theoretical conceptualisation of consumption of distance. The idea of consumption being an intentional and purposeful engagement with something intangible, such as tourist spaces and experiences lends its logic to an understanding of how distance might be consumed by tourists.

Another insight into tourism consumption is given by Sharpley's (2008) discussion of a categorisation of consumption in general presented by Holt (1995). Holt identifies four metaphors for consumption: consuming as experience, consuming as integration, consuming as classification and consuming as play. The four consumption metaphors are placed in a grid (Table 3.1 below) that consists of two ways of conceptualising consumption: one is the purpose of consumption, the other is the structure of consumption:

		Purpose of action:	
		Autotelic actions	Instrumental actions
Structure of action:	Object actions	**Consuming as experience**	**Consuming as integration**
	Interpersonal actions	**Consuming as play**	**Consuming as classification**

Table 3.1: Consumption metaphors (from Holt, 1995: 3).

The dimensions of the purpose for consumption represent the situations where the consumers' actions are intrinsic and ends in their own right (autotelic, from Greek: 'auto'

meaning self, and 'telos' meaning goal (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Cao et al., 2008)) or means to further ends (instrumental). The dimensions of structure of action are linked to direct consumption or engagement with objects (object actions) or to the consumption of objects as a focal point for interactions with other people (interpersonal actions).
Sharpley (2008) shows how these four metaphors can be used as a framework for analysing how the tourist-consumers interact with consumption objects:

- Consuming tourism as experience: this focusses on the emotional reactions of tourists when they engage in holiday activities. This is linked to a wider understanding of consumption of experiences (Pine and Gilmore, 1999; Richards and Wilson, 2006), where the experiential element of tourism consumption can be seen in relation to nostalgia (Lowenthal, 1985) and the search for authenticity in tourist experiences (Olson, 2002).
- Consuming tourism as integration: this 'describes how consumers acquire and manipulate object meanings' (Holt, 1995: 2), where the self and the object become integrated and allow the consumer to access the symbolic properties of the object. In relation to tourism this process is automatic, because tourists are an integral part of the production of tourism experiences (Sharpley, 2008: 6-14).
- Consuming tourism as play: within this metaphor 'tourism is used as a vehicle for socialising with fellow consumers of tourism or sharing particular experiences' (Sharpley, 2008: 6-15). This highlights the social aspect of consumption, where consumption is done in the company of others, and where the company of others is important for the consumption to happen in the first place, thus emphasising the importance of the social context of consumption, and not just the objects of consumption.
- Consuming tourism as classification: this is where consumption is used as a tool in the process of personal classification in relation to others. Within tourism this should be understood in relation to how a tourist's holiday activities can be part of the formation of social status and identity.

This conceptualisation of tourism consumption as four-dimensional should be seen as an integrated framework, where the practice of consuming tourism can involve more than one of the above metaphors at the same time. In relation to this present research, Holt's (1995) and Sharpley's (2008) approach to understanding tourism consumption

will be a useful guide to operationalising possible dimensions of consumption of distance by tourists. Each of the four consumption metaphors represents a different type of relationship between the tourist and distance and, although their existence will be an analytical distinction, it is possible to imagine distance playing a significant role in all four types of consumption:

- Consuming distance as experience, where distance is a significant motivational and intrinsic part of a travel and holiday experience.
- Consuming distance as integration, where the corporeal holiday mobility has an obvious relationship to distance through the necessity of spatial movement for tourism.
- Consuming distance as play, where the relationship with distance is necessary for social interaction and maintaining social relationships, as for example visiting friends and relatives, or travelling with significant others.
- Consuming distance as classification, where travelling is part of a process establishing social status and identity.

In particular, consuming distance as experience and as play appear relevant metaphors to bring to an analysis of tourists' potential consumption of distance, as these two represent the autotelic purposes of action, where the activities have values in their own right. This intrinsicality is an important element of consumption of distance, and will be discussed later in this chapter.

Commodities

Central to the consumer culture and the way in which it structures the social life of individuals and groups is the commodity. The conceptualisation of consumption of distance makes distance a commodity, but distance falls outside the normal classifications of objects for consumption, which are material objects or services. Academic discussions of what a commodity is are often depend just as much on ideological standpoint as on empirical research and theoretical developments from within and outside consumption research. The framing of essential attributes and characteristics of a commodity is heavily dependent on context and aim. In his reflections upon capitalism as a concept for societal organisation Marx discusses commodities as 'an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants

of some sort or another' (Marx (1867) in Appadurai, 1986: 7). Although having existed within the human social realm through time and across cultures, commodities came to be understood as the outcome of the production system in the capitalist society. The product of labour is commodities (Marx, 1971), but apart from the idea of commodity-fetishism, where social relationships can be understood by way of interpreting objectified thing-relationships (Appadurai, 1986), the notion that commodities would be social markers alongside satisfying human needs and wants was not conceptualised until later.

Traditional understandings of commodities are that they have a use-value and an exchange-value. Exchange-value became dominant during the capitalist development, when commodities were no longer primarily used, but rather exchanged, usually as part of a monetary transaction. However, it has been argued by Douglas and Isherwood (1980) that to understand the logic of commodities, one must not only look at use and exchange-values of objects, but they should be understood and analysed within a cultural matrix, where the social life of things bear significance for the social life of humans. Featherstone (2007) argues that:

> The movement away from regarding goods merely as utilities having a use-value and an exchange-value which can be related to some fixed system of human needs also occurred within neo-Marxism. Baudrillard (1975, 1981) has been particularly important in this context, especially his theorization of the commodity-sign. For Baudrillard the essential feature of the movement towards the mass production of commodities is that the obliteration of the original 'natural' use-values of goods by the dominance of exchange-value under capitalism has resulted in the commodity becoming a sign in the Saussurean sense, with its meaning arbitrarily determined by its position in a self-referential system of signifiers. Consumption, then, must not be understood as the consumption of use-values, a material utility, but primarily as the consumption of signs (Featherstone, 2007: 83).

Campbell (1995) also highlights the links commodities have with both the material and the symbolic:

> Commodity as concept developed by Marx and then Baudrillard, who brings commodity and semiotics together and claims that consumption should be understood as a process in which only the signs attached to the goods are consumed and hence that commodities are valued not for their use but understood as possessing a meaning that is determined by their position in a self-referential system of signifiers (Campbell, 1995: 103).

If contemporary consumption is primarily a consumption of signs, have commodities then been transformed from something individuals use and exchange into signs and representations that are there to be socially interpreted? It appears that an object's commodity status is neither fixed in time nor space nor socio-cultural context and that all things (that is: everything) have commodity potential, be they more or less material, and they can all, through consumption, come to be social markers. If consumption is to be understood as the consumption of commodity-signs, and consumption is the organising structure of contemporary society, then the commodity(-signs) are the entities through which sociality is communicated and through which individuals position themselves in the society and in social groups.

Appadurai (1986) elaborates on the commodity status of objects and formulates a framework within which commodities can be understood as spatio-temporal entities, whose status as commodity is just as easily affixed as it is removed again. He opens the discussion with a call for emphasis to be put on the dynamics of the commodity-exchange. Then 'the question becomes *not* “What is a commodity?” but rather “What sort of exchange is commodity exchange?”' (Appadurai, 1986: 9). By focussing on the activity that is the exchange rather than what it is being exchanged, he highlights that it is not the material (or immaterial for that matter) attributes and characteristics of the object at the centre of an exchange, which determine if something (anything) can earn the label 'commodity', it is the situation in which the exchange takes place, the commodity-situation. A commodity situation 'in the social life of any ”thing” [is] the situation in which its exchangeability (past, present, or future) for some other thing is its socially relevant feature' (Appadurai, 1986: 9). That is, when something's (anything's) most relevant attribute, from a social viewpoint, is that it can be exchanged, regardless of what other (interesting) attributes it might have at that given moment. Thus, if an exchange takes place, where the most relevant feature of the thing being exchanged is that it can indeed be exchanged, then that thing becomes a commodity.

Distance as commodity

The conceptualisation of consumption of distance proposes that distance has the potential to be consumed, but the discussion of the commodity status of distance is not intuitive. Distance *per se* is not an object, neither is it a service nor an experience in the normal understanding (although the transcendence of distance can be understood as an experience and the provision of transport over distance can be a purchasable service) so to understand distance as a commodity in the way commodities were conceptualised in the production and consumer culture makes little sense. Nor does it make sense to talk about using distance directly or to imagine distance *per se* in an exchange with something else. Distance is not used up through its consumption and distance is not an outcome of production the way commodities were in Marx's understanding (although travel can be understood this way), so to understand distance as an object (or service) does not bring any insight to this current discussion of how consumption of distance might be conceptualised.

Appadurai's (1986) suggestion of commodity-status being identified through exchangeability is useful for the conceptualisation of distance as commodity and, although distance cannot be exchanged in the form of being given away in return for something else in a material sense, the notion of distance being exchanged in return for experiencing that which is elsewhere and separated by distance, is worth more scrutiny. The commodity status of distance can be viewed as a result of the transcendence of distance and how this distance is perceived and experienced by the individual, imagining distance being consumed *by proxy*, through travel. Maintaining Appadurai's notion of the commodity-status being a result of an exchange, distance is exchanged, through the manifest activity of mobility, to the individual being in another place, experiencing new things. If the mobility through which distance is overcome is purely instrumental, and the journey between two places holds no particular experiential or signifier value, conceptualising distance as a commodity becomes a matter of understanding the exchange taking place as one between the resources (time, money) being exchanged for the movement from one place to another. If, however, the journey from one place to another holds intrinsic values, the exchange relationship becomes more complex, because distance is being exchanged, still through mobility, in return for experiences.

The sign-value of commodities, which Baudrillard (1975; 1981) has argued is central to understanding contemporary consumption, can be conceptualised in relation to distance as the signs an individual's mobility gives to others. If anything that is used in semantic communication is being understood as a commodity, as Featherstone (2007) suggested, distance is clearly a commodity, because of the signs an interaction with distance can project. Whether, where and how you travel matters, and therefore, distance matters, because it plays a part in determining travel behaviour. The argument is that if a tourist's relationship to distance has symbolic value, it could be conceptualised as consumption of distance. This consumption of distance that becomes symbolic through the sign-value attached to the transcendence of distance must be understood within a social context. If there is nobody around to interpret a sign, it has no value, because it cannot convey any meaning and its status as a sign disappears. Thus, consumption of distance only becomes consumption when the activity is interpreted as something more than just travelling from one place to another. It might not necessarily be the tourist that attaches a sign-value to their transcendence of distance and it need not be done explicitly either.
The commodity status of distance is thus derived from both the potential for exchanging distance with experiences and being in a new place, through manifest mobility, and from the use of distance-as-sign, where the semantic values of transcending distance can be used in social communication. Within the consumption framework described above, provided by Holt (1995) and Sharpley (2008), understanding distance as both a material and semantic commodity allows for an inquiry that explores the different roles distance can have as a consumption object.

Mobilities

This section discusses the mobility theories that inform the conceptualisation of consumption of distance. Although mobility is by no means just a contemporary concept or activity (Cresswell, 2010), research into the mobility of people, goods and information has increased significantly (Hannam et al., 2006), so much so that mobility has been suggested as a foundation for social analysis (Sheller and Urry, 2006). Arguing for the necessity of understanding how the mobility of people, goods and information are becoming increasingly important, Sheller and Urry reflect that 'all the world seems to be on the move' (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 207) and if social researchers want to examine the constant and constituting mobility across physical and virtual space, they need to understand mobilities as transcending theoretically forged concepts of dwelling,

working, playing and travelling. Mobilities cannot meaningfully be analysed within the confines of previously established categories such as 'driving, travelling virtually, writing letters, flying, and walking' (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 212), but have to be analysed as a whole, interdependent system that is constituted by and reinforcing mobilities and that has no self-contained mobility-spheres. This approach to analysing mobilities Sheller and Urry (2006) label the mobilities paradigm, in which social science is criticised for having been sedentarist, i.e. assuming that non-movement is the normal and the stable and therefore being too closely tied to the idea that the basis for human activity is the place (or region, or nation) and that movement in-between these places is extraordinary and, therefore, not significantly relevant for social analysis. Sheller and Urry (2006) argue that by declaring place the basis for analysis, mobility is overlooked as a major factor for social activity and any analysis would run the risk of failing to identify the important elements of this: those elements which rest, not in locations, but in the movement between places. Jensen (2009) reminds us that 'our lives are not just what happens in static enclaves, but also in all the intermediaries and circulation in-between places' (Jensen, 2009: 147) and that, in order to understand mobility as a social phenomenon, research needs to move beyond subscribing to either sedentarist (where normality is found in place and non-movement) or nomadic (where manifest movement is at the centre of inquiry) theories as basis for analysis.

The formulation of the mobilities paradigm is not a call for a new grand narrative of mobility to guide social analysis, but it emphasises the need for 'a set of questions, theories and methodologies rather than a totalising or reductive description of the contemporary world' (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 210). These questions, theories and methodologies enable enhanced analysis of networked and liquid local and global mobilities, as well as analysis of moorings, disruptions and bottlenecks that help bring the idealised mobilities down to the experienced earth of the corporeal mobility actors: the people who (try to) move as part of their professional and social lives. It is for these reasons that mobility theories are seen as important for the conceptualisation of the consumption of distance, as it is through mobility that distance is consumed. Mobility theories explore how and why people move, and those two are central foci for developing an understanding of how it can be possible to view (some forms of) mobility as consumption of distance. The important insights that can be taken from the mobilities paradigm in relation to consumption of distance is that the movement between places should be regarded as just as ordinary an activity as dwelling in place, and that although

movement and stillness are often conceptualised as different and distinct from each other, they are mutually constituting and that it makes little sense to include the one without the other.

Urry (2007: 47) identifies five mobilities that produce social life organized across distance: corporeal travel of people, physical movements of objects, imaginative travel, virtual travel, and communicative travel. These five mobilities are relevant for understanding how consumption of distance is linked to mobility, as they show the variety of contexts within which consumption of distance can be conceptualised. Urry emphasises that for a meaningful analysis of these mobilities, they should all be seen as interconnected and linked in a network of stronger or weaker ties. These five mobilities form the basis of the analysis of movements and imply that the scope of what can be included in a mobility-analysis is extensive. At a generic level, mobilities can be said to:

> include various kinds and temporalities of physical movement, ranging from standing, lounging, walking, climbing, dancing, to those enhanced by technologies, of bikes, buses, cars, trains, ships, planes, wheelchairs, crutches (…). Movements [can] range from the daily, weekly, yearly and over people's lifetimes. Also included are the movements of images and information on multiple media, as well as virtual movements as communications (…). (Urry, 2007: 8).

Movement is central to mobility, because mobility involves a displacement. Cresswell (2010) describes movement as abstracted mobility, freed from the contexts of power that shapes mobility and as the raw material for the production of mobility. He likens the relationship between mobility and movement to the relationship between place and location: 'If movement is the dynamic equivalent of location, then mobility is the dynamic equivalent of *place*' (Cresswell, 2006: 3, emphasis in original). Mobility is movement made meaningful, contextualised by power, strategies and social implications, politicised through the corporeality brought to mobility by moving people, goods and information. Cresswell (2006; 2010) argues that to understand mobility, research must adopt a holistic approach to its subject, which necessitates exploring three aspects of mobility:

> the fact of physical movement – getting from one place to another; the representations of movement that give it shared meaning; and, finally, the experienced and embodied practice of movement (Cresswell, 2010: 19).

He admits that these three aspects are interwoven and their separation is difficult and only serving the purpose of facilitating analysis. For the person making the mobility corporeal, these three are one: the movement between places, the meanings attached to it and the habitual, experienced and embodied practice of movement.
This understanding of mobility presented by Cresswell (2010: 19-20) is relevant for the development of the consumption of distance, as it operationalises an analytical approach to corporeal mobility. The first aspect of mobility, physical movement, is the raw material of mobility, and it is one that can be measured and mapped in a positivist analysis. Physical movement is often the base for quantitative mobility models, but only knowing how people move does not indicate the meanings and practices of mobility, which is why mobility analysis also needs to explore representations and practices of mobility. Representations of mobility, the second aspect listed by Cresswell, are used when meaning is given to certain mobile practices through, for example, narratives. According to Cresswell:

> [m]obility has been figured as adventure, as tedium, as education, as freedom, as modern, [and] as threatening […] as dysfunctional, as inauthentic, as rootless and, more recently as liberating, antifoundational, and transgressive (Cresswell, 2010: 19).

The meanings of mobility are important for understanding the physical movement, because the representations of mobility indicate some of the reasons for mobility and how that mobility is being viewed and interpreted, thus providing a social context for mobility. The third aspect of mobility is its practice, the experienced and embodied element of movement. Here Cresswell (2010: 20) focusses on both everyday practices of mobility and 'the more theoretical sense of the social as it is embodied and habitualised' (Bourdieu, 1990). The body is at the centre of the practised and experienced mobility; it is through the body that the emotions of mobility are perceived and 'it is at the level of the body that human mobility is produced, reproduced, and, occasionally, transformed' (Cresswell, 2010: 19). What this approach to analysis of

mobility lends to the present discussion of consumption of distance is that, since mobility is a central element of consumption of distance, an analysis must include exploration of physical movement, mobility practices and the meanings attached to them. In line with Cresswell's call for a holistic approach to mobility analysis, the three aspects of mobility will show different, but equally important, elements of the relationship a mobile individual has to distance.

All mobility theories have one thing in common: they are concerned with how people seek and manage to transcend distance, on the ground, in the air, through virtual spaces and in their imaginations. All mobility research is in one way or another concerned with human adaptation to distance. Physical distance is the solid that does not change over time or under the influence of human development; rather it is human activity and ingenuity that changes and, with that, the *effects* of distance. Of the numerous mobility theories, it is particularly Urry's (2007) categorisation of the existence of five types of mobilities, and Cresswell's (2010) mobility tripartite that are helpful in the development of consumption of distance. Urry shows that mobility can take many forms and Cresswell operationalises how mobility can be analytically approached in a holistic way, in order to capture the essence of mobility. Together, these two mobilities theories frame the view of mobility embedded in the conceptualisation of consumption of distance, as a factor that can be understood as different forms of travel and movement across distance that, in one way or another, produce social life and, as an activity that needs to be understood, based on exploration of movement, practices and representations.

Tourism mobility

There is an obvious link between mobility and tourism (Haldrup, 2004; Lumsdon and Page, 2004), with Hannam (2008) suggesting that in many academic discourses mobility has replaced tourism and that tourism often is being conceptualised as a sub-field of mobilities studies, along with the study of migration, everyday mobility and the movement of goods and information (Hannam and Knox, 2010). Besides the link between mobility and tourism that consists of the manifest mobility necessary for the tourist to travel from home to the destination, which is made up of the use of various transport networks (Page, 2005), tourism mobilities are also viewed as experiences of being on the move (Larsen, 2001), as playful interaction with spaces (Sheller and Urry, 2004) and as forging new understandings of the spatiality of 'home' and 'away' (Williams and Hall, 2002; Hui, 2008).

The travel between home and destination adds to the tourist experience and can be an experience in its own right (Lumsdon and Page, 2004), which is a useful insight for this research into consumption of distance, because, as it was discussed previously, it is through the tourist's engagement with distance through mobility that it will become evident whether it can be conceptualised as consumption or not. If experience-value is derived from tourism mobility, the transcendence of distance is more than instrumental and therefore potentially it is consumption. Lumsdon and Page (2004) outline how tourism transport can be understood as a continuum from the position where tourism transport is viewed purely as utility, and has a low intrinsic value as a tourism experience, to the opposite position where the transport is viewed *as tourism*, and has high intrinsic values for the tourism experience. Specific modes of transport are linked to this continuum, with fast modes generally associated with transport which yields low intrinsic experience values and slow modes of transport associated with high intrinsic experience values (Lumsdon and Page, 2004). Such association between speed and experience value should, however, be carefully judged, as it is subjective what the individual tourist views as intrinsic experience value and, for some, that may well be speed. That travel has intrinsic and motivational qualities and that travel activity can be a valuable experience in its own right is also explored through what Cao et al. (2008) term ‘autotelic travel’, which is the travel for travel's sake. The purpose of autotelic travel is the travel itself and not to reach a specific destination and the experience value is derived from the movement rather than from arriving and being in a place. The similarity between Lumsdon and Page's (2004) argument and Cao et al.'s (2008) is the lack of emphasis in the speed of travel. Their conceptualisations of transport as experience highlights that faster is not necessarily better or more desired by the tourist, even though this is an attitude towards speed that is present in many studies of tourism transport (Prideaux, 2000). In fact, even the urge by researchers to treat the tourism transport which does not represent the highest economic or temporal utility as a 'different' type of transport, measured against the 'normal', most economic (in both monetary and temporal terms) form of transport, highlights this issue. The distinction of types of tourism transport in relation to the level of intrinsicality of experience values, which is often related to speed, is analytically helpful, but it must be questioned whether this distinction is as recognised by tourists as it is by researchers and to what extent this can be causally linked to speed.

Larsen (2001) contributes to the discussion of how tourist experiences can be derived from movement through a critique of the Tourist Gaze (Urry, 1990). Larsen (2001) argues that much of the visual consumption by the contemporary tourist is done while the tourist is being moved, in cars, trains and planes, and that this consumption is therefore more appropriately termed the travel glance, rather than the tourist gaze. The tourist gaze, Larsen argues, is especially linked to the tourist as the flaneur, and the tourist activity of photographing sights while stopped and gazing: 'The tourist gaze gives, in fact, preference to immobility as the tourist in the 'decisive moment' photographically consumes the attraction while at rest' (Larsen, 2001: 87). While he accepts this as an important tourist activity, Larsen goes on to argue that visual consumption is also an important element of corporeal tourism mobility and that, because this consumption happens while the tourist is in motion, it becomes a glance rather than a gaze. Because this visual consumption is a significant part of the travel experience, particularly when travelling in cars and on planes, although possibly less so on a train (where the scope for engaging in other activities is higher than for the two other modes of transport), it becomes 'an integral part of the tourist experience' (Larsen, 2001: 81). This challenges the understanding that it is arriving at and staying in a destination that constitutes the tourism experience (a challenge echoed by Clawson and Knetsch (1966)) and that 'movements through space [are] nothing but insignificant, linear, predetermined and frustrating transport' (Larsen, 2001: 81).

Slow travel is another perspective on tourism mobility that informs a conceptualisation of consumption of distance. Slow travel is emerging as a distinct form of tourism mobility where emphasis is put on both the actual speed (or lack thereof) of travel as well as on the tourist's engagement with the location they visit (Lumsdon and McGrath, 2011). Gardner (2009) argues that slow travel is a state of mind and Dickinson and Lumsdon (2010) outline how various slow modes of transport can contribute to achieving positive slow travel experiences. Lumsdon and McGrath (2011) identify three main categories that clarify the meaning of slow travel: slowness, travel experience and environmental concerns. These three categories are derived from interviews with slow-travel experts; interviews conducted for the purpose of defining slow travel, which has been an emerging theme within tourism in the past decade, but which has yet to receive substantial academic interest (Lumsdon and McGrath, 2011). It is the 'travel experience' category that is of particular interest for this research into consumption of distance, because it is under this heading slow travel becomes a form of tourism mobility where

the intrinsic value of the journey is important. Although distance was not, according to Lumsdon and McGrath (2011: 275), 'a major topic of discussion' in the expert interviews, it is for this research relevant to note the link made between transcending distance en route to holiday destinations and the potential for experiences being part of this journey.
This review has highlighted that travelling to and from a destination can be very much part of the overall tourism experience. Viewed in conjunction with the above argument of engagement with experiences being a contemporary form of consumption, this outlines that consumption of distance can be conceptualised through the experiences derived from being in transit, making the issue of what consumption of distance might entail a matter that should be seen in relation to how the tourist experiences their holiday journeys.

Distance Consumers

Illich (1974), while discussing the relationship between energy supply and technology, suggests that passengers, i.e. users of a transport system, are consumers of distance:

> The passenger who agrees to live in a world monopolized by transport becomes a harassed, overburdened consumer of distances whose shape and length he can no longer control (Illich, 1974: 45).

For Illich, the consumer of distance is a passenger who is powerless to shape a transport system, designed by transport planners and technological and infrastructural developments, but who nevertheless has to engage in transport activity. The passenger is thus poised between being a (more or less) powerless actor in a transport network that they cannot control nor fully understand and an active consumer of that same system, whose transport actions re-constitute and reshape the system (Illich, 1974). Distance is consumed knowingly by the passenger, when they use the transport system, but it is not being consumed in a deliberate and voluntary way, because the passenger is powerless to control or inform the system.
For Illich, the consumer of distance is a user (passengers as well as drivers) within the transport system. In relation to his discussion of the influence of technological development on the use of energy, this is a reasonable limitation to the scope of consumption of distance, but for the purpose of this research into consumption of distance, it would be relevant to take Illich's argument a bit further. If the consumers of distance are the transport system users, then what characterises these users? Cresswell

(2010) argues for the existence of a variety of mobile subject identities, such as 'tourists, jet-setters, refugees, illegal immigrants, migrant labourers [and] academics' (Cresswell, 2010: 26), all identities that in different ways and for different reasons engage in corporeal mobility. Illich's implicit definition of a passenger is narrow, so for the purpose of the theoretical discussion of who can be said to be a consumer of distance, Cresswell's mobile subject identities are initially all labelled as potential distance consumers. However, a discussion of who might actually be consuming distance will need to explore how the mobile individual actively contemplates distance in relation to their mobility and how distance becomes a motivational factor for mobility, making the motivation for mobility central for understanding consumption of distance. The drivers of mobility are numerous and not all include distance intrinsically, but in those situations where they do, the travel activity could be conceptualised as consumption of distance. Thus, to identify consumers of distance among mobile individuals, their motivation for travelling must be explored and the role of distance in that motivation understood. This research focusses on tourists as distance consumers and therefore it is relevant to understand the tourists and their motivation to travel.

The motivations and travel behaviour of tourists represent a relationship to distance that is a freer one than it is for other potential distance consumers, such as workers and refugees, hence the analytical focus on tourists in this research. A universally accepted definition of tourism and tourists does not exist and any definition of tourism will be dependent on the viewpoint from which the definition is made (Ryan, 1991). In relation to this research, it has not been important to provide a specific definition of tourism or tourists. Tourists in this research are taken to be individuals who travel on holiday and the application of when an activity qualifies as 'travelling on holiday' has been largely left to the tourists themselves to determine. What is of interest for this research is the tourists' own perception of distance in relation to their holidays and therefore it was important that they themselves were left to determine when something is a holiday, and not having this determined by a theoretical definition.

The contemporary tourist

The tourist as a category has developed over the past centuries, from when European grand tours were undertaken by young aristocrats, believers went on pilgrimages and the rich travelled to spa towns for the good of their health to today, when everybody can be viewed as a tourist (Lash and Urry, 1994). Organised mass tourism emerged when

social and economic developments meant that normal working people had more time and money to spend at their leisure. In 1841 Thomas Cook started organising leisure travel, first within the UK and later also to destinations further afield (Lash and Urry, 1994). This organised tourism grew into the holiday-industry of the 20th century with its packaging and standardisation of holidays for the masses, which Poon (1989) has labelled 'old tourism'. Still a form of tourism that millions engage in every year, the old tourism is being opposed by the 'new tourism' (Poon, 1989) which is more customised and segmented, no longer designed for the masses, but a form of tourism that is flexible in relation to what the individual desires for their holiday. This 'new tourism' alongside a drop in the numbers of people travelling on package holidays, the symbol of the old tourism, led Lash and Urry (1994: 270) to suggest that the more fragmented and differentiated travel patterns could be understood as the end of tourism *per se*. This suggestion is not based on an expectation that people will not travel for leisure any more, but on an analysis of the social relations that are involved in tourism, which are becoming more de-differentiated from the social relations involved in everyday life, thus making the distinctions between tourism and everyday life less and less pronounced (Lash and Urry, 1994; Edensor, 2007).

In this context of tourism being de-differentiated from everyday life and an individual activity not necessarily enjoyed via the mass-tourism industry, the tourist has become a 'post-tourist' (Lash and Urry, 1994; Urry, 2002), who revels in the choice a multiplicity of places and mobilities on offer for exploration of the other and of elsewhere:

> [T]he post tourist is aware of change and delights in the multitude of choice […] For the post-tourist all the world is literally and metaphorically a stage. He or she can find pleasure in the multitude of games that can be played and in the paradox of choices between them (Lash and Urry, 1994: 275).

Tourism becomes a performance, where the actors *do* tourism as part of their quest for *their* individual desired tourism experience. Authenticity, often seen as a central element of a positive tourism experience (MacCannell, 1973; MacCannell, 1999; Olson, 2002) has lost its defining function for tourism, and the post-tourist takes delight in the inauthentic tourism experiences, where the tourists know that what they are engaged in is not *real*, but rather a copy or enactment staged for the tourists (Lash and Urry, 1994). This notion of inauthentic tourism experiences has been taken even further by

Baudrillard, who uses the terms simulacra and hyperreality in his description of places, objects and experiences that are copies, that have no original (Baudrillard, 1994). In this dissolution of reality into an endless series of reproductions and representations, where the copies themselves are seen as reality, the inauthentic (tourism) experiences are being consumed as if they were the 'real' ones, and are often seen as 'better' at fulfilling the expectations of the tourists. The post-tourists do not look for the real thing, but for things that signify their notion of what the real thing might be to them (Lash and Urry, 1994).

Culler (1981) argues that the tourist is always in search of signs, that contemporary tourism is a highly semiotic activity, and that the:

> tourist is interested in everything as a sign of itself, an instance of typical cultural practice: A Frenchman is an *example* of a Frenchman [...]. All over the world the unsung armies of semiotics, the tourists, are fanning out in search of signs of Frenchness, typical Italian behaviour, exemplary Oriental scenes, typical American thruways, traditional English pubs (Culler, 1981: 127).

The post-tourist plays the game of finding, mixing and matching tourist experiences, which they know are not real, but that is not important. The important thing is that the experiences can be seen as signs of culture, which the post-tourist already has a knowledge of, and that the tourist experience serves the role as materialising the pre-conceived notions of a given culture. Very few places and cultures today are completely unknown to tourists, almost anywhere they travel they will come into contact with places and cultures of which they have heard or seen at a distance. Hence the tourism experience will act not as first-time meeting, but as an encounter with cultural signs that are known, and which the tourist imagines to be in a particular way. This imagination may not by a true reflection of the reality, but what the tourist is looking for are the signs that signify the imagined representations, even if 'reality', the authentic experience, turns out to be different. In this understanding, the post-tourist is a traveller in search of signs that fulfil hedonistic imaginations about other places and cultures, a semiotic, that has a multiple choice of representations to interpret in a game of tourism, aimed not at authentic experiences but rather at satisfying and constituting a contemporary lifestyle.

Jansson (2002) discusses the notion of authenticity and mediatised tourism. Not agreeing completely with the idea of post-tourists and the end of tourism, where tourism and everyday experiences have been de-differentiated (Lash and Urry, 1994), he concedes that contemporary society has transformed tourism into an activity that is heavily integrated with signs, consumption and representations. Authenticity in tourism is for him when the destination and experience meets the expectations of the tourists, a symbolic authenticity that is largely created in 'the representational realm' (Jansson, 2002: 439). For Jansson, the contemporary tourist is a hyper-tourist, whose tourist explorations, much like the post-tourist's, take place in this representational realm, where classifications and fixed meanings of tourism and tourism experiences are avoided, and where travel:

> becomes a way to mix cultural symbols in new ways, creating stylistic ensembles without anchorage in social conventions, and simultaneously avoiding classification of the self … The excitement is primarily received from the symbolic effect of being in an imaginary space that other groups may either take for granted as 'real', or condemn as 'inauthentic' – which is the very negation of the modern search for objective authenticity. What is important to the hyper-tourist is the symbolic authenticity – as perceived by others (Jansson, 2002: 439-440).

Contemporary tourism is a highly skilled activity, that requires the ability to interpret and negotiate signs and representations while simultaneously understanding how your actions can be interpreted by others, to play the tourism game by the rules, that are in flux, making sure your tourism travels match your desired lifestyle while at the same time fulfilling your hedonistic imaginations and just having a good time. This has led to the idea that tourism might usefully be understood as performance (Lash and Urry, 1994). Performance is a metaphor often used to describe how the actions of an individual are linked to their identity and to the way in which they wish others to perceive them. The actions of the individual are seen as a staging of attitudes, opinions, desires, motivations and rationales that, combined with conspicuous, inconspicuous and symbolic consumption of tangible and intangible objects, portray “who I am” or at least “who I would like other people to think I am”. Contemporary tourism allows the post-tourist to take this staging to the extreme in a performance upon a worldwide stage,

where the increased mobility and de-differentiation of tourism allows (and maybe even calls for) the post-tourist to 'find pleasure in a multitude of games that can be played and in the paradox of choices between them' (Lash and Urry, 1994: 275). Leisure travelling can be tailor-made to fulfil a multitude of purposes and dreams because for the (western) post tourist mobility-for-fun is (both economically and socially) readily available and a fundamental part of life, and leisure travel is a significant part of creating and maintaining a social profile (Larsen et al., 2007).

Having outlined some of the characteristics of the contemporary tourist, who potentially consumes distance when they travel on holiday, and thus perform the tourist act, the next section explores in more detail how their motivations for travelling can be understood. As mentioned earlier, the tourists' motivations for travelling on holiday are important for this research, as part of the consumption of distance potentially lies in a tourist's motivation to transcend distance.

Tourists' travel motivation

Tourists' motivation for travelling on holiday has been described as one of the most basic subjects of the study of tourism (Wahab, 1975), but also as one of most complex, because tourists are motivated by 'an enormous variety of factors, many of which are rooted in modern society' (Sharpley, 2008: 5-1). Tourists' motivation to travel on holiday has been linked to tourism demand, where the tourists' demand for tourism services is the outcome of their decision to act on their motivation to travel (Pearce, 1993). Dann (1981) has argued that tourism motivation could be understood as a hybrid concept that draws on knowledge from a wide range of research fields, and Iso-Ahola (1982) highlights that psychology is especially important for any understanding of tourists' motivation.

Dann (1981) identified seven ways of understanding tourists' motivation to travel, and one of these is the destinational pull in response to the motivational push. A destination can have a pull on the tourist, through its attributes and the tourist's knowledge and perception of these, factors that Goodall (1991) has labelled ‘destination-specific attributes’. In conjunction with these are the person-specific motivations, or push factors, which are the tourist's individual factors which push them towards a given destination. Sharpley (2008) argues that the distinction between the push and the pull factors is important in order to understand the role of motivation for tourism travel, and

that it is generally the push factors which lead to the decision to travel and, only then, do the pull factors become important in relation to the specific destination choice.

Tourism motivation has been conceptualised more specifically in a range of different ways, with more emphasis on how the personality of the tourist might influence their travel motivations and therefore also their travel behaviour. Plog (1974) developed a travel personality model based on an individual's psychological characteristics. Within this model a spectrum of travel personalities was identified, ranging from the allocentric traveller, who is the most adventurous and outward looking, to the psychocentic traveller, who is the opposite of the allocentric, and values known comforts. In between these two extremes, which represent the fewest of all travellers, are the near allocentrics, the mid centrics and the near psychocentrics (Plog, 1974). Pearce (1988) developed the 'travel career ladder', which is a hierarchical tourist motivation typology, with relaxation being the lowest level motivator, followed by stimulation, relationship, self-esteem and development, and self-actualisation/fulfilment. Ryan (1998) later argued that it is more appropriate to call this the travel career pattern, as the progression in travel motivation implied in the steps on Pearce's ladder is not necessarily reflected in tourists' travel choices over time. In contrast to Plog's travel personality model, the travel career ladder/pattern motivation model seeks to capture the dynamics of tourism motivation, by incorporating the notion that an individual's motivation for travelling is likely to change with age and travel experience (Chen et al., 2011).

A third conceptualisation of why people travel is offered by Cohen (1979), who argues that the tourist as a type does not exist (Cohen, 1979: 180) and that a tourist's motivation to travel may be found rather in a deeper exploration of how touristic experiences relate to an individual's quest for their 'centre'. The centre represents a place, although not necessarily a geographical location, where the individual feels integrated and content, and Cohen's argument is that tourist behaviour will reflect the relationship the tourist has with their centre. He develops a phenomenological typology of tourist experiences, which represent the types of tourist experiences that become important for the tourist's search for the centre. The recreational mode represents motivation for travelling when the tourist is not searching for a centre outside their everyday life and the purpose of a holiday is merely pleasure, while the other end of the typology sees the existential traveller, who is searching for a centre 'out there', and for meaning which is not to be found in their everyday life (Cohen, 1979). In between the two poles are the diversionary, experiential and the experimental modes, which represent increasing

degrees of dissatisfaction or unease with the experiences of everyday life in relation to fulfilling a need for meaning and authenticity (Cohen, 1979).

These conceptualisations of what drives people to travel show that motivation has a range of different factors and also highlight that travel motivations are dynamic and potentially change from one holiday to the next. Because motivation is dynamic, so is the basis on which a holiday destination is chosen (remembering that a destination's pull factors are partly dependent on a tourist's push/motivation factors). These are valuable insights for this research into tourists' consumption of distance, because it shows that what drives the tourists' engagement with distance is based on a range of factors. The existence of a number of different approaches to understanding tourists' travel motivations first and foremost highlights that travel motivation is complex and not easily understood by tourists and researchers alike (Mill and Morrison, 1985) and, without subscribing to one specific understanding of tourism motivation, this research brings this complexity into the conceptualisation of consumption of distance. The tourist motivation understandings reviewed above have (at least) one thing in common: they try to explain why tourists travel across distance and this research focusses on the role distance *per se* has for this process.

Gilbert (1991: 79) has argued that research into tourists' decisions about their travels can be grouped into four areas, each with a different focus, but with interrelations and overlaps:

- Energisers: the forces, such as motivation, that lead the tourist to take the decision to travel.
- Filterers: constrain the demand or channel it through economic, sociological or psychological factors, even though the motivation for travel exists.
- Affectors: information and images that influence the tourist's holiday decisions.
- Roles: the different roles a tourist can assume have an impact on the holiday decisions.

Choosing a destination is part of the first phase of the tourism experience, which consists of planning and anticipation, travel to the destination, being at the destination, the return journey and recollection (Fridgen, 1984). Following Gilbert's (1991) understanding of which factors influence a tourist's decision making process, the choice of a destination is the result of a deliberation that is influenced by both the tourist's

motivation for contemplating a destination and the information they have about the potential destinations, but also potentially constrained by a range of factors, such as economy and socio-demographics. Framing the importance these factors have on a holiday decision are the different roles the tourist can have, a role which can change from one holiday decision process to the next, over time and with travelling experience. The role can be determined by, for example, life stage, social position in a family group or economic capability as a consumer.

Gilbert's outline of the factors present in a tourist's decision making process, especially in relation to the choice of destination and of transport mode, is relevant for this research into tourists' potential consumption of distance. Distance, in all its dimensions, can become both an energiser and a filter of demand in relation to destination and transport mode choice (Nicolau, 2008) and. specifically the role of the tourist as consumer in relation to a given decision process, can be linked to the above discussion of how consumption of distance is part corporeal, part symbolic. By pronouncing the tourist a consumer, Gilbert (1991) helps establish that the relationship between a tourist and their holiday is one of consumption, which corresponds well with the conceptualisation of tourists' consumption of distance in this research. It also gives this research scope for exploring the link between the tourist assuming a role as consumer and their perception of distance. It is conceivable that the perception of distance could be influenced by the role a tourist has in a holiday decision-making process, because the role will to some degree determine the relationship the tourist has to distance. Gilbert (1991) suggests that roles in relation to the decision to travel on holiday and where to go could be determined by an individual's position in a family group (father/husband, mother/wife, children/siblings) and their relationship to distance could differ because of the difference that exists between them regarding authority, economic as well as safety responsibility and experience, potentially causing their perceptions of distance to differ as well. Tourist roles could also be viewed in relation to Cohen's (1979) typology of tourist experiences discussed above. It is imaginable that the tourist has different roles that will to some degree be determined by the nature of their tourist experience and this again could influence the perception of distance. A tourist seeking purely pleasure through their holiday is likely to assume a different tourist role than a tourist that travels for experiential reasons. Their perceptions of distance could be very different (or: this could be one tourist engaging in both types of holiday experiences, at different times, experiencing different perceptions of distance).

Chapter Summary: Consumption of Distance Revisited

Consumption, both material and symbolic, mobility, and consumers (and their motivations and experiences) form the theoretical basis for the conceptualisation of consumption of distance. This section outlines how consumption of distance is to be understood in more detail, following the above review of several theoretical positions.

The reason for developing the consumption of distance concept is to have a framework for exploration of how and also in what dimensions distance becomes part of holiday mobility. The simplest way this happens is obviously through the necessity of movement across distance for a holiday, but as the discussion in Chapter Two: Distance showed, there are many more dimensions to distance than the physical and the interaction with all the dimensions of distance through holiday mobility has more in its nature than just necessity. It is to facilitate inquiries into multidimensional distance and its role for holiday mobility that consumption of distance is conceptualised in this thesis. Three main elements are proposed as central to the understanding of consumption of distance, shown below in diagram 3.1:

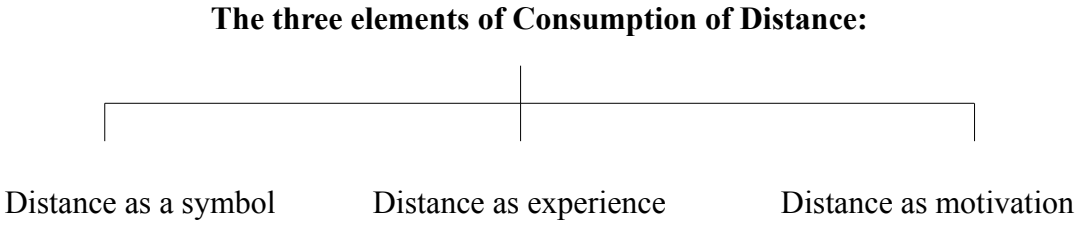

Diagram 3.1: Consumption if Distance

These three elements of consumption of distance should be understood as supplementing each other in explorations of whether distance is consumed and how. Not all three need to be present in a relationship between a tourist and distance, and to what degree distance can be said to be consumed in a given situation is very much an analytical distinction, rather than a theoretical one. The concept acts as a guideline for inquiries into behaviours and attitudes that could reveal a tourist's relation to distance, but whether it is appropriate to conceptualise an engagement with distance as consumption will rest on a diligent assessment of specific tourist-distance relationships.

Together 'distance as a symbol', 'distance as experience', and 'distance as motivation' provide a theoretical basis for understanding consumption of distance that draws on ideas of contemporary consumption, the importance experiences have for social activities, and the motivations for holiday-making that can be found in corporeal travel.

Distance as a symbol: much contemporary consumption is concerned with the consumption of symbols and signs, and the primary purpose of this consumption is social distinction. Material consumption is obviously still important, but for exploring consumption of distance, which is difficult to classify as a good or a service, the symbolic consumption is more relevant than the material. Transcending distance can become a symbol, that is used in a process of establishing social status and identity, and this is a process that can be viewed as consumption of distance. Here, travelling across distance, and the way in which it is done, is used for social classification, something Holt (1995), in general, and Sharpley (2008), in a tourism context, conceptualised as consumption. Distance can become a symbol within holiday mobility when destinations and travel modes are used as social markers and as a way communicating life styles through tourism to others. Obviously it will not only be the distance to a destination and how it is overcome that is part of this social communication, and any holiday mobility is unlikely to be purely symbolic.

Distance as experience: Distance can be engaged with through experience, as it has been shown in the above review, particularly through tourism mobilities, as shown by Larsen's (2001) travel glance and the slow travel movement. It is proposed within the framework of consumption of distance that engaging with distance through valued experiences of being on the move could amount to consumption of distance because, as argued by Pine and Gilmore (1999), much of contemporary consumption is the consumption of experiences. Thus, appropriating distance through experience is here conceptualised as a form of consumption, whose empirical extent will be explored in the following analysis.

Distance as motivation: It is also proposed that a motivational relationship between the distance travelled and the tourist can constitute consumption of distance. This is because when distance becomes motivational for travel there is a direct engagement with distance *per se*, which can be both corporeal and symbolic; a type of relationship that corresponds with the original conceptualisations of consumption and commodities, as they have been presented by Appadurai (1986), Featherstone (2007) and Campbell

(1995). Distance can become a motivator for travel when the tourist desires distance for distance sake, and seeks to fulfil this desire through their holiday choices.

Gilbert (1991) presented the consumer as one of the potential roles the tourist can assume in the holiday decision making process and Holt (1995) showed how the consumer can manifest their consumption through four different metaphors: experience, integration, play and classification. For an analysis of whether distance is consumed by tourists, this latter theoretical position on consumption metaphors is particularly informative. These metaphors, together with Gilbert's tourist-consumer, are an analytical platform that allows for exploration of different approaches and purposes for consumption, and within this research, distance consumption. Through application of the consumption metaphors to the relationships between distance and the tourist, it is possible to assess the nature of that relationship as being one of consumption or not.

Consumption of distance provides a framework for understanding how a tourist explicitly engages with distance, as well as makes distance an intrinsic element of the tourist's mobility. Much travelling happens without explicit consideration being given to physical and relative dimensions of distance, and distance is 'only' given an instrumental role ('only' in quotation marks because the importance of the instrumentality of distance should not be forgotten), but through the concept developed here, focus is directed towards the relationship between the tourist and the distance they travel across when they go on holiday. The relationships between the tourist and distance are therefore important for any inquiry into tourists' consumption of distance and these are the focus for the analysis presented later in this thesis. A tourist-distance relationship is any situation, corporeal, manifest or imagined where the tourist engages with distance, either directly through for example travelling from one place to another or indirectly, such as contemplating distance in relation to a holiday decision.

The next chapter presents the methodological foundations of the research into tourists' consumption of distance, discussing how social construction and discourse analysis inform the analysis and how the data for the analysis was collected. Following the methodology chapter is the analysis chapter, which explores the relationships between the tourists and distance, wherein evidence of consumption of distance is to be identified.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology and methods employed for the data collection and the analysis in this thesis. The focus for this research is tourist engagements with distance, and the analysis is based on interviews with tourists, who, to perform tourism, must cover distance in one way or another. It is these tourists' understanding of, and engagements with, distance that will form the basis for the analysis. The research is explorative and qualitative, and will lead to generalised theoretical reflections on distance in a holiday mobility context, through an abductive methodology. The research engages tourists through interviews, and was conducted in Denmark, with Danish participants.

This chapter presents how distance perceived in a holiday mobility context is analysed in this thesis, first by discussing social constructionism and discourse analysis as the ontological and epistemological framework for the research. Following this, there is an outline of the research process, including data collection methods and interview participants, and the analysis approach.

Research Questions

The approach to collection and analysis of data has been dependent on *what* information was needed from the field and *how* this information was to be analysed. By using the nature of the desired data and the proposed analysis strategy as guidelines for the choice of methods, it was ensured that the collected data were appropriate for the further analysis. The research is guided by two research questions:

- How can the relationship between tourists and distance be understood as consumption of distance?
- To what extent do tourists consume distance?

The research therefore needed to produce knowledge about:

- How tourists reflect on their holiday mobility

- Why tourists travel on holiday and how they choose their holiday destinations
- How tourists perceive and talk about distance in relation to their holiday mobility
- The relationship between the choice of destination and the distance to it
- How tourists regard the travel-element of their holidays.

Social Constructionism and Discourse Analysis

The main focus for the analysis is how the interviewed tourists understand and talk about distance in relation to their own holiday mobility, which makes the analysis one of discourses. A discourse is a 'set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events' (Burr, 1995: 48), and a certain way of understanding and talking about the world (Hall, 1997; Hansen and Simonsen, 2004). Discourses are ways of representing aspects of the world, but, as any given aspect can be represented in different ways, different discourses can exist in relation to one aspect, making analysis of discourses an analysis of differing and sometimes opposing views. Fairclough (2003: 129) discusses how a discourse can be viewed as either representing a certain aspect of the world or representing this aspect from a given perspective. Discourse analysis is the detailed analysis of a text and can draw on a range of methods that focus on interpreting the meanings in text, that are often not explicit (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). The identification of discourses in a text is based on analysing how meaning is expressed and represented, which is a process that can be understood as either deconstruction or the identification of interpretive repertoires used in a text. Deconstruction refers to the process where the researcher attempts to take apart texts and identify how these are constructed in order to present particular images (Burr, 1995: 164). Identification of interpretive repertoires is the process where the researcher identifies metaphors, grammatical constructions, figures of speech etc. used by people when they construct their accounts (Burr, 1995: 176; Taylor, 2001). By identifying interpretive repertoires used by people when they talk about a specific topic, for example, in an interview situation, the researcher identifies the linguistic resources that are being used in the construction of a discourse. This approach of discourse analysis often uses interviews or transcripts thereof as basis for analysis, because the focus for the analysis is how people construct accounts through the use of language.

Potter and Wetherell (1987) view discourse analysis as an approach to research rather than a formal method and discourse analysis can be conducted using a range of methods. Discourse analysis is a subjective and interpretative approach to research, where the nature of truth and reality is viewed as social constructions that are constantly negotiated through social interaction. Social constructionism often forms the epistemological basis for discourse analysis (Hansen and Simonsen, 2004) especially for discourse analysis that has identification of interpretive repertoires as its focus, as the knowledge this generates is partial, situated and relative (Taylor, 2001). Both discourse analysis and social constructionism view language as a central element of producing a given version of reality, and reject the existence of an objective reality outside human interpretation.

Constructionism is a combined set of ways to understand what constitutes the natural world and the social world and represents views ranging from ontological constructionism, believing that the natural and physical world is a construct of our knowledge about it, to epistemological constructionism believing that our knowledge of the social world is a construct (table 4.1):

	A) Physical reality	**B) Social and human reality**
1) Epistemological constructionism	Our scientific knowledge of the physical reality is a construct	Our scientific and everyday knowledge of the social and human reality is a construct
2) Ontological constructionism	Physical reality is a construct of our scientific knowledge of it	The social and human reality is a construct of: • our scientific knowledge of it, or • our everyday knowledge of it, or • abstract concepts such as 'epistemes' etc.

Table 4.1: Types of constructionism (Collin, 2004: 24, transl. from Danish).

'Physical distance', as it was discussed previously, in this thesis signifies the distance measured in kilometres from one place to another, and will form the baseline for the later discussions of other forms of distance. Yet, physical distance itself can also be seen as a construct. An ontological constructionist view of physical reality (2A in table 4.1) argues that the physical reality is itself a construct and does not exist outside the human and social construction of it, whereas an epistemological constructionist view of

physical reality (1A in table 4.1) argues that it is 'just' the scientific knowledge about the physical reality that is a construct. Under both these understandings of the physical reality 'physical distance', as it is used in this research, will be a construct, either as a result of the way it is being understood as a measurement in, an epistemological constructionist would argue, arbitrary units (kilometres) or as a result of a scientific urge to regard distance as existing at all. These are radical positions, especially the ontological constructionist view on the physical reality (Collin, 2004). In this research it is acknowledged that physical distance can be viewed as a construct, but it is argued that physical distance measured in kilometres is such a common understanding that, regardless of it being a construct or an absolute entity that stands outside human construction, it makes sense to use physical distance as a baseline for exploring and understanding other forms of distance.

Social constructionism (1B and 2B in table 4.1) regards social and human reality as constructed, but accepts that there are elements in the world, which exist regardless of the social and human perception of them, such as the physical world and natural phenomena. According to social constructionism, what is being constructed is our knowledge of the social world around us and the social structures that influence the social world. These structures are sustained through social processes, where knowledge is constructed when people interact with each other and negotiate their social reality (Collin, 2004). Social constructionism has roots in a diverse range of subjects, from philosophy, linguistics, sociology, cultural studies and social psychology (Wetherell et al., 2001; Collin, 2004; Hansen and Simonsen, 2004). Within these different subject areas, social constructionism is taken to be different, but related, things and no single feature can be said to define social constructionism.

In spite of this, Burr (1995) has listed four points that can be applied to most understandings of social constructionism:

- **a critical stance towards 'taken for granted' knowledge:** reality is only accessible through our concepts and categories, and is a product of our way of categorising the world
- **historical and cultural specificity:** our view of the world will always be historically and culturally embedded
- **knowledge is produced and reproduced through social processes:** knowledge is created in the daily interaction between humans, where mutually

accepted truths are maintained, and there is an ongoing discussion of what is true and false

- **knowledge and social action are linked:** different social understandings create different social actions, and the social construction of knowledge and truth entails manifest social and material consequences

By adopting the social constructionist view of social reality and knowledge production, the analysis in this thesis becomes embedded in an understanding of knowledge and truth as something that is constructed socially, not as something that is given before human interpretation. In the analysis it is accepted that there is a physical reality which exists freely of the social world, which in this research is reflected by the understanding of physical distance. But by analysing distance through how it is discursively produced by tourists, this research argues that it is not only the physical distance that is relevant for understanding travel behaviour. Indeed, as it will be discussed later, it appears that the other forms of distance identified through the analysis are more real to some tourists than physical distance.

Research Process

As discussed, the research is based on social constructionism and discourse analysis is used as the analysis tool. It is an explorative and qualitative inquiry that focusses on how distance is understood and talked about in a holiday mobility context. The approach to the data collection reflects this, by using methods that capture tourists' discursive reflections on distance through focus group interviews and in-depth interviews. In the analysis, the data collected in the interviews have been used to explore how distance is understood and talked about, and the focus has been on the reflections and discourses expressed about distance. Adopting a social constructionist view has meant an openness towards the views expressed by the tourists, where the explorative nature of the research allowed their views to guide the inquiry, which has followed the paths laid out in the interviews.

The data collection started with a pilot focus group interview and a pilot in-depth interview, which were conducted in order to prepare for the subsequent focus group interview and in-depth interview inquiry. When the first focus group interview had been conducted the analysis started, which meant that data collection and analysis ran in parallel. The analysis of the data collected through the interviews continued until the

end of the research period, but after the conclusion of the interview period the focus for the analysis was both data and theory, where the analysis during the interview period was focussed mainly on data (transcription and open coding). Table 4.2, below, provides an overview of the research process:

	4.09	1.10	2.10	3.10	4.10	1.11	2.11	3.11	4.11	1.12	2.12	3.12
Lit. review												
Focus group int.												
In-depth int.												
Data analysis												
Theoretical analysis												

Table 4.2: Overview of research process. The column headings refer to the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th quarters of the 3 year research process

Little is known about how tourists understand distance, and therefore this research has used an abductive research approach. Abduction is creative, logical inference that, based on data, suggests possible theoretical explanations (Hansen and Simonsen, 2004). Observations (data) become the basis for theoretical discussions about a given topic, and because very little knowledge (theory) exists about tourists' perception of distance, it is the data that drive the inquiry, but without determining the theoretical outcome of the analysis. The abductive research approach

> consists of assembling or discovering, on the basis of an interpretation of collected data, such combinations of features for which there is no appropriate explanation or rule in the store of knowledge that already exists (Reichertz, 2007: 215).

This research is abductive for two reasons. Firstly because of the parallel engagement with both theory and data, where theory and data have informed each other throughout the research process. The abductive research approach saw theoretical and empirical work develop in an interplay between each other, where theory informed the initial analytical explorations of data, but as data were gathered, they were analysed and formed a basis for revisiting the theory in order to investigate unexpected phenomena

and themes in the data. This again informed the next encounter with data, where further questions and lines of inquiry were added in order to explore new themes. This ongoing interaction between theory and data has resulted in a theoretically informed, empirically based inquiry (Blaikie, 2007), that is rooted in theory but has allowed for themes emerging from the data to be investigated and thus become central to the analysis of perceptions of distance. The second reason this research is abductive is that the starting point for the research was theory. Theoretical assumptions about how tourists relate to and engage with distance formed the basis for the research, and therefore the data collection was targeted and framed by theoretical pre-conceptions, which guided the first part of the data collection process.

The data collection was conducted over four periods of time, in between which the collected data were analysed:

October 2010:	Focus group interviews (four interviews)
November 2010:	Interview round A (11 interviews)
March 2011:	Interview round B (seven interviews)
May 2011:	Interview round C (12 interviews)
	Total: four focus group interviews and 30 in-depth interviews

The data collection was guided by theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling is the process of allowing analysis of data to guide the subsequent data collection (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Theoretical sampling was applied both to the selection of interview participants and to the development and review of the interview guides. Using theoretical sampling to find the interview participants meant that the participants were chosen based on whether it could be expected that they would have something relevant to add to the data through their reflections and responses to the questions.

One example of theoretical sampling used for the selection of interview participants for the data collection is the deliberate decision to find participants who were in a relationship rather than single. The first interviews, three with people who were single, and one interview with a couple, suggested that the considerations an individual has before travelling on holiday, such as where to travel to and how to travel, depend to a certain degree on who they have the possibility of travelling with. It was raised as an issue in the interviews with the people who were single that they did not have an obvious travel partner, and that when and where they would travel on holiday therefore

often becomes opportunistic, i.e. whenever there is a chance of travelling with someone, they will go, even though it might not have been the kind of holiday they would themselves have chosen. This raised the question of whether these pre-holiday considerations are different if there is an obvious travel partner, as for example a spouse, where the question of who to travel on holiday with, at least in theory, is not as relevant as for a person who is single. Therefore the next two interviews were conducted with individuals who were in relationships, and the outcome was, that even though the manifest travel behaviour might not be that different, the reflections on travel partners is a major issue for singles, while it is nearly absent in the interviews with people in relationships.

Other examples of issues being raised in interviews, and sought to be explored in subsequent interviews through theoretical sampling of interview participants are whether or not the participant has children, is in employment with a limited amount of free time during the year, the extent of previous travel experience and age. Theoretical sampling of interview participants has therefore resulted in a selection that includes a variety of individuals representing a diverse range of ages, income groups and social circumstances. For a list of interview participants and their background details, see Appendix A.

Theoretical sampling was also used in the development of the question guides for the interviews. The 30 in-depth interviews were conducted over three periods of time to allow analysis of the one group of interviews to inform the formulation of the questions for the next group of interviews. The majority of the questions asked in the three rounds of interviews are the same, but additional relevant questions were added, to enquire further into issues raised in previous interviews. One example of theoretical sampling used in the formulation of additional questions is the more detailed enquiry into the role of distance. In the first 11 interviews, distance in relation to holiday mobility was addressed through the question 'does distance matter when you travel on holiday?' The various answers to this question given by the interview participants resulted in the addition of the questions 'are distance and accessibility linked?', 'what is the connection between distance and a good holiday?' and 'does distance influence whether the holiday is interesting?'. The four interview guides (one focus group and three rounds of in-depth interviews) can be seen in Appendix B.

Adopting theoretical sampling meant that each interview analysis contributed to expanding theoretical categories emerging from the data, and through this constant

comparison underlining the data collection, subsequent interviews informed the emerging categories, thereby building theory. The data collection and analysis thereby became an abductive process, due to the constant comparisons and validations that link the data with the emergent categories of the new theory.

Recruitment

The participants for the interviews were recruited through a process of 'snowballing', which was initially started through the professional and personal networks of the researcher (via email, phone and Facebook), and by asking people in these networks if they could suggest any potential participants, who where then contacted by the researcher. Initial recruitment was based on convenience sampling, where participants are selected based on accessibility, and used at the beginning of a project in order to identify scope, major components and the trajectory of the research (Morse, 2007; Richards and Morse, 2007). Afterwards, for the participants in the in-depth interviews, theoretical sampling was used, where interviewees were selected based on an assessment of what they could contribute to the themes and concepts emerging from the analysis (Glaser, 1978; Morse, 2007). The convenience recruitment was primarily based on the personal network of the researcher, while the theoretical sampling was based on contacts gained through the personal network, but the participants in the in-depth interviews are not part of the researcher's own network.

The first three focus group interviews were conducted in conference rooms in the public library in Aalborg, Denmark, as this was a neutral setting for all participants and easy to access. The in-depth interviews were conducted in the homes of the participants or in a public place of their choice. It was important for the interview participants to feel comfortable with the setting of the interview, in order to create a relaxed atmosphere, where they felt they could talk openly about the questions asked. The participants in the fourth focus group interview were recruited through one contact person, the woman whose home was the setting for the interview. In this group interview all the participants knew each other, which was the reason for it being acceptable for the interview to be conducted in a private home.

All participants in both focus group interviews and in-depth interviews were informed of the purpose of the interview beforehand. They were also informed that they could withdraw from the interview at any time, should they wish to do so, and that all information exchanged in the interview would remain anonymous. All interview

participants gave their signed consent. Prior to the data collection, an ethical assessment was conducted, but because of the nature of the research topic and the potential participants it was judged that no extraordinary precautions needed to be taken to protect the participants or the researcher.

Focus group interviews

The purpose of the focus group interviews was to start the inquiry into how tourists perceive distance within the context of their holiday mobility, and because little is known about this, the use of focus group interviews was a method of initial exploration of how tourists talk about distance and what meanings they attach to distance. Focus group interviews can have different purposes. They are used in marketing research to examine how a new product might be received, where the purpose is for the participants to give their opinions on a given topic or issue (Krueger and Casey, 2000), but they can also be understood as a dynamic, in-depth conversation between the participants, where the dynamics of social discourse and practice are explored, which makes these types of focus groups appropriate for examining socio-spatial practices or discourses (Bosco and Herman, 2009). This type of focus group interview sees little moderator intervention, and embraces complexity in the discussions, where new topics are allowed to emerge from the discussions outlined by the moderator. Tonkiss (2004) notes how the use of focus group interviews is also useful when the researcher needs to scope and operationalize potential core concepts within an unfamiliar field and to identify and clarify main themes of the research:

> Focus groups are valuable for exploring meaning in terms of participants' own understanding and terminology. For this reason, they can shed light on how respondents make sense of research problems or topics, helping to spell out key terms, issues and questions (Tonkiss, 2004: 195).

It is in this capacity that focus group interviews have been used in this research as this exploratory use of focus group interviews can 'develop familiarity, test methodological techniques, understand setting, formulate hypotheses [and] identify informal respondents' (Frey and Fontana, 1991: 180). The focus group interviews therefore act as a pilot study in preparation for the subsequent in-depth interviews. Thus, the elaborations on distance in the focus groups were analysed and coded according to

theoretical sampling and informed the first round of in-depth interviews with tourists, both in terms of selection of interview participants and interview themes and questions. Four focus group interviews were conducted as part of the data collection:

- focus group 1: Four male participants, aged 23 to 33
- focus group 2: Three female participants, aged 25 to 28
- focus group 3: Four female participants, aged 28 to 29
- focus group 4: Two male participants and three female participants, aged 62 to 70

The four focus group interviews were small in group sizes. Krueger and Casey (2000) notes that five to 10 participants in one interview will make the group small enough for every participant to have the opportunity to speak, but large enough to represent a range of opinions and reflections. The plan had been to have five or six participants in each focus group interview, but recruitment proved difficult, in spite of incentives being offered in the form of charity contributions. Few were willing to participate in a focus group interview and declined for a variety of reasons, and even though efforts were made to merge some of the focus group interviews, coordination of diaries prevented this, and one focus group interview had to be abandoned because only one person showed up for the interview.

Originally only three focus group interviews had been planned, but a fourth was added, because the first three interviews were held with people under the age of 35. The fourth focus group interview had participants over the age of 60, and was conducted to explore potential contributions from this age group to the research. In all 16 people participated in the focus group interviews, and only because the focus group interviews acted as a pilot for the in-depth interviews was this number of participants deemed acceptable. Were findings from the focus group interviews to have a pivotal role in the analysis of tourists' understandings and consumption of distance, the few numbers of focus group interviews, and the low number of participants in each focus group interview would not have been sufficient as a foundation for the research.

In-depth interviews

The in-depth interview is a method to gather information about the interviewee's life world with the aim of interpreting the meaning of the phenomena in relation to what is

at the centre of the conversation (Kvale, 1997). The 30 interviews forming the basis of the analysis in this thesis were all in-depth interviews, in which open ended questions were asked, that encouraged the participants to reflect on their own holiday travel behaviour and to relate information about their holidays. All interviews revolved around the same themes:

- Travelling on holiday (including their last and best holiday and the role holidaying has in their lives)
- Holiday transit and transport modes (including desired and most used modes for travelling on holiday, how they view the time spend in transit)
- Distance (whether and how distance becomes part of 'holiday thinking')
- Holiday desires

All interviews took the form of a conversation, where relevant reflections would be discussed when they appeared in the interview. The interview questions aimed at facilitating reflections by the participants on their holidays, why they travel on holidays and what role, if any, distance has in relation to their holiday mobility. Through the progress of the three interview periods the questions became more targeted at exploring themes that had emerged from previous interviews, while at the same time allowing for new themes to be identified through the participants' reflections and answers to interview questions.

The in-depth interview inquiry was conducted over three periods of time, with analysis of the interviews in between each interview round, which allowed room in the data collection to pursue emerging themes, in order to strengthen both the data collection and analysis. Because interviews and analysis ran in parallel, it was possible to follow the development and saturation of the themes identified in the interview data. Interviewing stopped when theoretical saturation had been reached, when no new themes and categories of relevance for conceptualising tourists' representations or potential consumption of distance emerged from the analysis of interviews. Theoretical saturation is the point in an analysis

> when all categories are well developed in terms of properties, dimensions, and variations. Further data gathering and analysis add little new to the

> conceptualization, though variations can always be discovered (Corbin and Strauss, 2008: 263).

After a total of 30 interviews conducted over three periods of time, no substantially new information or knowledge emerged through the interviews, which could further develop the theoretical categories established through analysis based on the previously conducted interviews. This acknowledgement was reached through the analysis, where the analysis of each new interview was added to the previous analysis, and after 30 interviews, the additional analysis of interviews did not add new themes or offer new insights to the combined analysis.

Four of the in-depth interviews were conducted with couples, based on the assumption that once individuals are in a settled relationship, they do most of their holiday planning and travelling together. While these interviews proved to be insightful, they did not yield as much information as the single in-depth interviews. Also for methodological consistency no more than four interviews with couples were conducted.

All focus group interviews and in-depth interviews were recorded using a digital recorder, and after each interview the recording was transcribed. The transcription aimed at including pauses and instances where sentences were not be finished or changed midway through, in order to capture how the interview participants talked and reflected on distance during the interviews. A transcription will always represent an interpretation of an interview (Kvale, 1997), but efforts were made to ensure that the interview transcripts are as close a representation of the interview as possible. No outside assistance was used in the transcription process, as transcribing an interview is a good opportunity to get familiar with the content of the interview, as well as it is a production of a text document for further analysis. All in-depth interviews lasted between one and two hours.

Interview Participants

The selection criteria for the participants in the in-depth interviews were that they had to have travel experience, be capable of independent travel, and be of Danish nationality.

There are two main reasons for choosing to conduct the empirical research in Denmark, with Danish nationals. Firstly, choosing Danes as interview participants allowed the interviews to be conducted in Danish. The analysis of the interviews is one of discourses, and by choosing Danish interview participants the discourse analysis was

conducted in the native language of both the researcher, which is important when the unit of analysis is language, and the interviewees, whereby they would be best able to express their views in the interview. Because language is at the centre of discourse analysis (Burr, 1995), this was regarded as an important factor in the design of the data collection stage of the research. Further, by choosing Danes both the professional and private networks to recruit interview participants from were also larger, which was seen as a benefit for ensuring the potential for theoretical sampling of interview participants.

The second reason for choosing to conduct the empirical research in Denmark was that Danish tourists, when interpreting the statistics of their travel behaviour, generally display a travel behaviour that is relevant for this research, i.e. frequent international travel, often over considerable distances (Knudsen, 2010, Danmarks Statistik, 2008). 64% of Danes undertake at least one holiday, of four nights or more, a year, with 5.9m holidays undertaken by Danes in 2006. Each tourist had 2.07 holidays that year, 11% of the tourists travelled only in Denmark, 11% travelled both in Denmark and abroad, and 42% only travelled abroad. Spain, France and Italy were the most popular destinations, and the only non-European destination in the top-ten is Turkey, ranked 10th. The most used mode of transport to reach destinations outside Denmark is the plane (Danmarks Statistik, 2008). These statistics show that in any sample of Danes there will be a majority of individuals with travel experience of relevance for this research. Travel experience was assumed to be an important criterion, because the participants would then have a base for their reflections on distance in relation to holiday mobility. The in-depth interview participants' age range was from 26 to 67 and they represent a wide range of educational and occupational backgrounds (see Appendix A).

The criteria for the participants in the in-depth interviews were set based on the experience from the focus group interviews. Before the start of the data collection, the initial aim had been only to include individuals with a high manifest holiday mobility, i.e. people who go on many holidays and/or travel far away. It was initially assumed that these would be individuals with a high potential for holiday mobility, in the age group of 25 to 35, with no children or other family constraints and who live away from their parents and have a significant disposable income. Based on a theory of highest potential manifest mobility, it was assumed that these individuals would be more likely to travel than other groups, and therefore they would be relevant for this research.

Three focus groups interviews were conducted with individuals from this group, and analysis showed, not surprisingly, and in line with the assumptions, that these

individuals did indeed express reflections and comments of relevance to the research. However, two of the participants in the focus group interviews have children, and contrary to the initial assumption about having a family constraining travel behaviour to a certain degree, the interviews showed that having children should not necessarily disqualify an individual's participation in this research. During the focus group interviews it had been highlighted that travelling with children was not something that curbed the holiday mobility, only changed the amount of planning needed and the approach to what to expect from a holiday. Therefore the initial criterion about not having children was discarded.

A fourth focus group interview was conducted with people over 60 years of age. This was done because an informal chat with one of the persons, who were later to participate in the focus group interview, about the research, highlighted that it is not just young people who have travel experience of relevance to this research. It was therefore decided to have a more formal discussion about this, which was done in the form of the fourth focus group interview. Analysis of this interview showed that the initial assumptions about who has a high holiday mobility were too narrow. The members of this focus group travelled more than the younger participants, arguably because they, in many cases, have more free time and more disposable income, and have more travel experience in general, because of their age. So while the distances travelled by the group assumed to be most mobile were longer, the frequency of travel for the older group was higher. Based on this analysis, the initial age group restriction on the interview participants for the in-depth interviews was reviewed and subsequently lifted.

The purpose of the focus group interviews had been to assess the suitability of the initially chosen group of interview participants and to assess how the interview questions were received and answered. Based on the analysis of the focus group interviews the participant selection criteria were revisited and broadened, so that for the in-depth interviews the selection criteria became that the participants should have travel experience, be Danish and capable of individual travel.

The selection was deliberately wide. It was hoped that by having a wide range of people within the selection it would be possible to capture a variety of cases in the interviews and that extreme cases would occur. This was important, as the aim of the research was not to establish any quantitative measure for ways in which tourists understand and consume distance, but rather to identify a range of possible representations of distance and the potential for consumption of distance.

Analysis

The analysis of the interviews was based on two analytical techniques: coding of the data and creation of themes based on the coded data through the use of memos (see Table 4.3, below, for a schematic overview of the analysis).

Data collection	**Analysis**
1. Focus group interviews	
2. Transcription and open coding of focus group interviews	Memo-writing started, and continues throughout the interview and analysis period
3. In-depth interviews, period 1	
4. Transcription and open coding of interviews	
5. In-depth interview, period 2	
6. Transcription and open coding of interviews	
7. In-depth interview, period 3	
8. Transcription and open coding of interviews	
	Axial coding of interview material
	Memo-writing based on axial coding becoming increasingly more structured and the concepts at the centre of the analysis are explored based on the themes extracted from the data. The two main concepts explored through the data: • representations of distance • consumption of distance Theory from the literature review is used to frame the themes and concepts

Table 4.3: Schematic overview of the data collection and analysis

The first part of the analysis was coding the transcripts, using Atlas.ti, a qualitative data analysis software. Coding is the process where concepts are derived from the raw data, and where properties of the data are identified and organised for the purpose of further analysis (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Bailey, 2007). Coding interview transcripts reduces the raw data and lifts the data to a level where it is conceptualised in an ordered fashion.

Open coding is the labelling of all the data that might be of relevance for further coding and analysis into various concepts, while 'at the same time qualifying those concepts in terms of their properties and dimensions' (Corbin and Strauss, 2008: 195). A total of 67 codes were developed in the open coding process of the analysis (see Appendix C for a list of the codes). After open coding, axial coding was used. Axial coding 'consists of intense analysis done around one category at a time in terms of the paradigm items' (Strauss, 1987: 32, in Bryant and Charmaz, 2007: 603). This type of coding was used in order to explore which groups of concepts in the data could be clustered together to identify where broader themes in the data could be created to develop an understanding of how tourists relate to distance. Axial coding is done 'to bring the data back together again into a coherent whole after the researcher has fractured them through line-by-line [open] coding (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007: 603). Axial coding focusses on the concepts that have emerged from the open coding, delineating the relationships the concept has to other concepts originating from the same data. One example of axial coding being used in this research is the analysis of the emerging theme 'far away', which explores how the notion of far away is constructed by the interview participants. This analysis included the data categorised under a number of open codes including 'far away', 'what determines how far to travel', 'world travel map' and 'resources invested'. All of these codes contributed to developing an understanding of how 'far away' is constructed by the interview participants, and therefore are included in the axial coding process for this particular theme.

During the coding process memos were written on the emerging themes. Memos are the written records of analysis (Corbin and Strauss, 2008: 117), and used as a technique to keep the researchers' engagement with the data focussed (and remembered). Memos differ from codes in being working documents, where the researcher writes down the thought process that lies behind the analysis. Codes are the labels the researcher attaches to the data, and it is during and after the coding process, that memos are developed, based on the thoughts the researcher has about specific themes and the analysis in general. It is in memos the researcher is able to ask questions of the data and test and discard ideas: 'Writing successive memos keeps researchers involved in the analysis and helps them to increase the level of abstraction of their ideas (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007: 608). Memos have helped keep track of conceptualisations about how tourists view and engage with distance and allowed for scrutiny of the development of ideas over time,

which has been essential for the creation of the themes that form the basis for the analysis. See Appendix D for an example of a memo.

After coding, the second part of the analysis involved developing the concepts that had emerged from the coding into broader themes, increasing the level of abstraction in the analysis. Themes result from careful coding of the data (Bailey, 2007), and are 'higher-level concepts under which analysts group lower-level concepts according to shared properties […] They represent relevant phenomena and enable the analyst to reduce and combine data' (Corbin and Strauss, 2008: 159). The themes created as a result of the analysis represent the findings of this research, where two theoretical concepts have been developed. The analysis of the data ran in two parallel tracks, one focussing on tourists' 'representations of distance', the other focussing on tourists' 'consumption of distance'.

Reflections on Methodology

Any methodological decision is a choice by the researcher about how the research topic is best approached; different methodological choices could have been made for this research, possibly with other analytical results as a consequence. Methodologically this research is integrated, with the research process being appropriately underpinned ontologically by social constructionism. The qualitative methods reflect the understanding that reality is negotiated and dynamic, and the explorative nature of the research is expressed through the use of theoretical sampling and saturation as guidelines for the data collection and analysis.

The two data collection methods are focus group interviews and in-depth interviews, which put conversation at the centre of the inquiry, both as method and as aim. A research interview is a targeted conversation, and an interaction between people where points of views are exchanged. Because of the interactive nature of interviews, the role of the researcher becomes a precarious one, where they risk influencing the interview beyond an acceptable level. The researcher has to introduce the topic of the interview and critically inquire into the reflections of the interview participant, but without enforcing their own views in the interview (Kvale, 1997). Yet, the subjectivity of the researcher is also a necessary element of the analysis, because a discourse analysis of interview reflections set in a social constructionist ontology risks becoming 'an extreme subjective relativism, where everything can mean everything' (Kvale, 1997: 225), and everything can be said to be true. The views expressed by the interview participants are

reflections of their experienced reality, but for the analysis it is the researcher's role to use the collected data to establish an understanding at an analytical and theoretical level, and in this process the subjectivity and the preconceptions of the researcher will become part of the analysis. The subjective preconceptions of the researcher will be part of the choices they make regarding the form and direction of the analysis, as well as the design of the data collection. Consequently any piece of research will reflect the researcher's starting point in terms of understanding the research topic and how to approach it.

The participants in the interviews, both focus groups and in-depth interviews, have all been Danish tourists. Tourists have a relationship to distance that is more voluntary in nature than the relationship they have with distance during their daily commutes and journeys. When one is a tourist, one is freer to choose the distance one travels, than when going to work, school, visiting family or engaging in hobbies. Yet, being a tourist is temporary, nobody is always a tourist, and a person's reflections on their tourism mobility will always be embedded in their daily mobility and social context. Therefore, when this research labels its interview participants tourists, it is mainly to emphasise that it is their mobility when they travel on holiday that is relevant, not their daily or commuting mobility. The participants were interviewed in Denmark, and therefore arguably when they were not tourists, but they were asked to reflect on their tourist behaviour. During the interviews they therefore create a discourse about distance in relation to their holidays, and it is these reflections from the interview participants that are relevant for this research. The most recent experiences are often those that are best remembered, but by interviewing the tourists while they were not on holiday, the impact of one particular holiday on the reflections by the participant was minimised, and their responses in the interviews are based on all of their holiday experiences combined, rather than on any single holiday. Had the interviews been conducted while the participant was on holiday, the risks exists that they would have mostly based their reflections on distance on their current holiday, which would not have been in the interest of the inquiry, as it is looking for a diversity of reflections from each participant.

The practical challenges for this research has primarily been in terms of recruitment of interview participants for the focus group interviews, where especially coordination proved difficult. Recruitment for the in-depth interviews was easier, as less coordination was needed. Efforts were made to counter the problems with recruitment through persistency, and this led to a fourth focus group interview being conducted. The main

theoretical challenge has been the assessment of which literature to integrate into the framework for the inquiry, as four main theoretical topics are represented:

- mobility
- consumption and the consumer culture
- tourism motivation
- geographical theories on space and distance

All four are large theoretical groups in their own right, and finding the appropriate integration of them into a relevant theoretical framework has proved complex. But this challenge is also what has shaped the research into the form it is now, where all four theoretical fields are understood together as part of the exploration of tourists' consumption of distance.

One of the methodological choices made for this research was to base the analysis on the Danish transcripts of the interviews, without translating them. Because the analysis is a discourse analysis, it was important that the documents forming the basis for the analysis were as close to the interviews as possible, representing the way the interview participants spoke about distance. The interviews were conducted in Danish because this is the native language of both interview participants and the researcher, and translating the transcripts would have lost the advantage of conducting the interviews in Danish. After the analysis parts of the transcripts have been translated for presentation purposes, mainly in this thesis. Quotes in this thesis are used to exemplify an analytical point, and referenced in the text by gender, age, the number of the interview and the number of the statement in the interview. Generally the translation of quotes has not presented any issues, but in the next chapter there will be a discussion of two words that are used in Danish to express the activity of travelling, and the translation of these two words into English was challenging, because direct translation is not possible. To discuss their translation is also to discuss the concepts they signify, which will be done in the next chapter.

The external validity of research refers to the generalisability of the findings to other inquiries. Kvale (1997) discusses three types of generalisability that are relevant for qualitative studies: naturalistic generalisability, statistical generalisability and analytical generalisability. The first two relate to generalisability based on personal experience and the explicit sample of a representative selection. Analytical generalisability relates to a

diligent judgement of the extent the results of one inquiry can be viewed as guidelines for what will happen in other inquiries. The judgement will be based on the similarities and dissimilarities between the original inquiry and a given new inquiry, and the generalisability will depend on the relevance of the similarities. Qualitative research will often have very specific contexts made up of, for example, the topic for the inquiry, which can be culturally or historically specific, or the participants' backgrounds, and this can make the issue of generalisability complex. This research rests on reflections made by 30 Danish tourists, and therefore the findings of this research will be moored in *their* holiday mobility context. Their selection was based on the insights *they* might be able to bring to the inquiry and not on how the selection could contribute to making the group of participants representative of the wider population. However, while the selection might not be representative of a wider population, there is no evidence to suggest that it could not be, and the theoretical insights gained from this research can inform studies of perceptions of distance in other contexts through analytical generalisability. The main concern for this research has been to be theoretically valid rather than identifying empirical propositions that can be immediately transferable to other inquiries or contexts. The focus was to engage a culturally homogeneous selection of participants, in order to explore the range of distance engagements present within that one selection.

The unit of analysis has been discourse, how distance is understood and talked about, and the issue of generalisability of the research is also a question of how general the language patterns found in the data are. Taylor (2001) discusses how it is possible to generalise research findings on the basis of discourse analysis, where the analysis identifies patterns of features that are common in different interactions or interviews. Each language interaction will be unique, but by identifying patterns of features that are present in many or all of the interactions, it is possible to reach a set of features that can be understood as part of a commonly shared social knowledge, and therefore theoretically generalisable to a wider group than just the participating selection.

This research into tourists' understanding of, and engagements with, distance is generalisable to existing theory and its strength is that it explores a wide range of distance representations, some of which are common for many people, others that are not so, at a theoretical level. It is analytically generalisable, offering relevant insights on a theoretical and analytical level, based on patterns of features that are present in the interviews expressing how the tourists understand and engage with distance. The

findings of this analysis can be used to develop consumption of distance theoretically, which can be applied to other inquiries representing other cultural and social contexts, but which are moored in the same theoretical framework as this research.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS

The focus for the reminder of this thesis is the analysis of consumption of distance, theoretically developed in Chapter Three: Consumption of Distance. This chapter presents the analysis of the tourist interviews discussed in the previous chapter. The presentation of the analysis is structured around five tourist-distance relationships, which were identified in the interviews:

- Representing Distance
- Choice of Destination
- In Transit
- Talking about Travelling: Tur or Rejse
- Attitudes towards Distance

Each of these five sections explores in its own distinct way the relationship between the interviewed tourists and the distance they transcend when they travel on holiday.

Introduction

Before turning to the thematic discussions, the introduction of this chapter will briefly revisit the theoretical framework for the analysis. Consumption of distance, diagram 5.1, below, was developed in Chapter Three: Consumption of Distance, and is based on theories of consumption, mobility and tourism motivation.

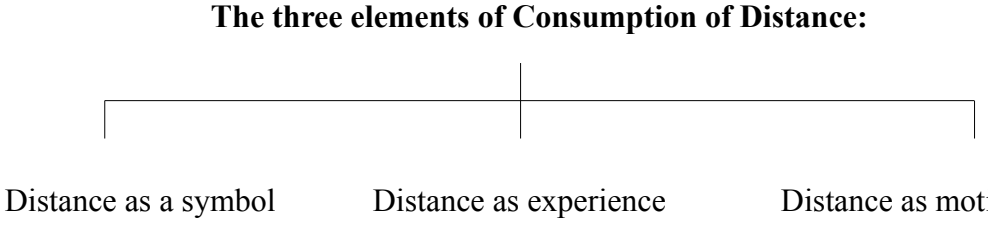

Diagram 5.1: Consumption of Distance

Consumption theories inform consumption of distance through symbolic consumption, and consumption metaphors. Much contemporary consumption is symbolic, used in social communication, and in the establishment of status and identities. While consumption is obviously still material, the understanding of consumption as partly symbolic lends its logic to this present inquiry and allows an exploration of how distance is engaged with by tourists in the form of distance as a symbol. The second position from consumption theories that informs the consumption of distance concept is offered by Holt (1995), who argues that contemporary consumption can be understood via four consumption metaphors: experience, play, integration and classification.

Mobility theories inform the conceptualisation of consumption of distance through emphasising that travelling from one place to another can be a valuable experience in its own right, and that in order to understand the meanings of mobility, three aspects must be explored: the facts of physical movement, the representations of movement, and the experience of movement by a mobile individual (Cresswell, 2010). Particularly important for this present research are the experiential qualities of travelling across distance.

From the literature on tourism motivation the conceptualisation of consumption of distance draws on understandings of what factors can drive tourism mobility and how these factors become part of a general desire in the tourist to travel and to travel to specific destinations or types of destinations. More specifically Gilbert's (1991) list of factors that influence the tourism decision process regarding whether and where to travel has informed the development of consumption of distance by highlighting that any holiday decision will be guided by energisers, filterers and affectors of demand, as well as the range of different consumer roles the tourist can assume in relation to the decision process. The understanding of the tourist as a consumer is an important distinction for this present research, as the tourist is the potential consumer of distance, through their holiday mobility.

Whether a tourist's relationship to distance constitutes consumption of distance will be based on an assessment of to what degree distance as a symbol, distance as experience and distance as motivation are present in that relationship. Not all relationships with distance will constitute consumption of distance, but neither need all three elements be present for a relationship between tourist and distance to become one of consumption.

Types of holidays undertaken by the tourists

For the following analysis of the tourist-distance relationships, the types of holidays the interviewed tourists undertake are relevant, because the type of holiday a tourist engages in influences their relationship to distance. These types will be used throughout the analysis as the context for the relationship between the tourists and distance. It matters for the way distance is engaged with, what context this engagement is set within and therefore the types of holidays are important.

It is difficult to fully explore tourists' motivations to travel and for their destination choices, as these are often not realised by even the tourists themselves (Iso-Ahola, 1980; Mill and Morrison, 1985). It is easier to identify the purposes tourists may have for travelling on holiday, and these purposes can lead to the categorisation of different types of holidays. Following analysis of the interviews, the types of holidays the tourists engage in were identified:

- holidays for visiting friends and relatives
- 'destination-type' holidays (where the holiday desire determines the *type* of destination, in the interviews predominantly represented by sun or ski holidays)
- experience holidays (this is a translation of the term used by the interviewees, in Danish, which signifies the type of holiday where the purpose is to experience a given destination. They can also be referred to as 'see-holidays', and not to be confused with 'adventure' holidays, which none of the interviewees referred to)

These types of holidays represent the holidays undertaken by the interviewees and this corresponds well with observations from other research into the types of holidays tourists typically engage in. According to UNWTO, 51% of international tourist arrivals in 2010 were people travelling for holidays, leisure and recreation, while 27% of the arrivals where by people travelling to visit friends and relatives or for religious or health reasons (UNWTO, 2012).

The rest of this chapter presents the five discussions that explore the interviewed tourists' relationships to distance, starting with the section focussing on how they represent distance in the interviews.

Representing Distance

This first analysis section focusses on how distance is represented in the interviews, i.e. on which dimensions of distance the interviewees use when they discuss their holidays. In Chapter Two: Distance, it was shown that distance is a multidimensional phenomenon, that can be regarded as both physical and relative and that distance's most basic property is that it, in whatever dimension, acts as some form of separator and as a signifier of relations between locations. This section discusses how the interviewees regard 'far away', and shows that distance is predominantly represented by the participants through dimensions that can be grouped into the categories of resources, accessibility and knowledge, and that distance in these forms often becomes more relevant than distance understood in its physical dimension.

It is important to understand how the interviewed tourists represent the multidimensional distance, that is an essential part of their holiday mobility, because in order to explore their potential consumption of distance, how they regard distance must be known.

The 'reality' of distance

This research uses social constructionism, arguing that 'reality' is a socially negotiated and culturally contextualised situation, rather than an objective truth. In line with this view, it is appreciated that one person's perception of distance is as real as another's, in spite of potential differences in their knowledge and views of distance, and in spite of how different these might be from more 'scientific' understandings of distance, as seen in for example topological cartography. The topological appearance of the world is fixed and unchanging over time spans that are relevant at a human scale and maps are a common representation of this space (Cosgrove, 1999). Maps may be used to project different types of geo-referenced information, illustrating either in terms of distance, scale, size or network where different geographical places are in relation to each other. They can also be used to illustrate information that is not directly related to guiding movement from one place to another, such as country or place specific quantitative information about for example trade, health and wealth (see for example worldmapper.org). It is an everyday activity to interact with maps in one form or another; road maps, satellite navigation systems, maps used in news coverage, and railway diagrams. This engagement with space in re-presented form requires knowledge about the map's relation to the spatiality it represents, but it does not necessarily require

enhanced geographical knowledge in general. Because everyday engagement with spatiality is mediated through maps and other forms of representation, geographical awareness of absolute space in individuals with no particular interest in geography is not a given.

As the purpose of this study is to explore how distance is perceived by the interviewed tourists, it is relevant to know how geographically aware the interviewees are, in order to see how their perceptions of distance relate to physical distance, if at all. In spite of regular interaction with geographical space in re-presented form, the interviews show that the awareness of geography in the interviewees is limited when it comes to knowing physical distances to places and countries and the location of different countries in relation to each other:

> Actually I don't know if it [Egypt] is far away in terms of kilometres in comparison to some of the other places I have mentioned [USA, Asia] (female, 26; C2: 148).

This lack of knowledge of the physical appearance of the globe is present in most of the interviews, even in interviews with geographers, who it might be assumed would have an interest in such matters. This might seem surprising given the relatively high level of holiday mobility displayed by the interviewees in general, but is probably explained by lack of interest in geography, combined with the fact that when the interviewees travel on holiday they do not need to know the mechanics of overcoming distance, because that will usually be organised by travel agents and managed by pilots, drivers or captains. The activity involved in overcoming distance is more a question of being able to navigate and use various forms of transport institutions and infrastructures (booking systems, terminals, social practices etc.) rather than actually transcending kilometre after kilometre. Therefore distance becomes 'real' through the personal investments (price, knowledge, the use of time etc.) that are required to interact with these transport institutions and infrastructures.

This lack of geographical awareness is relevant for the exploration of how distance may be understood, because it creates a foundation for representations of distance, which is itself not absolute. Following the analysis of the interviews, it is clear that generally, physical distance is not a foundation for other representations of distance as they are conceptualised by the interviewees. As commented in the interviews, distance does not

always matter in terms of numbers of kilometres, but through its representations it becomes a factor that impacts on decisions, behaviours and perceptions:

> For me, how far away it feels has got nothing to do really with the physical distance, it has to do with the cultural difference (female, 60; C10: 218).

This means that the ways in which distance is perceived by the respondents often rests on an understanding of distance that is detached from the physical world, which leads to the question of what 'real' distance is, and the observation that it must be the distance as it is perceived by the interviewees that is the real distance, regardless of the relation between physical and otherwise represented distance. It is more real that Barcelona is a two hour direct flight away, than it is 1750 km away from Copenhagen. This makes the representations of distance used by the respondents the reality they relate to, and their holiday mobility is better understood in relation to distance represented in these relative forms. This does not mean that physical distance does not matter, but that other representations are used more frequently, and therefore carry more weight.

Far away

Physical distance and the notion of 'far away' are not the same, and far away is not necessarily directly linked to physical distance. Far away is an abstract notion and an subjective one, where, that which is perceived as far away by some, might not be perceived to be so by others. There were significant differences between where 'far away' was assigned to be in each interview, when it was discussed without the presence of a map, and the reasons given for a place to be perceived as far away were numerous and not always linked to physical distance. The feeling of being far away can relate to factors such as climate, culture and personal experiences, as it was expressed by these interviewees:

> It [that, which makes a place feel far away] is how foreign it feels. It can be culture, but it can also be nature. All places that have a climate that feels a bit like the Danish one feels more known than if I travel to the tropical regions or the Arctic. That is very foreign somehow (female, 29; B2: 254).

> I think my experience of being far away is related to whether I see everyday things that I would also normally see. Whether I can get Cola Light […] When we were in Greenland for example, it was weird to be in the grocery stores up there, and see that you can buy Kohberg rye bread. But then again, Greenland is somehow part of Denmark. I do like that when, as in Thailand, you are so far away that you see things on the shelves that you have never seen before. You have no idea what to use those things for. I think that I am far away when I can't get my everyday things. Then I am far away (female, 29; C6: 200).

> [I feel far away] if I am in a situation where I am alone, where you don't really know what to do in a situation, and then I don't think it really matters whether I am in Copenhagen or Australia. That there is something unknown, that you are alone in facing. There were some situations in Galway where I thought that I was far away. I wasn't, but in some situations it felt like it (female, 30; C8: 386).

As it is evident in the above quotes, as well as in other interviews, 'far away' can be perceived both positively and negatively. In some situations, being far away is desired, as it became clear when discussing the interviewees' dream holidays, where one of the most common desired features of a dream holiday was that it should be to somewhere far away. But as the last quote above shows, being far away can also become a negative aspect of being in a place other than home, or without travel companions. Based on the interviews, this 'duality' in when far away becomes desired versus when it comes to be perceived negatively can broadly be linked to the tourist's desire to experience other places versus some degree of apprehension of being away from home, both in terms of being away from familiar surroundings, and in terms of what might happen at home while the tourist is away:

> You could feel, if something happened to somebody at home in Denmark, while I was in New Zealand, then I would feel far away. It would take a very long time to get back home, if I had to get home fast (male, 28; A8: 74).

Another interviewee expressed the same:

> For me it [the feeling of being far away] is more psychological than in relation to kilometres. It is probably mostly if something happens at home while I am away, then far away can be Zealand. And it can be shorter if you are near an airport where you can fly directly to Aalborg (female, 60; C10: 200).

Distance understood as resources

Time and financial resources become important for travel behaviour because of the determining effect the presence or absence of either has on the ability to travel, and they therefore easily become associated with the notion of 'getting away'. Because of this strong relationship between holiday means, in the form of economic and temporal resources, and the possibility of going on holiday, time and cost become factors that determine within which geographical limits holiday travel is possible, and therefore it is not only the physical distance involved in holiday travel that is immediately relevant, but also the resources it will take to get from home to the holiday destination. From the interviews it is evident that it is money and time that determine how far the tourists travel on holiday:

> It [that, which determines how far to travel] is how long I can get off from my work and how much money I have decided to spend. So it is time and economy (male, 30; C4: 194).

> It [that, which determines how far to travel] is a combination of the cost and then how much time I have at my disposal (male, 37; A6: 40).

This emphasis on time and money in relation to holiday-making is recognised within the literature as well, where the holiday demand models integrate cost and time, sometimes in the form of leave from work, into the framework for understanding the factors that determine holiday behaviour (Witt and Witt, 1995), and Gilbert (1991) focusses on the importance the availability of such economic and temporal resources has for the holiday decision making process through the concept of filterers of demand.

A common description of how far somebody is going away on holiday is that the destination is a four hour drive or a ten hour flight away, and this relays reasonably

accurate information about the distance to a given destination. This time-distance is easily interpreted by others, and time spent in transit is clearly viewed by the interviewees as a denominator for distance. The understanding in the interviews is that the longer time spent in transit, the further away the destination is, as long as the comparison is made between travel undertaken by the same mode of transport.

It also costs money to transcend distance, either paying the fare for travelling on planes, trains, ferries or coaches, buying the fuel for privately owned vehicles or buying the equipment needed for a cycle or rambling tour, so it is no surprise then, that when asked about what determines how far they travel, price is repeatedly mentioned as a very important factor by the interviewees:

> The price matters more than the actual distance (male, 34; C3: 364).

Whereas physical distance can be viewed as an absolute representation, understanding distance in terms of the cost of overcoming it makes distance relative. The economic ability of a tourist is linked to factors that are not directly related to the tourist's travel behaviour, as tickets that are cheap for some might be expensive for others, depending on their income and other economic factors, making a particular journey more or less likely to happen.

Further, this cost distance is also relative to the transport mode chosen for a journey, as the chosen transport mode will influence the cost of transcending a given distance. Cycling is cheaper than driving, but cycling to a destination will take longer than driving to it. To compare one cost-distance to another will only be meaningful if the two journeys have been undertaken using the same form of transport. Therefore, the relationship between price and distance is not linear, and further away does not necessarily mean more expensive and vice versa. It depends on the transport mode, as well as the accumulated price of the holiday. Just because travelling to a closer destination is cheaper, the overall price of the holiday might be more expensive than travelling further, to a cheaper destination, as experienced by one interviewee:

> We had discussed, because usually every other year we travel a bit further, so this year we were to stay just in Europe, that would be better. But then we found out that there were cheap tickets to Singapore. So we decided to go down there,

> and it is cheaper to stay in the East, so that was why [they travelled to Asia instead of Europe, as previously planned] (female, 29; A10: 12).

In spite of cost distance therefore not having the same absolute quality as physical distance, the use of cost distance to represent distance makes it easily interpreted by other people, just like time distance. Not everybody will be able to buy expensive tickets, but most will understand the measurement unit, and be able to set it in relation to other contexts. It *makes sense* to talk about how far a tourist has travelled in terms of the cost of the journey. It will not be an exact measure of distance, but cost distance appears nevertheless widely understood by the interviewees and therefore widely usable as a measure of distance.

Distance is thus present in the considerations and actual travel behaviour of the interview participants, but conceptualised through the financial and temporal resources needed in order to transcend it. Asked whether they would travel more or longer if they had more money and more time, a majority of the interviewees commented that they would probably travel both more often and longer distances. The resources needed for a holiday are the factors that facilitate the holiday in the first place, and indicate the radius within which the holiday destination is likely to be. Resources are at the forefront of the interviewees' minds when talking about destinations, because they are very tangible ways of expressing physical distance in a relevant form, making distance represented as financial and temporal resources appear more important for their travel behaviour than physical distance.

Distance understood as accessibility

After the resources required for transit, accessibility to a given location is mentioned in the interviews as a significant factor in differentiating perceptions of distance from physical distances. Places that are easier to get to can be perceived as closer than places that are more difficult to get to, even if the physical distance is shorter to the more inaccessible places:

> Distance is one thing, and accessibility another. Because the distance is still the same. But it is obviously easier to get to Phuket in Thailand than to Nuuk (male, 30; C4: 248).

Accessibility is itself a complex concept, where questions of accessibility for whom, by what means and in relation to what context are important, making accessibility a relative and dynamic concept. Places that are accessible for some are not so for others, and over time accessibility can change, both as a result of changes in individual circumstances of the tourist and in circumstances regarding the place, e.g. the opening of a new flight route, bridge, airport, station or similar. Especially within the mobility research field, accessibility is viewed as fundamental to understanding mobility, and for example Graham and Marvin (2001) discuss how infrastructural networks are essential for development of the socio-technical urban spaces and interaction, and Hall (2005) has shown how network accessibility is important for tourism mobility. Accessibility has been expressed in the interviews as relating to two issues in particular: infrastructure, i.e. how two places are linked in a network facilitated by the provision of various transport modes and institutions, and resources, mainly time and money, as it has been discussed above.

According to the interviewees, infrastructural accessibility is an important factor for travel behaviour, where places that are easily accessible are more likely destination choices for holidays. Depending on the purpose of the holiday, the ease with which it is possible to get to a destination is viewed as an asset. The more 'routinised' the holiday is, e.g. if it is just the yearly sun holiday to the Mediterranean, and the less time is allocated to the holiday, the more accessible the destination has to be. However, if the holiday is regarded as extraordinary, typically the type of holiday classified as 'experience holiday' earlier in this chapter, accessibility to the destination becomes less of a factor in destination choice. On these holidays, it is almost expected that all aspects of the holiday are magnified, both in terms of resources invested, and that it is to places that are perceived as somewhat inaccessible, and where the transit then becomes more than pure transport from home to destination. The more inaccessible the place and complex the journey, the more experience-value is added, so the extra hassle is justified by the expected better rewards.

Direct flight routes can make a place very accessible, as this interviewee commented:

> You can travel far by plane, and there are some places that have very good flight connections, I mentioned Stavanger before, that is not an easy place to get to, but it is closer than for example Tenerife would be...but I think it would be easier to

> get to Tenerife […] It does something for the accessibility [a direct flight route] (female, 26; C2: 228-230).

The perception of what is accessible is an individual matter though; depending both on personal attitude and the modes of transport the individual has available. One interviewee commented that because she does not own a car, the two closest airports would not be chosen as departure airports because they are not connected to the rail system and it would be easier for her to travel across the country by train to the main international airport, indicating that transit interchange might increase the felt distance more than travelling further does:

> Because I don't have a car I would rather travel to Copenhagen and then fly from there than I would travel to Billund or Aarhus, because they are located the way they are (female, 60; C11: 218).

Infrastructural accessibility is linked to transport modes and connectivity. For some interviewees, accessibility is a matter of how well they are connected to a wide range of transport infrastructures, while for other interviewees it is a matter of having access to transport modes that gives them a high level of control, primarily exemplified by the car, but also for some by the bicycle. Using these transport modes gives the highest level of control over route and times, which for some is important. The flexibility of the car, and to a lesser degree of the bicycle, makes more places accessible, and therefore in some interviewees' understanding closer, because it requires less effort to get there. One interviewee comments that when you go on holiday using the car, it is easier to get to where you want to go, rather than having to adjust your schedule to using public transport. Using public transport ties the tourist into spaces and times decided by others, which for some represents a lack of control, showing that personal agency might also be a factor that influences perceptions of distance:

> What really mattered was that it was us that had the control over where we where travelling, how fast we did it and when. After some time on the bicycle I started to get annoyed waiting for flights or buses, where it was somebody else that decided how fast I was moving from place to place […] I found that highly

> frustrating after being used to do things the way I wanted it (female, 29; B2: 282).

Perceived freedom to make choices is a central issue for leisure studies, and also within tourism. Neulinger (1981) argues that it is an individual's perception of engaging in an activity voluntarily that makes it a leisure activity. The condition of leisure is the perceived freedom, and this notion that something is regarded more positively when there is a freedom of choice might also apply to perceptions of distance. If the tourist perceives there to be a choice regarding how, and how much, distance to transcend, it is not inconceivable that this distance will be regarded positively.

To understand distance as accessibility is thus to place more emphasis on how it is possible to get to a place, than on the number of kilometres to it. Places then become nodes in an accessibility-network, which changes perceptions of physical distances and where the important feature of a place is whether it is connected or not. Tourists who represent distance through accessibility know that it is not a reflection of physical distances, but accessibility to a place becomes a more important factor than physical distance, because accessibility is what is relevant when contemplating how to get to a place.

Distance understood as knowledge

Knowledge is many things, but through the interviews two categories have emerged that convey how knowledge can influence perceptions of distance: knowledge of the culture at the destination, and familiarity with the destination and/or the journey, including the transport mode.

There are probably few places left in the world where it is likely that a normal tourist will be travelling to without any knowledge about. Most places will be more or less known, so very few tourist-destination encounters will happen without prior knowledge of the destination. Indeed, part of going on holiday is to 'read up' on the destination, the activities and sights available, some local history etc., both as part of the decision making process regarding destination choice (Moutinho, 1987) and the anticipation leading up to going on holiday (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Parrinello, 1993). In the interviews, some use the time spent in transit to brush up on their knowledge of the destination, others acquire that knowledge during the process where they choose their destination. The more unfamiliar a place is, the more, and the longer in advance, it

seems the interviewed tourists are likely to familiarise themselves with the destination, while places that are perceived as familiar, such as for example Mediterranean charter destinations, need less practical and mental preparation:

> The further away I am going, the more I probably plan […] A sun-holiday I wouldn't really plan. You kind of know that you will be taken care of all the way through. Last time we went away we didn't plan anything (female, 29; C5: 32).

One interviewee commented that the further away you are going, the further in advance you prepare, and that this preparation can become a motivational factor in itself, where a place becomes more interesting the more knowledge is being accumulated:

> If you are travelling far away you would usually need to plan it well in advance, you have to save for it and get ready for it, in the summer next year I will travel far away. And then it becomes something that, the further you travel, the longer in advance you prepare mentally on going, and you plan it, and that can be a motivational factor (male, 30; B2: 354).

It is not a surprise that familiarity evokes a feeling of closeness despite physical distance. It is easier to relate to places that have similar cultural structures and institutions, and according to some interviewees they would have more reason to travel to places that are within some 'cultural boundary' with certain degrees of familiarity and feeling of security:

> I have no idea what is on offer there [Ukraine], while I am fairly certain about what to find in a European city or the southern European countries. They are within one's knowledge area. If somebody came and offered me a free fortnight in Ukraine I would not even know if I would say yes, because I have no idea what I would be saying yes to. But it does not necessarily take any longer to get to Ukraine than to southern Europe (male, 33; B1: 417-419).

This is, however, highly dependent on the purpose of the holiday and there seems to be some relationship between the degree of accepted cultural dissimilarity and resources invested, especially time. The level of acceptable cultural dissimilarity is obviously an

individual matter, but if the holiday goes to a place that is perceived as very different, then more time is required at the destination, because it will take longer to get to know the place.

Knowing how to get to a place can make the journey less daunting and strenuous. Pre-journey apprehension can be linked to the uncertainties the tourists imagine they might encounter en route. Questions of how to navigate various transport modes, whether there is enough time between transit stages, how to get to the hotel at the other end of the journey and so on appear significant elements of a journey, but the more familiar the tourist is with both the transport mode and the route, the less significant these factors get. Knowing how to use a certain transport mode gives a feeling of security:

> When I travelled over to see my parents [in USA] then I knew that if I flew via Frankfurt then it would be a certain way, you had to get a train and things like that, so it was probably a feeling of security because you had such a short time, so you have to run, and then maybe it is not comfortable not to know where to go (female, 29; A10: 76).

Familiarity with the institutions and processes where the individual is expected to act in accordance with regulations beyond their control makes this activity seem easier, and therefore, arguably has an impact on how accessible a place might be for the individual tourist. Some interviewees commented that familiarity with a route made it feel shorter, but more commented that knowing the route didn't necessarily make it feel shorter, but easier. Knowing a journey can, however, according to the interviews, also evoke boredom, making a journey feel longer than it would otherwise have. This was commented regularly in relation to return journeys, where nothing new would happen and the often long-anticipated holiday was over. The return journey is mostly viewed as one that just needs to be over and done with:

> The trip there, what we were just talking about, you look forward to the holiday, you begin to talk about the things you are going to see, but the trip home is often just something that needs to be over and done with, because you are going home, the laundry is waiting because you used all the clothes you had in the wardrobe (female, 26; C2: 202).

> Mentally, psychologically there is [a difference in how the outbound and return journey feels] because you are going back to all the same old, and it is all over. It is always a little depressing when you travel home compared to when you travel out (male, 30; C4: 190).

Knowledge as distance is a conceptualisation that involves what Cooper and Hall (2008) have termed cognitive and cultural distances. When perceptions of distance are influenced by the knowledge held by the tourists, and where the link to physical distance might be weaker, almost any location can become close:

> Everything can become well known in time. If we travel back to some of the places we have been already, they will not feel as far away as before (female, 29; B2: 259).

It is not surprising that the level of knowledge about a place influences the perception of the distance to that place. Places become nodes in a mental network, where knowledge and connectivity are more important than physical distance, but the way in which knowledge appears to influence the perception of distance can also be in a 'negative' way, where knowledge about other places and their cultures does not necessarily make them feel closer, but rather more alien and further away. As some interviewees comment, if a place is home to an alien culture, it can then feel even further away than it otherwise would have done:

> Far away is far away, but if there then also is an unfamiliar culture then it becomes even further away. Even though it probably is about the same distance to New York and to Delhi I still think that New York is somehow closer anyway, mentally (male, 63; B4: 195).

> I don't actually think that USA is that far away. I think it is a question of how we match culturally. But obviously it is also distance. Maybe I don't think that for example Australia is that far away either, but it is if you just think about kilometres, but I think that east somehow...Ukraine or some of those, Latvia, they are further away than Australia […] And I think that China is much further

> away than Australia, even though it maybe doesn't quite add up. But I think it is a mental thing (female, 33; B1: 402-408).

Though the various representations of distance might in some cases be more 'real' than physical distance and 'far away' can be a relative and dynamic concept, physical distance is by no means irrelevant. Throughout the interviews it has been expressed that beyond a certain limit, physical distance does become a prominent factor, and the further away, the stronger are the overriding powers of physical distance over other distance forms. Beyond a certain limit the places are just far away, regardless of cultural similarities, the cost of tickets or how many times one has been there:

> I know that people say that New Zealand is not that far away because they are similar to us, but I do think it is far away anyway. For me it is just distance (female, 29; B3: 224).

Almost all interviewees expressed this, but where the limit beyond which physical distance overrides other distance representations is individual, and possibly linked to factors such as experience, holiday resources and holiday types. In spite of limited geographical awareness and knowledge of distances to places, physical distance is an element of the interviewees' spatial understanding, where it is integrated with non-spatial understandings of distance.

Summary

This section has focussed on how the tourists represent distance in relation to their holiday mobility. In this analysis, it was argued that relative dimensions of distance are more relevant for the interviewed tourists when they reflect on their holiday behaviour, and that these relative dimensions of distance therefore would be more likely to be important in an analysis of distance's influence on travel behaviour than physical distance. Further, the section has argued that the representations of distance mostly used by the tourists can be grouped into: resources, accessibility and knowledge. It is in these dimensions distance is present in the interviews. It was also discussed how 'far away' is, like distance, understood by the interviewees as a concept that has both a spatial and an emotional dimension, where the determinants of far away becomes both physical and felt distance, which do not necessarily correspond in space.

Choice of Destination

This second section focusses on how distance becomes a factor in the interviewed tourists' destination choices. It is argued that the freedom to choose how much distance to travel across is determined by the reason the tourist has for engaging in a specific holiday, and that not all holidays represent a free relationship with distance. In the interviews the destination choice is often linked to the type of holiday being planned, as expressed by this interviewee:

> That [the importance of where you travel] probably depends on what type of holiday it is. If it is to experience something it is obviously important that there is something you find interesting to experience one way or another. If it is for a sun holiday I don't think it matters that much (female, 28; C5: 28).

Asked what a good destination is, most of the tourists comment that it depends on what it is they want from that particular holiday. A destination that is good for one thing is not necessarily good for other things, and the purpose of a specific holiday as well as the expectations of the individual, are important elements in the judgement of what is a good destination:

> [A good holiday destination], that is a place that meets the desires you have for your holiday. If you want an active holiday, for example a skiing holiday, then it is a good ski resort and good ski runs, but if it is adventure you want, maybe you would have to travel East to some of the more interesting islands over there. It depends on what you want (female, 30; C8: 114).

In the interviews, the discussions of how the respondents choose their destinations are vague, probably because there is likely to be a range of different reasons why different destinations have been chosen in the past, and without a specific holiday focussing the discussion, it is difficult for the interviewees to name specific reasons. The choice of a destination is generally based on the knowledge or perception the tourist has of a given destination, and an assessment of whether that matches what is desired for the holiday. Destination choice is thus linked to the type of holiday that is desired, and in the interviews the specific choice of destination is portrayed as determined by:

- wanting to visit friends and family
- perceptions of destinations
- holiday desires and expectations

These are the factors that the interview participants highlight as important elements of their choice of holiday destination, supplemented by the surprisingly large number of interview participants who mentioned having visited a destination simply because somebody else invited them along, and they had no say in where to travel to. Thus, in the interviews, choosing the destination comes about in four different ways:

- having or wanting to visit friends, family, or place specific events, such as sport events, art exhibitions or festivals
- being invited on a trip or holiday without having any say in the choice of destination
- wanting to go to a specific *type* of destination, where the destination is partly chosen on the basis of the knowledge and expectations of that type of destination (mostly in relation to beach or ski holidays)
- wanting to visit a place based on the perception of it (mostly in relation to experience holidays)

The four reasons for choosing a destination are in the interviews often mixed with each other, so that for example a visit to friends or relatives can be a result of them living in a place that the tourist would like to visit anyway. Establishing these destination choice categories as four separate options is therefore based on the analytical purpose for exploring one aspect of how the interviewees' destination choice comes about, namely the relationship between distance and destination choice.

How distance becomes an element of the decision process is partly manifested through whether there actually is a free choice of destination. The first three destination choice categories above represent a decision process where the destination choice is more or less fixed, either where the destination is completely given, or where the *type* of destination is given. The fourth represents a 'free-er' choice of destination. As referred to earlier in this chapter, perceived freedom is central to an individual's understanding of leisure, with a leisure activity becoming just that, if the individual feels that they are

free to choose whether to engage in the activity or not (Neulinger, 1981). In relation to categorising destination choices on a scale from freedom to 'un-freedom', determined by the purpose and desires for the holiday, Neulinger's (1981) notion of freedom being a determining factor in distinguishing leisure from non-leisure must be interpreted carefully. That a tourist does not have a free choice of destination does not mean that what they engage in is not a leisure or a holiday activity. Neulinger's (1981) freedom relates to whether there is a perceived freedom of choice in engaging in an activity, whereas the argument developed here relates to the level of destination choice restrictions posed by a tourist's holiday desires and the purpose of a given holiday.

Wanting to know how and why tourists choose their destinations is desired by the tourism industry and academics alike, and numerous research projects have been conducted in order to identify the processes which determine a tourist's choice of holiday destination. Most of this research, from both tourism academics and the industry, is quantitative (Song and Turner, 2006), and aims at forecasting tourism demand (Song and Li, 2008). Crouch (1994) has identified some determinants of demand, which are frequently included in such forecast models: income, price, marketing, trends and fashion, and the less rigid 'special events' and 'dummy' variables. These factors feature to a greater or lesser extent in most tourism demand models and forecasts.

Nicolau and Mas (2006) narrow their focus to the impact of physical distance and price on destination choice, and Lyons et al. (2009) explore whether there is a relationship between distance and destination choice. Both investigations are relevant in relation to understanding how distance becomes a factor for destination choices for the tourists in this research, because they regard distance as an explicit variable in destination choice.

Likewise, distance has been explored as a variable for destination choice within this research, but with a different focus from Nicolau and Mas (2006) and Lyons et al. (2009). In this research, the focus has been on how free the tourists actually are to choose the distance they travel across when they decide where to travel. This analysis shows that when the destination choice is seen in relation to the desired type of holiday, the freedom of how much distance to transcend can be conceptualised as fixed, semi-fixed or free.

Fixed destination choice

In the interviews a significant part of the travelling undertaken by the tourists does not actually represent a completely free choice of destination, and therefore not a completely free relation to distance. When the purpose is to visit friends and family, a type of travelling the majority of the interview participants engage in, the decision becomes less one about choosing one destination over the other and more a decision about whether to go or not and how to travel. The same can be said about the event-travelling mentioned in some of the interviews, for example participating in a beach volley ball boot camp in Turkey:

> I have never had an urge to go to Turkey, but that is where we are going now to play beach volley ball, so that is because there is a training camp down there we can participate in (female, 26; C2: 42).

For this type of travelling, the destination has already been chosen for the tourist, making that part of the decision process redundant, and the relevant decision becomes about whether or not to go. This represents a different way of reflecting upon distance than if the choice of destination had been free-er and involving a choice between different destinations.

Many, although not a majority, of the interview participants have travelled to places where they state they otherwise were unlikely to travel to, but went, because they knew somebody there, reflecting that opportunism is a potentially important factor in choosing to visit friends and family. Knowing somebody at a destination appears to make the impact time and cost can have on a decision to travel less important and less of a restriction than it appears to be for other travel decisions. You travel simply because the opportunity has presented itself to you, even to destinations outside Europe where significant cost and time use is involved. The destinations visited to see friends and family mentioned in the interviews include Oregon, Washington DC, Ghana, Kenya, Ireland, Spain, Athens, Norway, Qatar, and visits to places such as Kuala Lumpur and Greenland are being contemplated, because friends and family live there:

> [The holiday to Ghana was planned] already when she was talking about doing an internship down there, we spoke about that I should come down to visit her (female, 29; A3: 30).

> We have talked about, my friend and I, that if my friend [another friend] who is in Greenland stays up there longer than initially planned, then I think we are maybe going up there to see what it looks like. It is a fantastic opportunity when you have a place to stay up there (female, 29; A9: 94).

Thus, the opportunity to travel and the perceived familiarity appear central elements of the decision to travel to visit friends or family. Travelling for the purpose of visiting friends and family involves the same physical distances as 'normal' travel, the same use of time, and the same costs (possibly with accommodation cost avoided), but represents opportunities to travel to places that might not otherwise have been contemplated.
It is clear that travelling to visit friends and family does not result in the same type of contemplation about distance as travelling to more freely chosen destinations, although it is quite possible that a specific holiday destination choice could become one between visiting friends and family in one destination and a different type of holiday in another destination. A decision to travel to visit friends and family will most likely be framed by considerations about time and cost that are not fundamentally different from those related to other types of holidays, but once the decision to visit has been taken, the destination choice is made redundant, and therefore also the more explicit considerations regarding distance.

Semi-fixed destination choice

Other holidays have a free-er choice between destinations than those where the purpose is to visit friends and family, but still have limitations on the destination choice, placed upon them by what the tourist desires and expects from a given holiday. Desiring a specific *type* of holiday can narrow the choice of destination significantly, as it has to be a place that fulfils the desires. In this research this type of holiday is referred to as a 'destination-type' holiday, where the emphasis is placed on the purpose of the holiday being a specific activity, where the choice of destination is important for the tourist's possibility of engaging in that activity, as for example a beach holiday, or a skiing holiday. Often, sun and ski holidays are associated with the concept of package holidays, and package holidays can be grouped under the destination-type holidays, but in this thesis destination-type holidays are not necessarily package holidays. Within this research, destination-type holidays can also be organised entirely by the tourists

themselves, and the defining element becomes the purpose of the holiday commanding the choice of a specific *type* of destination. For most of the destination-type holidays referred to by the interviewed tourists, the destination is the Mediterranean or sunny charter destinations further afield for a beach holiday or going to the Alps or the Scandinavian Peninsula for skiing.

An important observation from the interviews was the repeated claim that the *specific* destination does not really matter on these destination-type holidays, as long as the destination meets some criteria set beforehand, for example a warm climate:

> I go away every year on a summer holiday, a week or fourteen days to some almost unimportant place, just to get some sun and summer […] In essence it is just to get away for a while and as long as it is warm, that is the important criterion (female, 29; A9:14-16).

For these destination-type holidays, the main purpose, according to the interviews, is to relax and see something that is different from one's everyday life, yet not completely new and unfamiliar. This is expressed by the interviewee below, who argues that such a holiday can be just as valuable as an experience holiday to unknown places:

> I think time is a factor. Do you have three weeks holiday or do you have unlimited time at your disposal, and I think the destinations are more important the more time you have at your disposal. If I only have a couple of weeks holiday I choose a place that I think is nice, as opposed to, if I only have two weeks and travel to a place I don't know at all, that is expensive and far away, I begin to contemplate how much I would actually get from it. Do I really have time to experience this place if I have to travel 24 hours in a plane there and back? Would it not be more valuable for me personally and a better experience if I just went to a place that was a bit closer and I knew a bit more about? Somehow I think that the trip we have just been on [10,000 kilometres cycle trip through Asia] has given a sense of the necessity of more time if you want to experience a place properly, certainly if it is a place that is far away and a place that you don't know that well. A place that maybe also is far away in your mind (female, 29; B2: 244).

Compared to travelling for the purpose of visiting friends and family, desiring a certain type of destination represents more freedom in the choice of destination, but the choice will be heavily guided by the perception and knowledge of where the tourist's specific holiday desires can be met. The most important factors when having to choose a destination for the purpose of fulfilling the destination-type holiday desires are knowledge and familiarity with the type of holiday destination being sought and perceptions of specific destinations become important parameters, that inform the final destination choice.

One of the reasons that can be identified in the interviews for travelling on destination-type holidays is the apparent need to just get away from everyday life for a while, mostly to relax and spend time with other people. Frequently associated with this reflection is the comment that when it comes to this type of holiday, the decision to go away precedes the choice of destination:

> I would say it is two-staged. It is definitely the starting point before I think about I want to go, I think 'we have to go somewhere', and then I think, afterwards we find out where to travel. But the first decision is that now we must have a holiday, not where it should be. When it is a holiday where you can say, or the background for the holiday is that now we need to relax and be off work together and have some nice experiences (female, 26; A2: 37).

For many of the tourists, the destination-type holiday becomes the default 'relaxing' holiday, and the interviewees who undertake this type of holiday, based on a desire to get away, make the decisions regarding this type of holidays in a different way than those decisions that are related to other types of holidays. Because the framework for destination-type holidays, and certainly package holidays, is well known, and many people at one time or another have been on such holidays, the usual holiday decisions are often redundant, because it is often easier to literally buy into the institutionalised holidays on offer from a wide range of tour operators, who take care of every practicality in relation to the holiday.

In the interviews, these destination-type holidays with semi-fixed destinations not only include sun or ski holidays, but also city breaks, camping holidays, pre arranged tours etc. What they have in common is that the list of criteria for the destination is implicit in

deciding on a certain type of holiday prior to deciding on the specific destination and thus guiding the destination choice.

Free destination choice

For some holidays, the destination is not determined prior to the tourist's decision to go travelling by where the hosts live, or guided by the want of a beach or ski runs. For these holidays, where the destination choice is the free-est, the role of distance in the decision making process differs from the two categories discussed above, as the choice is no longer *whether* and how to transcend a distance determined by other factors, but rather how *much* distance should be overcome. In the interviews, this is the least represented destination choice situation, as most of the travelling undertaken by the respondents is guided by either desiring a specific type of destination or visiting friends and family. The type of travelling that involves a free choice of destination, mostly associated with experience holidays, appears not to be prioritised over other types of travelling, which can seem at odds with the fact that this is the type of travelling the interview participants seemed most interested in talking about during the interviews, as well as being the type of travelling they say they desire the most.

The option of a free destination choice is for some interviewees intriguing and they prioritise these types of travelling:

> After I've been able to decide myself [where to travel], and had a job as an accountant and studied at night, when I then was off work I tended to book a lot of things, visit people here and there, so in the end I never got to relax and have a proper holiday. So I tried these long holidays, they give me a kick, they make me...nobody can get hold of you, I have no plans, I can be myself and de-stress and explore lots of things and meet some weird peoples. And that is just the boost I need to be able to come back and work hard. So it is the freedom you can say [that makes her choose long experience holidays] (female, 34; B6: 36).

For others, this type of travelling is barely a part of their normal holiday 'thinking'; they don't actually start to genuinely contemplate going on this type of holiday, primarily because holiday resources require a choice between holidays, and it is the free-choice-destination holiday that is not being prioritised:

> Normally I just usually think that I would like to travel south for the summer. And then it is only when I talk to my partner about what he would like that I then even contemplate going to London for a week instead, where the weather might not be sunshine all the time (female, 29; C6: 46).

The travelling that is a result of having a free destination choice is generally to destinations that are further away than the European holiday destinations, though not exclusively so, but it does seem that when travelling to a place where the choice of destination is not guided by any of the pre-set criteria discussed in the previous sections, the physical distances travelled over are longer. This corresponds well with the reflections made by the interviewees about their dream holidays, where the notion of 'far away' comes across as a very important criterion. This attention to distance is supplemented by an expectation of unfamiliarity, which corresponds well with the general perception that the further away from home one is, the more unfamiliar things one is likely to encounter. (The interview participants appear to generally correlate physical distance and unfamiliarity, while at the same time commenting that some of the places that are furthest away from Denmark they expect to be culturally similar, places such as Australia and New Zealand). Further, there is an acceptance that a free destination choice is likely to involve a larger degree of planning than travelling on a package holiday or visiting friends and family would, because the tourist's knowledge of both the place they choose to travel to and the type of holiday they go on is less than it would be for the other types of holidays.

Travelling to destinations whose choice has been free represents an attitude towards physical distance, where distance is not minimised, but rather maximised (also found by Nicolau and Mas's (2006) research). When given a free choice of destination, and prioritising this kind of travelling, distance becomes a motivational factor and most of the free-destination travel represented in the interviews embraces distance and tends to be to destinations that are further away than the typical holidays.

Dream holidays

The respondents were also asked about their dream holidays, where they would travel to if they had a completely free choice and no restrictions placed on their decision. Answering such a seemingly straightforward question proved difficult for many of the

interview participants, and most replies did not actually state a specific destination, but rather some desired attributes, as this one interviewee:

> I think it would be along the lines of going away for a year's time and just travel and experience things, with only minimal planning […] Just the freedom that for a whole year not having to worry about anything. To experience things that you had not expected to experience, that there is nothing leading the way, no detailed planning, to experience the unexpected. It could be anywhere (female, 32; A5: 96).

The two things the vast majority of the dream-holiday reflections have in common is that it must be to a place *far away*, somewhere outside Europe, and that it should be over a *long time period*, so that there is sufficient time to engage with the destination(s), and to spend with travel companions. Quantitative approximations of what far away is were not mentioned in relation to the discussion of the question about dream holidays, and discussions in relation to other questions revealed that far away is a very individual term. What constitutes a long time period is also individual, but during the interviews it emerged that for most, three weeks or over would be considered a relatively long time period.

For a dream holiday it was also mentioned as important to have the opportunity to experience something new and interesting, and the unfamiliarity that appears undesired for a the destination-type holidays, becomes an important part of a dream holiday. What a person finds interesting is, again, an individual matter. For some it is nature, for others it is culture, but common for the interviewees is that a dream holiday has to, not surprisingly, involve something that is not normally encountered at home or during a normal holiday. Thus, when asked about their dream holidays, the interviewees were not able to mention specific places, but rather reflected on a list of qualities that a dream holiday would have to include: far away, for a long period of time, the company of significant others and new and interesting experiences.

Interviewees displayed different attitudes towards the concept of dream holidays. Some would view a dream holiday as the kind of holiday they would never be able to go on, mostly due to the perceived cost, while others would view a dream holiday as something very achievable, and as a guideline for their future travellings. One interviewee displayed both attitudes:

> The Maldives […] Because they will soon disappear. And that is where my Bounty Beach is, I am sure. It just always has been [the dream holiday destination], I don't even remember since when. And I don't know if I will ever get there, even though I have said that I will find my way there at some point. I think I will, because I really want to. There is nothing, so I don't know why it is so interesting, there is no culture or anything. It is just that beach. And it is expensive to get to. But that is the ultimate, and then there are the other dream holiday, that I have as goals for my next travels (female, 29; A10: 82).

This could show that there is not necessarily an easily defined line between dream holidays and other holidays, but rather a hierarchy of desired holidays. Some holidays are highly desired, but they are not necessarily the holidays that are most likely to be undertaken.

Regardless of the attitude, if the concept of a dream holiday can be interpreted as representing the most desired holiday, then it would seem that travelling for a longer time period and further away are among the factors which constitute a good holiday. But this does not correspond with the actual holiday behaviour described by the respondents in the interviews. Travelling to what the interviewees perceive to be *far away* for a *long period of time* is the type of travelling the interviewees undertake the least (albeit the type of travelling they were most keen to talk about), with holidays and other shorter trips having a higher frequency. There is a paradox here between the type of travelling the interview participants say they desire, and the type of travelling activity they engage in. The interviewees cite the perceived higher cost and more time required to travel away on these longer journeys as the most prominent reason for not incorporating these desires into their holiday activities, choosing not to prioritise them. Most seem to have a rather pragmatic approach to going on holiday, realising that if you want to go on holiday every year, you cannot travel far, or for long periods of time, because of the restrictions in time and cost. Then the yearly holiday and smaller trips simply get prioritised over the longer ones, in a trade off between frequency on the one side, and physical distance and time on the other. So even though the interviewees' holiday desires are almost unanimously linked to the notion of 'far away', the majority of the travel activity undertaken by them does not involve going to places that are perceived to be far away, on the grounds of not having enough time and money to do this.

Summary

The discussion in this section has focussed on how the level of freedom regarding the tourist's choice of how much distance to transcend is linked to what type of holiday the tourist is undertaking. Four reasons for going on holiday were identified in the interviews: visiting friends and relatives, travelling on destination-type holidays, travelling on experience holidays and being invited along on holiday to destinations decided by others. These reasons for going on holiday can be related to three levels of freedom in destination choice: fixed, semi-fixed and free, which again reflects a level of freedom of how much distance to travel across. Obviously the choice of how much distance to travel across will also be influenced by other factors, e.g. economic context etc., but the argument in this section is that the type of holiday engaged in is important for determining holiday distance. Further, this section has explored the tourists' dream holidays, which almost all include the notion of 'far away' as an important factor, and with few interviewees being able to name a specific destination for their dream holiday.

In Transit

This section explores how the interviewed tourists relate to distance through the holiday transit, and therefore the focus is on how the transit from home to holiday destination is being undertaken and spoken about in the interviews. First is a discussion of the interviewees' reflections on the holiday transition, which leads onto an exploration of the relationship between holiday transit and time. This looks at how the time the respondents are willing to spend in transit for a week's holiday is dependent on the mode of transport they use. The discussion of the transport modes shows that planes might not be the favourite mode of transport, but nevertheless they are the most used, because they are fastest.

Holiday transition

Travelling to and from the holiday destination is obviously an inevitable part of going on holiday, and this time spent in transit represents a chance to readjust from the home-context to the holiday-context. Being in transit is to be present in a liminoid time-space, where the necessity of undertaking 'useful' activities is absent, and replaced with the possibility of engaging in 'anti-activities' such as daydreaming or reading (Mokhtarian et al., 2001; Jain and Lyons, 2008). (Ehn and Löfgren (2007) discuss the importance of

such anti-activities more generally and focus on what happens in the mind, when nothing in particular seems to be happening, viewed from the outside). In the interviews this transition from home to holiday destination is regarded as important, at least when it is being spoken about:

> I like the feeling that you are moving. For example when I went to Spain after high school I chose to travel by coach, which was 54 hours. I could have chosen to get a plane, which would have been two hours, but it was important that I had the journey, to be able to prepare myself for something new (female, 32; A4: 42).

The majority of the interviewees recognised the transit as a form of mental transition as well as a spatial one, and the importance placed on the transit period by the interviewees should probably be seen as more than just a reflection on the transit *per se*, but also the role this has for the individual's holiday anticipation. Anticipation is a significant part of the holiday (Parrinello, 1993), where the tourist plans and imagines the holiday and the different stage of the holiday, and the holiday transit (particularly the outbound journey) is a period filled with anticipation. Giving the mind this time to turn its focus from everyday activities to being on holiday is generally something that is recognised in the interviews as a positive feature of the holiday transit, as expressed by one interviewee:

> My father has always said that he loved it when he had time to adapt, he had time to think those last work related things through, that he had time to readjust his mind and body, so that when we reached the camp site he was in holiday mode. And I understand where he comes from, but when you fly, you spend time on flying and waiting for your luggage and maybe driving afterwards. So I probably don't feel exactly the same [as her father], but I think that if you could just press a button and then you were in southern Spain, that would be too weird. It [the transition] does have a function (female, 29; C2: 198).

This potential usefulness of a button to buzz you away on holiday and bypass the holiday transit was also contemplated by other interviewees, but they also, like the interviewee above, reached the conclusion that some time spent in transit was to be preferred, for the reason of allowing your mind and body to adapt to the holiday mode.

However, what the quote above also shows is that while she understands the benefits of a holiday transition, it is not something she prioritises separately, and this is a frequent occurrence among the interviewees. The transition period is generally spoken of in positive terms, but when it comes to manifest transit time, the interviewees do not seem to explicitly prioritise spending time on transition. Rather, the transition becomes something that will have to fit into the length of time allocated to the holiday transit, which more often than not becomes a time saving exercise. Thus, there appears to be a conflict between enjoying the transition, that gives the mind time to 'come along', and the desire not to waste time in transit. The paradox is that in spite of the respondents generally acknowledging the positive role of a transition period from home to holiday, and some even speaking about it as almost a necessity and a highly desired feature of a holiday, it does not appear to be prioritised in its own right, as a part of the holiday that deserves particular planning or attention. The general understanding in the interviews of a good transition time is that it takes time, but more often than not, a decision about holiday transit is made on the basis of efficient time usage, so that no valuable time at the destination is wasted.

Transit and time

The holiday transit takes time, and this time usage is at the forefront of the respondents' minds when they talk about their holidays. Time is important, and it has a strong influence over how the holiday transit is organised, and time usage has to be managed carefully. Time is viewed by the interviewees as a resource, that is both rigid and finite. Therefore time is often mentioned as an important element of their holidays and is part of at least three different discussions in the interviews:

- time spent on holidays in relation to annual leave
- transit time in relation to holiday time
- perception of transit time in relation to the chosen transport mode

Whereas how much money to spend on holidays seems to be a matter of individual priority for most interviewees, time is perceived as a more inflexible resource. More time is spent on leisure today compared to previous times (Urry, 1995), and the right to have time off work, where the individual can be conspicuously doing nothing, has been embedded in the labour organisation for the past 50 to 70 years. The temporal

framework for travelling on holiday is, for the vast majority of the respondents, set by the amount of annual leave they have, which in Denmark is usually six weeks. These six weeks rigidly frame the ordinary yearly holiday travelling, and regrettably so, according to some of the interview participants:

> I only have the annual leave I have. I mean I am going to Turkey on May seventh, and then I am going to Malaga in June, so that is already four weeks [explaining why her planned holiday to Borneo and Hong Kong will 'just' be for a fortnight] (female, 26; C7: 36).

> Well, I mean before we got these full time jobs we travelled a lot more, because we did not have these damned holiday rules that we have been hit by now, where we have not yet earned the right to paid holidays, so we have to pay [the time off work] all the time (male, 26; A2: 33).

If more time is needed for holidays, a sabbatical can be applied for, in order to travel for a longer period of time. A number of the respondents have done this, like this one interviewee, in order to travel to New Zealand for two months with his girlfriend:

> It was two months leave with pay, because we had saved up time in lieu. And you have to apply for leave when it is for that long [both work in the police force]. So a year and a half in advance we started to apply for leave and save money (male, 28; A8: 40).

It is clear from the interviews that within the limits set by the amount of leave from work, a prioritisation is mad of not 'wasting' valuable holiday time on activities that are not seen as contributing to the holiday experience. This is, for example, reflected in the views on time spent in transit expressed in the interviews, where it generally is recognised, as discussed above, that the transition from home to holiday is valuable, but spending time on the transition is not being prioritised because of a perception of holiday time constraints. One interviewee commented that young people and pensioners do not face the same rigidity in the holiday time framework, but for working people this is an issue, that causes her to choose the faster transport modes, in order to make the most of her holiday time:

> It was nice when you were young, when you could travel for longer periods of time, that you could do that. And it will be nice when you get old and a pensioner, than you can do it again. But when you are working you are often bound by time and annual leave, and that probably causes you to choose the fast modes of transport, and those are not often the most exciting, they are rarely the most exciting (female, 41; B7: 84).

She represents what a majority of the interviewees commented on, that the constraints given by annual leave influence the view of how the holiday transport should be undertaken, and certainly how long the transit is allowed to take. This reflection can also be linked to more general comments from literature on how time is viewed as a constraint, or at least as a factor that can determine potential for spatial movement, as it is seen particularly clearly in Hägerstrand's time-space prisms (1970). Hägerstrand illustrates how an individual always will be at a certain location at a certain time, and that the locations and times where the individual is present indicates absence from other times and places, as for example absence from a holiday destination. So time spent in transit is specifically time *not* spent at the destination, and the interviewees' attitudes towards transit time could indicate that destination time is viewed as more important than transit time.

Another issue that, according to the interviewees, has a strong influence over the acceptable duration of the holiday transit is the duration of the overall holiday. The transit time is viewed in relation to the amount of time spent at the destination and the more time being spent on getting to a destination, the longer the interviewees want to spend at the destination, so transit-time and 'destination-time' are linked in a relationship where the one has to be justified by the other:

> If you need to spend a day just getting there, as you have to go to USA for example, with transit time and all, then I would like to stay there for at least a fortnight. Ten days maybe, but not any less than that (male, 30; C4: 214).

> If you have to spend a long time on the journey, then you would like to have more time at the destination (female, 26; C2: 188).

In the interviews, the respondents were asked how long they would be willing to travel for a week's holiday. The answers ranged from 3 to 24 hours. More agreement was to be found in the interviewees' subsequent reflections, that the transit should not represent a 'large' proportion of the overall holiday time. This shows that individual perceptions of time are different, as the perception of what time period constitutes a 'large' proportion of a holiday are very different, even when held in relation to a fixed time period. This is hardly surprising, and has been highlighted by Adam (1990 and 2004), so a more remarkable theme to be drawn from the interviews on this question is that by far the majority of the respondents answered the question of acceptable transit duration for a week's holiday in relation to using plane as transport mode, without being prompted to do so. This might suggest that for holidaying, the default transport mode of choice is a plane, which is echoed by UNWTO's statistic that internationally, 51% of travellers arrived at their destination by plane in 2011 (UNWTO, 2012). Within a rigid temporal framework, i.e. the amount of time available for holidaying within a year, other factors, such as time spent in transit and transport mode choice, have to be more flexible, in order to satisfy the holiday desires of the interviewees. The interviews reflect a tendency to prioritise faster modes of transport over the choice of closer destinations when it comes to readjusting the time spent in transit to an acceptable level, so much so that, for the majority, the transport mode initially associated with holiday transit has become the plane. It would be possible to reach holiday destinations by other modes than planes within the time limits for holiday transit discussed above, but it appears that it is more likely that it is the desires for given destinations that determine the distance to be travelled over, and then the chosen transport mode is the one that can cross this distance the fastest.

Some of the interviewees would, unprompted, reflect how different modes of transport represent different time and experience-value contexts and it appears that when the transport mode is not plane, but car or train, a longer transit time would be acceptable, because the transit then is perceived to become more integrated into the holiday. The transit can then come to represent valuable holiday experiences in its own right, which is something that is also generally acknowledged within tourism and mobility literature (cf. Clawson and Knetsch (1966); Cao et al. (2008)). This has been experienced by this interviewee, on her family holidays, involving driving with a touring caravan, from Denmark to Italy:

> The transit in itself is part of it, my brother and I sit on the back seat with our headphones on, sometimes we share and then sing along to the same song. It is part of it, sit and read in the car, if you don't get carsick. And sometimes we drive and mum and dad are on the back seat (female, 29; C1: 260).

This experience of the transit becoming a positive experience and part of the holiday is also expressed by the couple who travel every year on their ski holiday by train to Austria:

> [I]t is nice. You arrive in a foreign country peacefully and quietly. And then you sleep on the way, that is you travel at night and that is actually a good way, you start in the late afternoon from Denmark and arrive the next morning, and the night is spent sleeping and travelling (male, 63; B4: 11) […] When it goes to plan you wake up when you have come to southern Germany and continue into Austria and see more and more mountains, hopefully with snow on them, and that is really a very good way of arriving (male, 63; B4: 22).

One of the reasons that a longer transit time may be acceptable is when the transport mode is either more private, as a car, or less restricted in the activities it is possible to undertake during the journey, as in a train (versus a plane), something Jain and Lyons (2008) have termed the equipment of travel time. This is exactly the process described in the quotes above, where other activities are undertaken during the journey through the interaction with, for example, music, books, laptops etc., that turns the travel time seen from an economic point of view as wasted, into a gift of time, that is open to be used on a range of (playful) activities (Jain and Lyons, 2008). It is possible that it is a perceived inability to equip air transit time that causes air transit to be regarded as less experience-rich, and it highlights the difference in how the time spent in transit is viewed by the individual in relation to transport mode, causing longer transit time to be more acceptable when travel time equipment is possible.

Transit role

In the interviews there are three ways in which the holiday transit is viewed: that which only represents the necessity of travelling to the destination, the transit which is merged into the holiday experience it is an unavoidable part of and the transit which is the

purpose of the holiday itself. The transport modes that the interviewees have used are: planes, trains, ferries and cruise ships, cars, bicycles and hiking.

For the transit that is not viewed as part of the holiday, the choice of transport mode becomes a matter of the fastest and cheapest way it is possible to get to the destination. In that case travelling is viewed as purely instrumental to the holiday, i.e. it is serving the means of travelling to the destination, but does not hold any value for the holiday as such. In line with the above discussion of time being viewed as a central element of the holiday, fast modes of transport are quoted in the interviews as the most used. With planes being the fastest and, in many cases, also the cheapest mode of transport, they stand out as the most preferred of transport in the interviews:

> It [her preferred holiday transport mode] is probably flying, because it is fast. You quickly get far away (female, 29; B3: 142) […] The price has something to do with it, but it is also speed. Because if I for example am going away on a three day trip and only want to take one day off work, you can't spend half a day just getting there (female, 29; B3: 154).

Another interviewee expresses clearly how the transit is viewed as instrumental and only as that:

> [The journey to and from the destination] is really something that needs to get over and done with […] it is not something I find very interesting, nor is it something where I think that that is going to be annoying. It just has to be done in order to get to where you want to go (female, 29; A3: 70).

Few of the interviewees are this clear in their perception of the transit as purely instrumental, but this opinion can nevertheless be identified to some degree in most interviews, especially in relation to those holidays where time is viewed as a constraining and valued factor. Here, time spent in transit is wasted time, and should therefore be reduced as much as possible.

Above it was argued that the interviewees' perception of what is an acceptable amount of time to spend in transit for a week's holiday appears to have air travel as the default transport mode. In some of the interviews it is explicitly expressed that not only is flying the preferred option, there also needs to be a very good reason *not* to fly. There

has to be a specific purpose for choosing any other mode of transport, as it was expressed in the first interview:

> If you travel by train you travel at another speed where what you experience on the journey becomes part of the holiday. I could easily do that, it is not that I completely reject cars, coaches or trains, not at all, there just needs to be a purpose with it then (female, 29; A1: 54).

Another interviewee is adamant that flying is his preferred holiday transport mode, even to the extent that he would pay extra for the time flying saves him:

> I could never dream of not flying to Italy and then rent a car. Even if it costs me 1500dkr [approximately £150] extra, than if I had to sit 24 hours on a bus or in a car. There would really need to be a reason for me to do it that way (male, 26; A2: 74).

It seems, though, that the only two good elements of flying are the speed with which the destination is reached and the cost. The experience of flying in itself is portrayed rather critically in the interviews, with very few of the respondents actually enjoying air transit. It is portrayed as uncomfortable, and as a confined public space where you are close to people you don't know, with no option of privacy. Flying also detaches the traveller from the spatial context of the lands they travel over, as opposed to the land-based transport modes, which was highlighted by the couple travelling by train to Austria above. One interviewee finds that this detachment makes air travel something that does not hold any value:

> I do not think that air travel has any qualities at all, because you are so detached from both where you travel from and where you travel to […] To be in a plane and to be in an airport is a non-place, it is the same everywhere. I think it has a value, the journey has a value if you can feel where you start from and where you end up. If you cannot feel that or see that, then I do not think it has any value (female, 29; B2: 200-202).

This view of the transit as purely instrumental is only seen in relation to air transit, probably for at least two reasons. Firstly because it is difficult to equip air transit time, as discussed above, and because the choice of flying to a destination is primarily based on saving time and money. Secondly because planes seem to be the default holiday transport mode, and therefore, when another mode is chosen, there are likely to be some explicit considerations regarding the transit behind the choice. Other modes of transport used by the interviewees are generally regarded as also a means to get to the holiday destination, but when these are chosen, they are likely to become a more integrated part of the overall holiday experience. This does not mean, however, that all holiday transport by plane is viewed as instrumental, this transit mode can also become part of the holiday experience:

> I often think that when you travel out then it is a part of the holiday, being in the airport, doing a bit of tax-free shopping, have a beer before you board the plane, I really like that, because to me that signals that now it is holiday-time. Now we have time, it is OK to buy a cup of coffee and sit down and just look at people. Because when do I ever have time to do that? I never have. But then on the other side, when you are travelling home, especially if you have been far away and you have to fly those ten-twelve hours, more often than not I just feel that that is something to get over and done with (female, 26; A2: 57).

Apart from showing that, in spite of air transit often spoken of as generally uncomfortable in the interviews, flying on holiday can be a good experience, this quote also highlights the difference in the outbound and return journey, which, according to most interviewees have distinctly different feel about them. The outbound journey is full of anticipation, as discussed above, while the return journey is more likely to be something that just needs to be done, as expressed by the interviewee below, and this, it seems, is not particularly dependent on transport mode.

> The journey home just has to be done, get it over with and done. The outbound journey is part of...for me it is part of the holiday, it is a bit exiting, soon we are going to, and in just a moment we will land and things like that. I find that nice. But when you are going home, you are just going home (female, 27; A9: 34).

Most of the holidays referred to in the interviews include a journey to and from the destination that is viewed as more than just instrumental. The transit is made part of the holiday experience, and the choice of transport mode then also becomes a holiday choice, that is important for other reasons than 'just getting there'. There is a recognition that the transit is an unavoidable element of the holiday, which the most is then made of, as it is expressed by these two interviewees:

> I often enjoy the transit very much, even a thing like a driving holiday, where you have, say, ten hours driving with somebody else to a ski resort or something, I think that that part of the holiday is fun, because it is often nice, sitting there in the car, telling stories and listening to music, drinking coffee, it becomes part of it (female, 32; A4: 40).

> I think we are quite good at making [the transit] part of the holiday. I actually find it quite nice. I have to say though, we went with my partner's parents to Spain on a bus once. That takes about 30 hours, and I will never do that again. Then it becomes too long. But for example recently when we went to Norway, that was part of the holiday, when we drove and went on the ferry (female, 29; B3: 130).

This shows a very pragmatic attitude towards something that is part a necessity, because the distance cannot be done away with, but also part enjoyable, and, as the discussion about holiday transition showed, somewhat desired, in order to parallel a movement from one context to another with a spatial movement, that can signify the transition in a corporeal way.

Finally there are those holidays where the transport *is* the holiday, and the journey becomes intrinsic, i.e. where the journey has a value in its own right for the tourist. This has been labelled by Cao et al. (2008: 234) as autotelic travel, where 'travel in and of it self is a primary motivation for the travel'. In the interviews, the holidays that in this way incorporate the journey as an intrinsic part of the holiday are equal in number to the holidays where the journey is viewed as purely instrumental. For the intrinsic holiday journeys, the choice of transport mode is the most important holiday choice to be made. In this case the transport mode choice of bicycle was made before the destination was chosen:

> We have been on shorter bicycle holidays before, when we were students, because it was a cheap holiday type. And then we became fascinated by that way of travelling, because all the experiences you get along the way, you get them right in your face, and you feel the holiday more intensely when you are on a bike than when you are in a car. It is an activity in its own right to cycle (male, 30; B2: 9).

Elements of holiday nostalgia can be detected in this quote, as the bicycle was chosen as the holiday transport mode because of previous good experiences with holidaying this way, in a way integrating two journeys into one: the physical journey to the destination and the mental journey 'back' to good memories. Singh (2011) argues that any journey undertaken must be understood as both physical and as movement in the mind, where the spatial transition is matched by a mental journey, and Lowenthal (1985) argues that temporal distance frees memory from reality, so that nostalgia can become desired remembrance and a journey back to an edited past. By 'recreating' good holiday experiences through new holidays, nostalgia keeps the older holiday memories alive, while at the same time merging experiences to form a mental journey that spans more than one holiday, in essence echoing Ryan's (1998) conceptualisation of a tourist forming a travel career, that builds on previous holiday experience.

All of the respondents who have engaged in this type of holiday, where the transport has been intrinsic to the holiday experience, praise those holidays as particularly enjoyable, and they all also comment, when asked about their dream holidays, that a similar mode of transport would be a central element of such a holiday.

Summary

In this section, focussing on the holiday transit, it was shown that a transition period between being at home and being on holiday is generally viewed positively, but it is not prioritised in its own right when it comes to planning the holiday. Rather, it is made to fit with the time it takes to travel to the destination, which is often done in the shortest possible time. It was also shown that time is an important element of holidays in at least three different ways: the time spent on holiday in relation to annual leave, the time spent at the destination in relation to the time spent reaching the destination, and that the perception of time spent in transit is linked to the chosen transport mode. Further it was

argued that transit can have three different roles: it can be purely instrumental, which is almost exclusively linked to air transit, it can be integrated into the general holiday experience as an unavoidable element of travelling on holiday, and it can be an intrinsic part of the holiday experience. When the interviewees talk about their holiday transit and transition, distance is almost exclusively referred to in temporal terms, and time becomes the most important element of travelling to and from the holiday destination.

Talking about Travelling: Tur or Rejse

This section analyses how the tourists in the interviews classify their holiday travels through the use of the Danish words 'tur' (trip) and 'rejse' (journey), and through this classification communicate information about the holiday travels to others. Both tur and rejse signify movement, although in different ways, and both relate to distance through being terms that are used in order to describe corporeal movement over distance. This section will show that there is a significant difference between how the interviewed tourists say they define tur and rejse, and how they actually use the two words to describe their holiday mobility. Further, the section argues that through classifying holiday travel as either tur or rejse, the tourist indicates to others how they feel about the travels, and how they regard the distance they travel across.

The Danish words will be used in the following discussion, because it will strengthen the focus of the analysis on the signification of the tourists' use of those exact words, and not other words that could also be used when describing holiday travel.

The first discussion of the use of tur and rejse

Initially the discussion of the difference between tur and rejse was started in the third focus group interview, where one interviewee unprompted commented that there is a difference between tur and rejse, although the two words are seemingly used interchangeably. Between them, though, the focus group participants were not able to identify wherein the difference between tur and rejse lies (FG3: 536-594):

> **S**: Now that I am sitting here thinking about it, I think that I would say that, we have been in Nice a while back, and in Portugal in Lisbon, and we just went to Norway - which is actually my latest travel, but I would not call that *rejse*, I would rather say that we have been on *tur*. So we have been on *tur* to Nice, and

tur to Lisbon and we certainly were on *tur* to Norway. I think if I *rejse*, then it will somehow be defined as....no, outside Europe I wouldn't say...

T: It has to be further away?

S: Well, maybe somehow, but then I would probably say *rejse* to Rome. Maybe because it is close to Africa (laughs)...I am not quite sure

Interviewer: So there is a difference [between rejse and tur]?

S: Yes

Interviewer: Has it got something to do with how different the culture you *rejser* to is?

S: Yes, I think maybe it has...I really don't know.

T: I think that generally, I mean *tur* to Norway would probably be holiday-*rejse* for me, but I think that maybe that has something to do with me not being as used to *rejse* as you are. But I would say *tur* to Berlin, that would not be holiday-*rejse*.

Interviewer: But has it then got something to do with for how long you are away?

S: Yes, I think maybe it has...

Interviewer: If you weren't away for a week then it wouldn't be *rejse*?

S: No, if you are just away for a weekend up in Norway with your brother-in-law, that is not *rejse*.

T: Yes, it could have something to do with that, the length of the *tur*.

S: But if I was in Norway for half a year...? I really don't know...

H: Maybe it also has got something to do with the liberties you give yourself when you are away proper. Then it doesn't really matter whether you are dining out or spending money on things, in comparison to if you were on *tur* to the summer house. There you have somehow other restrictions on your economy, because it is more everyday-like. But I would say that Berlin would be a holiday for me. There is not a large difference there. But certainly the degree of liberty in comparison...

S: But maybe I would also call it holiday, just not *rejse*. I don't know whether you can define what is a holiday and what is *rejse*, whether it is the same, to go on holiday and to go on a *rejse*.

T: You are asking some difficult questions...

S: Well, I don't need an answer (laughs)

T: But sure, when I go four days to Berlin, that is holiday for me...

S: But it is not *rejse*?

T: No and I think it is because, holiday is defined for, somewhat like **H** says, that you let go of what you have at home, so if you go for a weekend *tur* to Norway, I am not sure I would be able to let completely go of everything at home, because on Monday you are back to normal again.

E: But is it then holiday if it is for a weekend?

T: Well, that is the question. It depends on the length of the *tur*, the holiday-*tur*.

H: But doesn't it also have something to do with the things you experience, what you are doing and what you can experience?

E: But maybe also what you are used to. I had a colleague who said to me that I *rejse* all the time at the moment, and I was thinking that I hadn't been anywhere. 'But you have been both to Skanderborg Music Festival [in Denmark] and two weekends in Copenhagen', leaving me thinking...I wouldn't call that *rejse*, but if your own holiday-*rejse* goes to Southern Jutland in Denmark, well, then it becomes a lot of *rejse*, but I was all confused, you must be talking about somebody else...

Interviewer: So it has also got something to do with the things you do?

S: Yes

E: I think it depends on what you compare it to

T: But I also think **H** is right when she says that you tend to...for example when I am on holiday in Roemoe [southern Danish island], then I am well aware of the price of things in the supermarket. You can make it look a little bit like home in terms of budget, but for example in Berlin, lets spend some money! We are outside Denmark. So I recognise that. But whether it then is outside the Danish borders it becomes a holiday, I do not know.

Based on this exchange of ideas about what the difference is between tur and rejse, the question was subsequently put to the participants in the in-depth interviews. The following discussion is based on the specific answers to this question as well as the analysis of how the words were actually used in the interviews to describe holiday travelling.

How tur and rejse are defined by the interviewees

When asked to define tur and rejse, and describe the difference between the two, most of the interviewees seem to be able to make a clear distinction between the terms, which might be somewhat surprising given the less than clear discussion of them by the participants in the focus group above. This could be because the interviewees in the in-depth interviews did not have anybody to discuss the issue with, as in the focus group. In the in-depth interviews there is a relatively uniform understanding of the two terms, which might be an indication of the wide use of these terms. In everyday language the use of tur and rejse is very unlikely to be challenged, and everybody would have a reasonable understanding of what the terms mean, but it is often not until asked to define something that its ambiguity becomes obvious, and this is a case in which this would seem to hold true.

Rejse is both a verb and a noun, where 'at rejse' means to travel, and 'en rejse' means almost, but not quite, a journey. A journey expresses the activity of travelling from one place to another and an excursion (Chambers, 2003), and this meaning is part of the Danish expression en rejse, but further to this, en rejse is also an expression of the engagement with the place travelled to, focussing the Danish expression on the quality of the journey and not just the quantity of it. This has been evident throughout the interviews, that en rejse is more than just the act of travelling to a place and back:

> En rejse, it has more to do with the experiences I think. It is an experience-rejse, an educational journey. For example if I travelled to India and stayed the first two nights in a hotel and then travelled around with my back-pack. I would consider that as en rejse (female, 27; A11: 48).

Further, rejse is also described in many of the interviews as something that can represent both a corporeal activity and a personal journey:

> En rejse, it can have a symbolic meaning, and it can be tangible. You can be on en rejse, but also on a personal development journey. And in that I see something that is more focussed inwards somehow (female, 32; A4: 58).

So rejse is described as a term that has in it a duality of the very manifest activity of moving to another place, and the more psychological aspect of the movement of the

mind. This latter personal movement does not appear from the interviews to be particularly linked to the former spatial movement, so possibly engagement in a corporeal rejse does not necessarily lead to a psychological rejse, and vice versa.
In the interviews rejse is described as a travelling activity that is longer in both time and distance in comparison to tur. Rejse requires more planning, and the experiences are expected to reflect the efforts and money spent, and to be extraordinary and not ones you can get from a normal holiday:

> En rejse is something like when I am going to Borneo and Hong Kong now. It is over a longer period of time, maybe months sometimes. A holiday is more something with a beach and a pool, as long as there is sunshine, because all you want is to relax, but en rejse is more, it has more experiences, and it is something different (female, 26; C7: 204).

Rejse is linked to international travel, i.e. outside Denmark, and it has a more specific purpose than an ordinary holiday, it is about more than getting a tan and eating some nice food. According to the interviews, where holidays are for relaxation, rejser are for learning and personal development, and going on a rejse involves more engagement with the place travelled to:

> I think that en rejse requires more commitment to where you travel to, and more immersion in the places you are in [than the places you travel to on 'normal' holidays] (male, 30; B2: 115).

A rejse does not necessarily have to be to an unknown place in spite of the apparent emphasis on experiences, but the interaction with the place will be of a different nature than if you visited it on a holiday. In the interviews there was a clear expression of a rejse being 'bigger' than tur in every way possible.
In comparison, when the interviewees where asked to describe tur explicitly, it was mostly understood as something that is short in both time and distance, not lasting more than a few days, and not something that is solely linked to leisure mobility:

> En tur is something you can go on even if you are working. You can do it over the weekend, or just for one day. Most people will probably see a holiday as

> something that lasts a bit longer, and en tur as something that is shorter (female, B7; 41: 94).
>
> Ture are definitely smaller, both in time and distance, you do not have to travel far (female, 29; A10: 44).

A tur is described as less formal than a holiday and certainly than rejse, and there is less hassle involved, but the experiences are also expected to be less extraordinary than on a rejse:

> I would say that en tur, it is like here in the past weekend I had to go to some family-thing. There is nothing new in that, I know what I will see, and what people I will meet (male, 28; A8: 54).
>
> En tur, it is something you just do... just a tur to Aalborg for example. I think it is something over a short distance, and maybe actually also over a short time period (female, 27; A9: 38).

Tur translates most appropriately into trip, which means to make an excursion, a single journey, one way or to and from, a pleasure excursion (Chambers, 2003). This is also the Danish meaning of tur, but the analysis of how the interviewees *use* the word showed that tur has a far wider application than just that.

Based on how rejse and tur are described in the interviews it should be possible to identify what distinguishes the two terms from each other. According to the interviewees' explicit comments, tur is short in time and distance, does not involve anything extraordinary and is a habitual activity, probably undertaken previously and therefore not presenting any particular challenges in terms of planning or execution. Rejse is said to be longer in both time and physical distance, and it is an experience that enriches you and where the engagement with the destination is important. It matters more where you travel to on a rejse, than where you go on a tur. It is obviously individual what is 'longer' both in time and distance, what constitutes extraordinary experiences and what type of travel is normal, but these are empirical distinctions that does not change the understanding that generally tur and rejse are viewed as two separate, albeit related, terms, related in them both signifying leisure movement. But an

analysis of how the two terms are actually *used* in the interviews shows some mismatch between description and application. Tur and rejse are *used* seemingly almost at random to signify movement in space for leisure purposes, but only seemingly.

How the terms are used in the interviews

The tur-rejse-map in Appendix E shows all the destinations specifically mentioned in the interviews, where either tur or rejse was used to describe the travel activity, both destinations that had been visited and destinations that have not yet been visited. Other destinations were mentioned during the interviews than the ones plotted on the map, but these did not have either of the terms attached to them.

The map shows that there is only a weak link between which term is used and the physical distance to a destination, which is not consistent with the tourists' explicit definitions of the terms, where tur was strongly associated with shorter distances and rejse associated with longer distances. Both tur and rejse are used to describe travels to destinations in North America, sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and Australia. Rejse is used more outside Europe than tur, and the reason for this is likely to be because rejse to destinations outside Europe are associated with longer physical distances and longer time periods, which would require more planning and be more expensive. More would have to be 'invested' in order to go to destinations outside Europe, which could cause it to be labelled rejse. That rejse is the term used most outside Europe is consistent with how rejse was explicitly described in the interviews when they were asked what a rejse is.

On the contrary, the use of rejse to describe some of the destinations visited inside Europe seem to be inconsistent with how the interviewees described the term, and the use of holiday, or even tur would have seemed more appropriate. The same observation can be made about the instances where tur is being used to describe spending months in New Zealand or a train journey from Moscow to Khabarovsk on the Trans-Siberian railway. This is also not consistent with the tourists' own definition of the term tur.

Overall, tur is the most widely used word in the interviews to describe the activity of travelling to another place, and is also the word that sees the most inconsistency between how it is being described and how it is being used. The interviewed tourists generally agree that tur is short in distance and time, and expect no spectacular experiences from a tur, but apart from being used to signify any outing ranging from a trip to the beach or grocery shopping to a 10,000 kilometre cycling trip across Australia

and Asia or five months travelling across South America, tur is in the interviews used in over 30 different variations:

> little trip (smaatur/lille tur), fast trip (smuttur/sviptur), big trip, short trip, cycle trip, cross border trip (udlandstur), trip within the country (indlandstur), skiing trip, train trip, study trip, weekend trip, trekking trip, plane trip, car trip (koeretur/biltur), coach trip, day trip, charter trip, luxury trip, cosy trip (hyggetur), development trip (udviklngstur), autumn trip, forest trip, beach trip, couple trip, home trip, away trip, afternoon trip, boat trip (baadtur/sejltur/faergetur), round trip (rundtur, not return journey), family trip, cottage trip, experience trip, river trip, mountain trip.

However, although it often appears so, tur is not used at random, but neither is it always used in the way the people using them *say* they use it. Tur is frequently being used in instances where either holiday or rejse would have seemed the more appropriate term to label a travelling activity, and generally the use of tur comes across as the default way of linguistically signifying the activity of spatial movement.

In the interviews it often appears that the labelling of a travel activity is more linked to the tourist's travel experience and knowledge of a given destination and travel mode, than with the distance that seemed such an important element of the definitions of the terms. Tur is often used when talking about a destination that has already been visited, and rejse used for future destinations than might or might not be visited. Rejse is in the interviews explicitly associated with further away and for longer time periods than tur, but also with a need for more planning and more commitment. A rejse requires the tourist to engage with pre-journey arrangements, transit and being at the destination at another level than for a tur. Information and new knowledge is being acquired, an extraordinary experience is being prepared, and the use of maybe unfamiliar transport modes and routes is being contemplated. But once the rejse is over, all the things that were unknown before will be known, and doing the same rejse again would not present the same challenges as before. This could result in rejse becoming tur, in spite of the unchanged distances and time scales, that in the interviews were explicitly said to be important elements of distinguishing rejse from tur. This was evident in a majority of the interviews, but very explicitly expressed during the interview with the couple who had recently completed a 10,000 km cycle holiday through Asia. They kept referring to

this as tur, when it, even by their own definition would be more appropriately referred to as rejse. Based on this observation it could be suggested that en rejse becomes en tur when the experience-value changes, hinting that the difference between en tur and en rejse could be determined not so much by distance as the tourists' definition would have it, but by the level of experiences anticipated during the journey.

Tur and rejse as signifiers of distance

Physical distance and time distance are clearly part of the tourists' explicit definitions of tur and rejse, but the strong link between the terms and distance seems to disappear when they are applied to talk about travelling. The definition of rejse emphasised experiences and longer distances, but only the factor of experience is evident when travels are being labelled rejse in the interviews. Likewise, tur, the most widely used word applied to any magnitude of travel in the interviews, was defined with an even stronger link to distance, through being regarded as something that involves only short distances and time periods, but throughout the interviews this link is lost. This loss of direct reference to distance is not surprising, because throughout the interviews there are few explicit comments about distance in general. In spite of the interviews focussing on distance in relation to holiday mobility, physical distance is not an explicit element of how the activity of travelling is being talked about. Aside from tur and rejse, travelling for leisure is being referred to by other phrases, such as 'going to...', 'take a holiday in...', and 'get away to...'; phrases that hold less reference to physical distance than tur and rejse. So it would seem that their holiday talk does not generally include talking about distance explicitly. Dann (1996) shows how language is an important part of tourism, and that communication within tourism is constituted by various discourses of experiences, memories, and places applied by the industry and tourists alike, and that metaphors are widely used in this 'talking about tourism'. Dann (1996) quotes Elgin (1993) when arguing that a metaphor is the use of language for comparing two different things on the basis of a common characteristic. It might be useful to imagine tur and rejse as distance metaphors, because even though distance does not feature explicitly in the tourists' holiday talk generally nor to any significant degree when they use tur and rejse, tur and rejse are terms that are related to distance. They signify movement across distance, and can therefore be seen as metaphors for different conceptualisations of this movement.

Analysis of how tur and rejse are used in the interviews also show that the two terms can become elements of the tourist's implicit communication about their travel to others, adding a further dimension to them as distance signifiers. Tur and rejse are used by some of the interviewed tourists as signals to others of the tourist's attitude towards their travels, and as a way of managing other people's expectations towards the travels. This was mentioned in one interview, where it was commented that the choice of term to a certain degree will depend on what expectation the tourist wants other people to have:

> I think it is more the expectations from other people. If I said I was going on a tur to Lund, nobody would understand that as me going there for four weeks (female, 26; A2: 64).

The tourist can signal to other people why they are going and give indications, however loose, of the nature of the travels through the use of one term or the other. Tur gives a more relaxed signal, that the travel undertaken is 'not a big deal', whereas rejse would give the opposite signal, that the travel is in some way significant, either in relation to experiences, or time or physical distance. This use of the terms does not, however, reflect physical distance particularly well. So where distance seems an important element of explicit discussions of tur and rejse, it does not play a central role when those two terms are used to manage other peoples' expectations or understandings of a travel activity.

Deliberately choosing one term over the other can also be seen as an expression of the tourist's own attitude towards the travel, where using tur rather than rejse can display a more relaxed attitude towards a travel activity. This is seen, as discussed above, when the attitude has been relaxed through familiarity, but it is also used in the interviews to display a nonchalant attitude, as if to acknowledge that a given travel would most appropriately be classified as rejse, but because of personal attributes, for example travel experience, or financial background, the holiday does not represent any hassle or cause any particular challenges for the tourist, and is therefore labelled tur. The choice of one term rather than the other then becomes part of a process aimed at social status and identity, where the linguistic tool of using tur or rejse to describe a travel activity is being orchestrated as part of wider staging of lifestyle.

Summary

This section has shown that tur and rejse are used differently by the interviewed tourists from how they say they use them. Whereas the tourists' definitions of tur and rejse focus on distance, the application of tur and rejse as part of talking about travelling does not include distance to any significant degree. It was also shown that a travel activity goes from being categorised as rejse to being categorised as tur when it has been undertaken and the destination, travel route and transport modes have become familiar. Tur and rejse can be understood as distance metaphors, because they implicitly relate to distance, as they are terms that signify spatial movement, and tur and rejse are used by the interviewed tourists for self presentation, as linguistic signals, communicating to others information about the travelling that is being labelled either tur or rejse. It is important to acknowledge that tur and rejse are relative terms, and what is considered tur for some might be rejse for others, or in other situations, but perceptions of distance seem, nevertheless, to be linked to how a travel activity is labelled linguistically.

Attitudes towards Distance

This last section of the analysis presents a typology of the attitudes towards distance, which are displayed in the interviews. These attitudes are relevant for an understanding of how tourists consume distance, because they show that it is not only the various representations of distance that differentiate how distance is understood and perceived, it is also how distance is regarded by the individual tourist as an element of travelling, and therefore how it becomes part of a tourist's travel behaviour. That different attitudes exist towards distance show that, apart from distance being known in a number of dimensions through representation, the importance of distance and the role it plays in relation to specific travel activities is changeable and dynamic. Ranging from being regarded only as an instrumental element of travelling, to becoming a motivational factor itself, distance is incorporated into travel behaviour through the attitudes towards it displayed by the tourists.

The different attitudes displayed in the interviews have been analysed by creating a typology, as typologies help make sense of large amounts of data by grouping them into similar categories based on common characteristics, and given a label (Bailey, 2007). This typology shows that at least six different attitudes towards distance are displayed in the interviews:

- reluctant
- nonchalant
- disinterested
- deliberate
- opportunist
- pragmatic

All participants in the interviews show more than one attitude towards distance. This would suggest that type of travelling activity, and how the tourists themselves classify this activity, influences their attitude towards distance in a given context, rather than the attitude being an attribute that is linked to the individual.

Reluctant attitude towards distance

A reluctant attitude towards distance is displayed as a lack of desire to travel, especially over long distances, unless there is a specific reason for it, such as a family event. This attitude is most prominently displayed by the older interview participants, who question more often whether or not to travel than the younger interview participants seem to do. The curiosity of other places, that appears to be elements of some of the other attitudes towards distance, is not represented in this reluctant attitude, and travelling is viewed almost as an excess that has to be justified by more than just desiring to go to a place. This was expressed by the oldest interviewee:

> I do not travel without there being a good reason for it. That is also why I said earlier about just saying that the summer holiday is at this time, so we will have a look in the catalogue, and then we go away for a fortnight because it has to be a fortnight. I am not like that. If I cannot see that there is an extra bonus, I do not want to move (male, 67; C12: 76).

Distance does not become a motivational factor at all, and physical distance can seem more a restricting factor and a barrier than the time and cost required for the travelling, with places that are more than a given distance away in kilometres not being contemplated as destinations:

> [The destination] should not be any further away than I can almost walk home, somehow, since I seem to stay here in Europe. I have no desire to travel to Africa or go to Thailand (female, 59; C11: 178).

Although this research is not analysing different perceptions of distance in different age groups, analysis of the interviews does seem to show that the younger interviewees are more inclined to want to travel more, and think about travelling as an almost essential element to their lifestyles. This is not a prominent element of the interviews with the older participants (those over 50), and although there could be statistical and sampling explanations for this, it nonetheless raises the question of whether it is a cohort effect, or if the apparent urge to travel when you are young lessens.

This attitude differs the most from the other attitudes towards distance, and is also the least represented throughout the interviews, but reflections made even by those interview participants, who otherwise embrace distance as part of their travel behaviour, reflect some reluctance towards distance. This is mostly done, however, in the form of acknowledging that travelling much can have consequences, such as the use of resources that could have been spent at home, and the environmental impact of travelling. Yet, those kinds of reflections are overridden by the tourists' actions, and any manifest reluctance towards distance does not appear outside the interviews with the people over 50, and even they also display some of the other attitudes, which embrace distance as a more explicit element of travelling.

Nonchalant attitude towards distance

A nonchalant attitude towards distance is displayed when the tourists talk about travelling, often far away and often, as a normal, almost habitual activity, and where travelling away on numerous occasions over the year is spoken about as normal behaviour. This attitude is most frequently displayed by the interview participants who have a relatively high travel experience, and for whom travelling does not appear as something that is being particularly restricted by cost considerations, but the attitude is present in a majority of the interviews. To be nonchalant towards the distance that is being travelled across is to be aware of the distances involved in travelling, but not regarding them as being of particular significance, because the impact they have on the decision to travel is minimal, and the act of travelling away is viewed as something you can easily do, and having to travel far to a reach a destination is not considered an issue.

Transcending distance is being talked about in an off-hand manner, and the nonchalant attitude to distance comes across as a part of a social positioning process. Travelling is viewed as a prestigious activity, and the number of holidays within a year and the distances involved are not just reflections of personal travel desires but also a self-presentation, where the tone of the expression says almost as much as the words. The following statement was said in a very casual way, where the yearly holiday activities were downplayed as common, while the interviewee is aware that this is not the case:

> We usually travel twice a year, a ski holiday and then a bicycle holiday in the summer. That fits us really nicely. Sometimes we also go on a small trip in between, a city break or something. We were in Berlin in October, and now in April we are going to Amsterdam (female, 60; B4: 57).

By being nonchalant towards distance, the tourist appears to intentionally, but subtly, emphasise for others that they have experience with travelling, and that they do not themselves regard travelling as something extraordinary, which leads back to the notion that displaying a nonchalant attitude to distance is probably just as much part of a social game as it is of genuine travel reflections:

> Right now [the dream holiday] for me is Australia (female, 26; A2: 111).
> Yes, I would say that that is also mine, right now. Before I was on Hawaii that was probably part of it as well. To get out to see those areas where the nature is so beautiful and where you are far away from home and it is different, climate and everything. […] And there Australia right now has first priority. But I also kind of feel that we could have travelled to Australia a year ago, but I would like to do it, I will go there maybe five times in my life, so when I go, it has to be proper and I want to have to money for it. If I had done it a year ago, maybe, we would probably have had the money for it, but then we would not have been able to afford the ski holiday and going to London and Barcelona the same year, it would have been just that journey. So that is probably why we have waited, because we still want other holidays as well (male, 26; A2: 112).

The nonchalant attitude is not among the most frequently displayed attitudes in the interviews, but it is relevant and important to understand, because of the strong link it

appears to have with communicating perceptions of distance and, more importantly, attitudes towards the activity of travelling, to others. Whether the appearance of the nonchalant attitude in the interviews is because of many of the interview participants are genuinely nonchalant towards distance or it is because of interview participants' desire to portray themselves as 'seasoned' travellers, who have so much travelling experience that no distance faces them any more, remains a question. However, with all of the interviews where the nonchalant attitude was displayed also including other attitudes towards distance, the latter option should not be dismissed.

Disinterested attitude towards distance

A disinterested attitude towards distance is seen mostly in relation to physical distance. Few of the interview participants are actually aware of the physical distance in kilometres to given places, and quite often are also unaware of where different countries and even continents are in relation to each other. The disinterested attitude reflects that physical distance rarely becomes directly relevant for the tourist, and that distance is more often regarded as one or more of its other representations than it is as physical distance, and primarily regarded as something that the physical shape of the world necessitates involvement with, as it is expressed by one respondent:

> When I travel to Thailand now, that is just a thing to get over and done with […] I will bring my stuff to work and then go to the airport and then on from there. […] It is primarily a mindset I put myself into, now we are here, just get it over and done with. I go into this waiting mode, it takes ten hours, very well, I am just sat here, and the funny thing is that I barely watch a film or anything, I just sleep, when I know I have to sit there for ten hours, and so is that. It is the same on the way home, just a bit more boo, because you are travelling home (female, 29; A10: 38).

This apparent lack of interest in distance is, however, also seen in relation to distance in its other dimensions, and is mostly shown by the interview participants who have a high travel experience, and especially those who are used to travelling to other continents. This might indicate that when travelling becomes habitual, the distance and the transit becomes less of a challenge, and something that does not require particular

consideration, as expressed by this respondent who has visited USA regularly over the past 15 years:

> When I fly to USA it is often not the exact same route, it is many different, but it takes roughly the same time. I think the first time I travelled over that way I probably thought that it was really long, because the first time I travelled to USA was the first time I travelled that long on a plane, so I sure would have felt that it was long. It is so long ago I barely remember. Now I just know how long it takes, and you just have to adjust to that. It is the same when you drive to Norway, even though I still think it is a long drive, but I know it, when we at a certain place, then there is about 40 minutes left, and you are not sat waiting in the same way (female, 32; A5: 82).

When the travel activity being engaged in is familiar and habitual, distance does not influence the choices in the same way about whether to travel or not, where to travel and how to travel, because it is already merged into a package of information about the travelling, and therefore does not need to be regarded separately, neither as physical distance, nor in its other representations such as time, cost or, for example, the number of changes or transport mode.

The disinterested attitude towards distance is among the most frequently represented attitudes in the interviews. Because of the previously discussed (low) level of awareness of physical distance and geographical appearance of the world, this is not a surprise, and physical distance comes across as something that few of the respondents have given any explicit thoughts to before being directly enquired about it.

That distance, particularly in its physical representation, is frequently communicated by the interview participants as something they are not particularly interested in, could be linked to the circumstances that manifest tourism mobility is often managed by somebody else, where the tourist becomes just a passenger, and therefore decoupled from the physical distance, because they do not have to worry about the practicalities of overcoming it. In the interviews most travel is done by plane, with most participants mentioning planes as their preferred transport mode, and air travel, in particular, separates the passenger from physical distance. When travelling by air it is not necessary to be interested in distance, and it is made difficult by the lack of speed-distance references during air travel. This decoupling from physical distance is less

explicit when it comes to land-travel, in particular cycling holidays, where every kilometre has to be overcome physically, and car holidays, where the tourists at least navigates their own way. The disinterested attitude towards distance is not found in the interviews in relation to these types of holidays.

Deliberate attitude towards distance

A deliberate attitude towards distance captures the notion that distance is a well-contemplated element of a travelling activity, and travelling over long distances is being deliberately prioritised, partly based on a perception that distance is an element of good travel experiences, and signifies difference from the everyday experiences from home:

> Before we went away on our trip [10,000 kilometre cycle trip through Asia], I had mostly travelled in Europe and the North Atlantic, and now I really felt that I had to get out there and experience the world, because I had never been far away. So I felt that somehow it was important, for me at least, that we...the thing about where we should start from, I didn't really feel like starting in Europe, because now I wanted […] Now it was my time to come out and see something completely different (female, 29; B2: 347-349).

The deliberate attitude towards distance represents an urge in the tourist to travel far, and a desire to travel to places that are perceived as culturally different from home, where physical distance, sometimes wrongly, comes to stand as a symbol of the difference that is sometimes a desired holiday attribute.

For some, deliberately travelling far away becomes part of a lifestyle choice, that influences how they view 'normal' travelling, where what other people would consider a normal holiday no longer constitutes a holiday, and where the limits for holidays are always pushed outwards, both in time and distance, as in this interview:

> They were just some very interesting countries, with diverse experiences from the north, we started in the Northern part of the continent, Peru, Bolivia and ended up down in the Patagonia, in Chile and Argentina. That is the last long trip I have been on, and that is maybe why it stands out...the others have been a month or two (male, 37; A6: 16).

This is, though, in contrast to most of the interviewees, who say that a duration of more than three weeks makes it a long holiday. The deliberate attitude towards distance is one where more wants more:

> The more you travel, the more you want to travel, and the more crazy travel ideas you get (male, 30; B2: 364)

Travelling can almost take on the hue of an addiction, and where the attitude itself causes the framework for holidays to be dynamic, even beyond the point where the absolute distance of the world has run out. This paradox of having travelled the maximum distance appears, then, to be countered by temporal readjustments, where holidays are lengthened in time, and, more rarely, undertaken by slower modes of transport. As the addicted interviewee above commented, after having previously travelled to all parts of the world, he now dreams of revisiting those places again, but this time on bicycle:

> Now that we have been away on bicycle and experienced how that is as a travel form, I think that there are many of those places I have experienced before where it could be fun on bicycle, because that gives another dimension to what you have already seen, so I have thrown all those things I have seen back into the pot. It has been fantastic, but it would also be different to see it again a different way (male, 30: B2: 368).

This attitude of deliberately wanting to travel over long distances is not displayed by all the interview participants in relation to their manifest travel activities, but it is when they reflect on their dream holidays, as the notion of deliberately travelling far away is the most common element of what a dream holiday would be like. The deliberate attitude does not stand alone either, but appears to be a strong element of how the interviewees displaying it prioritise their travel activities, with the urge to travel further causing other types of holidays to be less prioritised due to the relatively large amount of resources needed in order to travel on these long holidays.

Opportunistic attitude towards distance

An opportunistic attitude towards distance is seen when the interview participants talk about travelling at every opportunity they get. This includes both travelling as often as they can, within the limits of their resources, and travelling because they have been invited, even though the destination and type of holiday might not be something they themselves would have initiated:

> They [her parents] had decided that that was what they wanted [a summer holiday in The Netherlands, driving by car from Denmark], and then they asked us siblings if we wanted to come along. So that is how it has been created so to say. It was probably not something I myself would have chosen, but... […] If it had been me, I would probably have chosen another destination (female, 26; C2: 76-78).

Analysis of the interviews shows, however, that while opportunistic travel is common among the interviewees, they do not seem to always travel at any given opportunity, even if their resources allowed them, hinting that other factors are restricting their travel activity in spite of the claim to the contrary, but opportunistic travel is nevertheless a substantial element of the overall travel behaviour. This attitude towards distance is one, where distance appears to be embraced in whatever form it becomes possible for the tourist to embrace it, and the criteria for travelling becomes more one of getting away when the chance is there, than a more deliberate consideration of distance.

Where the deliberate attitude has distance almost as an incentive in its own right and justification for travelling, the opportunistic attitude represents the desire for any distance and type of travelling without, it appears, any particular regard for the distances involved. This makes the result of the two attitudes somewhat similar (albeit probably shorter, but more frequent travels as a result of opportunistic travelling) but arriving at these similar behaviours via two different motivations. In the interviews a significant majority of the participants remarked that if they could, they would travel more, with some desiring to travel more often, others to travel longer distances, and yet others, who form a majority, that they would like to travel both more frequently and over longer distances than they currently do:

> If I had more time and money, I would probably travel longer distances (female, 26; C2: 220).
>
> If time and money did not matter, I would travel more (male, 30; C4: 198).
>
> I would probably travel more and longer. I think. It is difficult, because I think I have been on some good holidays, driving to Paris for example, I could do that again. But if we had unlimited amounts of money and leave I would probably chose somewhere else (female, 28; C5: 156).

This obviously constitutes wishful thinking, and it remains a question whether, given the opportunities, they would realise these dreams, as it appears that at least some of the interview participants expressing such reflection do not currently use their travel potential to the full in terms of the resources they have available to them. So while opportunistic travelling is obviously a significant element of their travel behaviour, it seems that there does exist a limit to travelling, which is not only set by the resources allowing travelling in the first place.

Pragmatic attitude towards distance

A pragmatic attitude towards distance is shown throughout the interviews, where distance only becomes important in relation to the resources needed in order to overcome it, for the purpose of reaching a desired destination. Distance itself is not an explicit part of the incentive to travel, neither is there a desire to travel anywhere without a purpose. There is an awareness of distance, primarily in the form of the time and money required for travelling, supplemented by a disinclination to travel any further than necessary in order to reach a certain type of destination:

> I think there is an economic aspect in it, because I would not pay more to get further away if not the experience also became bigger, just to experience the same […] you could just as well go to Mallorca if that was the cheapest [as opposed to going to Thailand on a charter holiday] (male, 33; C1: 377-379).

This discussion is nuanced by individual perceptions of what constitutes similar destinations, where for some Spain and Thailand represent the same type of destination, while for others they do not, expressed by the wife of the above interviewee:

> A charter holiday to Mallorca or Crete or somewhere else that can be compared, I would probably...or Gran Canaria, which is a bit further away, there I would probably choose Mallorca because it is closer. But Thailand, I just think it gives something more... (female, 33; C1: 384).

Further to this discussion is also to be added the observation made by another interview participant, that three weeks in Bali is cheaper than two weeks in Crete:

> We had discussed, because usually every other year we travel a bit longer, so this year we were to stay just in Europe, that would be better. But then we found out that there was cheap tickets to Singapore. So we decided to go down there, and it is cheaper to stay in the East, so that was why […] We knew from having been to Crete a few years earlier how expensive it actually was to live down there. And we had been there for fourteen days and the trip cost us maybe 5000 dkr, and then we were spending quite a lot of money next to that (female, 29; A10: 10-12).

This pragmatic attitude towards distance appears to represent a behaviour where excessive spending or effort is not justified, and the extra investment of resources can only be justified by differentiation in destination attributes and not distance. Travelling far away for long periods of time is not unthinkable, as long as the purpose of the holiday and the type of destination justifies it, and the same travel experience could not have been accommodated closer to home. This attitude is widely represented in the interviews, but there are significant variations in what each interview participant sees as justified extra spending of resources in order to reach the closest desirable type of destination, and what exactly is understood by similar destinations, fulfilling the same desires.

This pragmatic perception of the distance that it is necessary to overcome in order to reach a desired destination is in opposition to the deliberate and opportunistic attitudes discussed above, because distance here is only a small, if at all, factor of the travel

behaviour, resulting in the transit being instrumental in nature, with no intrinsic values. Physical distance is travelled across only because it lies between home and a desired destination.

Attitudes towards distance and the classification of holidays as tur or rejse

It is relevant at the end of this discussion of attitudes towards distance to view these attitudes in the light of the previous discussion of the tourists' classification of their holidays as either tur or rejse. In that discussion it was argued that tur and rejse can be seen as distance metaphors, used by the interviewed tourists as a way of representing the distance they travel across, with rejse signifying longer distances than tur, and a more 'substantial' engagement with the holiday destination. It is possible, however, that the use of one word over the other could also be a reflection of the attitude towards distance the tourist wants to present. Table 5.1 below, shows how the attitudes towards distance, at a general level, are related to the tur-rejse classification of holidays:

Attitude towards distance	**Tur**	**Rejse**
Reluctant: equal use of tur and rejse	Holidays may be classified as tur, because they are genuinely 'small', over short distances and short periods of time	Holidays may be classified as rejse, because they require much effort
Nonchalant: predominant use of tur	The term being used to communicate that a holiday is not significant, with the emphasis being on the communication-aspect	
Disinterested: predominant use of tur	Tur being used to signify most holidays, because there is no direct relation to distance	
Deliberate: equal use of tur and rejse	Tur may be used because of the relatively high travel experience for the tourists displaying this attitude, and therefore they have high level of familiarity with travelling	Rejse may be used, because most holidays where this attitude is present are 'rejse' type holidays, over longer periods of time and longer distances than 'tur' type holidays
Opportunist: predominant use of tur	Tur may be used for the holidays that have not involved much planning relative to other holidays, such as visiting friends and relatives, and invitation holidays	

Pragmatic: equal use of tur and rejse	Tur used in relation to holidays perceived to be 'small'	Rejse used in relation to holidays that are more substantial than tur-type holidays

Table 5.1: Attitudes towards distance and holiday classification

These are observations from the interviews on the relationship between attitudes towards distance and classification of holidays through distance metaphors, but the potential links should not be understood as rigid. It is for example possible for an opportunistic attitude to be linked to a classification of a given holiday as rejse. What the general reflections in the table above allow is a conceptualisation of holiday classification being influenced by distance attitude, and vice versa. How a holiday is classified by a tourist reflects attitudes towards distance, as well as how a tourist's attitudes towards distance in relation to a specific holiday influences how this holiday is classified.

Summary

Six different attitudes towards distance have been identified in the interviews: reluctant, nonchalant, disinterested, deliberate, opportunistic and pragmatic. These six attitudes should be understood as linked to specific holidays and holiday types rather than as personal characteristics that are linked to an individual. Each tourist in the interviews displayed more than one attitude, which shows that distance is being regarded differently in relation to different holidays, and therefore suggesting that attitudes towards distance are dynamic and changeable. Each of the six attitudes towards distance can contribute to the understanding of how tourists relate to distance through the insights they offer about how distance is being regarded and becomes important (or not) for the tourist's holiday mobility. The travel behaviour of the tourists is reflected through their attitudes towards distance, and by examining the range of attitudes in the interviews, it becomes clear that the tourists' relationships to distance are dynamic and relative, which is an important insight for the exploration of whether distance-tourist relationships can be conceptualised as consumption of distance.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented the analysis of the interviews with the tourists, and focussed on five thematic discussions of the relationship between tourists and distance, summarised in table 5.2 below:

Representations of distance	• Resource: time and money • Accessibility: transport mode and infrastructure • Knowledge: difference or similarity in culture, and personal familiarity
Choice of destination	• Fixed: specific destination determined by the reason for undertaking the holiday • Semi-fixed: type of destination determined by the reason for undertaking the holiday • Free: destination choice determined by general interest
In transit	• Instrumental: where the transit in purely regarded as transport • Intrinsic: where the transit constitutes the holiday • Embraced transit: where the transit journey is accepted as necessary and therefore made a valuable experience
Classification of holiday as tur or rejse	• Rejse: understood as longer in time and physical distance than tur, and more 'valuable' • Tur: understood as short in time and physical distance, although large mismatch between stated and actual use of the word
Attitudes towards distance	• Reluctant: reluctant engagement in travel, and therefore reluctant towards especially long distances • Nonchalant: the distances travelled over portrayed as not important, mostly used in self-presentation • Disinterested: does not care about the distances between home and destination • Deliberate: deliberately travels long distances, because of the association of distance with valuable experience • Opportunist: embracing distance in any form it becomes available through travel • Pragmatic: does not travel further than necessary to reach a certain type of destination

Table 5.2: Summary of the tourist-distance relationships identified in the interview

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION OF TOURISTS' CONSUMPTION OF DISTANCE

Introduction

Following the development of consumption of distance theoretically, and the analysis of tourist-distance relationships, it is now time to bring the two together, in a discussion of what consumption of distance is, and to what extent tourists do, in fact, consume distance. That is the focus for this chapter, which starts by outlining the main principle of consumption of distance as it has emerged through this research, and then discusses how tourists' consumption of distance should be understood. The chapter concludes by offering a definition of consumption of distance, which is based on the analysis and discussion of tourists' consumption of distance. The diagram below, 6.1, summarises the research process so far:

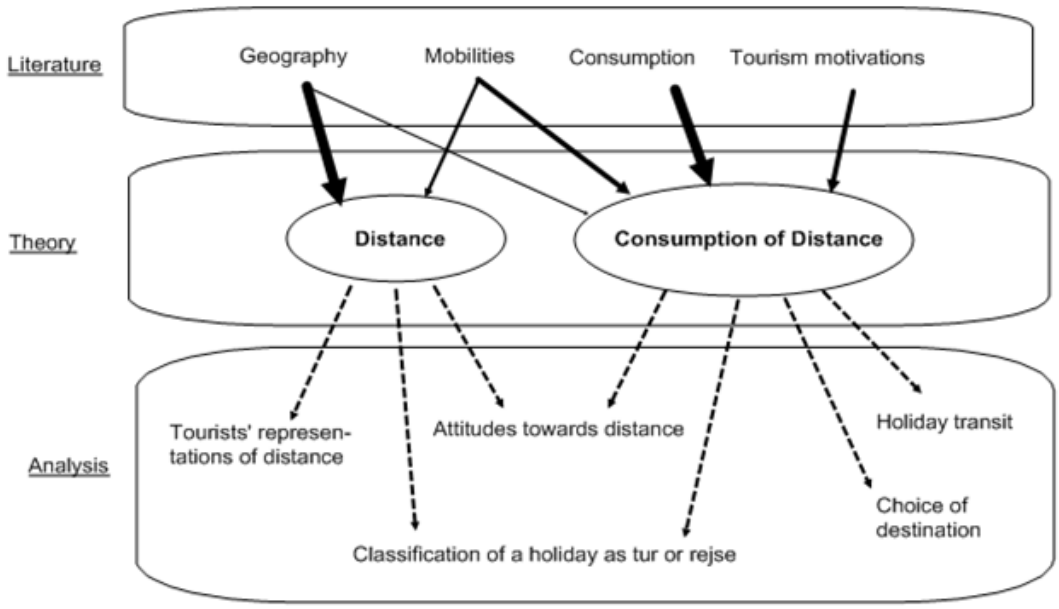

Diagram 6.1: Outline of the research into consumption of distance

The research presented in this thesis focusses on the relationships between tourists and distance. Such relationships will be familiar to most people, because they will have had personal experiences with distance through their own holiday mobility. Therefore, much of this research will have high resonance with many people's personal holiday experiences, and many of the findings will seem intuitive, because they can be contextualised and understood in relation to these personal experiences. Few people have probably ever considered that their holiday mobility could amount to consumption of distance, but the analysis in the previous chapter focusses on themes that would be familiar to most tourists, and the reflections on distance in the tourist interviews are likely to be recognised and echoed by a broader group of people than just those participating in this research. This research will have a strong link to many people's own experiences of distance, and this is one of the main reasons this research is important. Through understanding how tourists consume distance, this research focusses on the relationships between tourists and the distances that are part of their holiday mobility, and opens these relationships up for analytical scrutiny, where they before have received little attention, probably because of their seemingly intuitive nature.

Consumption of Distance: Main Principle and Theoretical Propositions

The main principle that underpins an understanding of holiday mobility as potential consumption of distance is that, that holiday mobility must include distance as an *intrinsic* element. Only when distance has an intrinsic role for holiday mobility can this mobility be conceptualised as consumption of distance.

Distance will always be an *instrumental* element of holiday mobility, because holiday mobility requires the tourist to travel across distance and to relate to the separation of space that is distance, in a number of ways: the tourist-distance relationships identified in the previous chapter. No holiday mobility is without a relationship to distance, however represented. Therein lies the argument against conceptualising consumption of distance as *any* situation where the tourist relates to distance, which would cast all holiday mobility as consumption of distance and not only make consumption of distance as a concept redundant, but also result in loss of focus on the intrinsic role distance can play for holiday mobility.

When something is intrinsic, it means that it is basic to the nature of the thing or activity, and more than just a means to an end. Therefore, to argue that consumption of distance is when holiday mobility comes to include distance in an intrinsic way, it

means that distance, in itself, becomes a valued element of that holiday mobility, above and beyond the necessity of travel that is caused by physical distance. That something can have intrinsic values for an individual is central to understanding of leisure more generally and of what motivates tourists to travel. Neulinger (1981) argued that for an activity to be justly understood as a leisure activity, the individual must perceive their engagement in that activity as free, and the engagement must be *intrinsically* motivated, i.e. it is an end in itself to engage in that specific activity. Iso-Ahola (1982) argues that the intrinsic rewards of a leisure activity is one of the major reasons that engagement in leisure activities are satisfying for an individual, and also Mannell and Iso-Ahola (1987) emphasise intrinsicallity as a central factor for identifying when something becomes a leisure activity. As Neulinger (1981) argued, an activity only becomes leisure when it holds intrinsic value for the individual, this research argues that only when distance is related to by the tourist for its intrinsic value for the holiday mobility is the tourist consuming distance. This is the main principle any understanding, theoretical or analytical, of consumption of distance must rest on.

The next step is then to pinpoint when a tourist-distance relationship can be said to include distance in an intrinsic way. Previously in this thesis three such propositions were presented, derived from a theoretical discussion of what consumption of distance as a concept might look like. Three ways in which distance can become intrinsic to holiday mobility were identified: through distance becoming a symbol and part of a symbolic consumption process (which is linked to a social positioning game), through experiences of distance and through the motivational influence of distance. Distance as a symbol focusses on whether the holiday mobility includes elements of establishing a personal and/or social identity and social status, which is derived from an engagement with distance. Distance as experience focusses on how valued holiday experiences can result from distance *per se*, and distance as motivation focusses on how distance can become a driver for holiday mobility and a desired element of a holiday and not just a spatial necessity. In order to distinguish between holiday mobility that constitutes consumption of distance, and holiday mobility that does not, the three theoretical propositions above have to be diligently applied to actual tourist-distance relationships. Distance has to be intrinsically present in such a relationship, which it will be if there is evidence of engagement with distance symbolically, experientially and/or as motivation for travel. Not all three of them have to be present in a tourist-distance relationship for it to be one of distance consumption and the level of distance consumption will be

dependent on to which degree they are evident. Diagram, 6.2, below outlines the process of evaluation of whether distance is consumed or not:

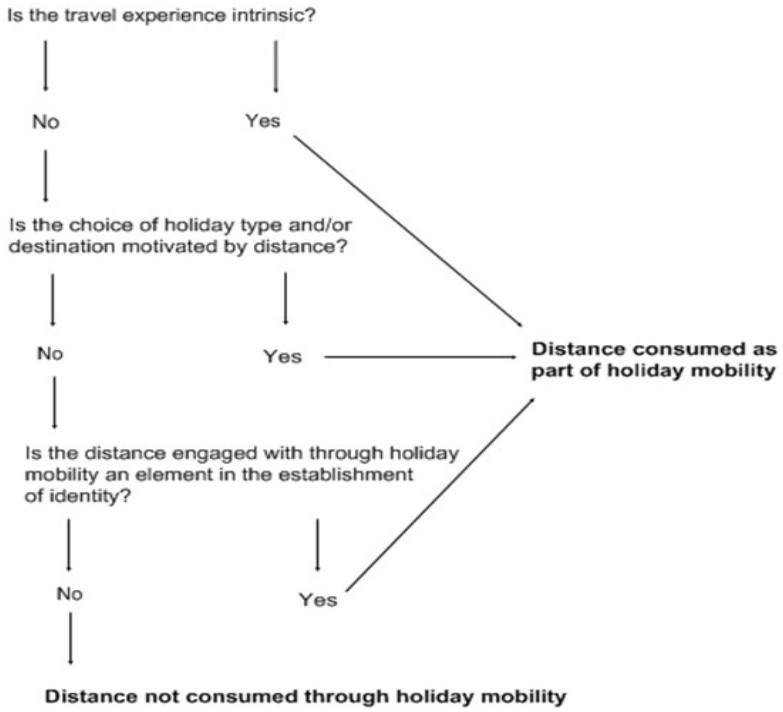

Diagram 6.2: The process of identification of consumption of distance

Important to this assessment of whether distance is consumed or not, is the understanding of distance itself applied to such an analysis. This thesis began with an argument for the importance of understanding distance as a multidimensional phenomenon, and not only as kilometres or miles (which are probably the most widely recognised understanding of distance). Distance must be conceptualised as spatial separation and as a relationship, which is represented through various dimensions of distance. Some of these are spatial, as for example kilometres, while others are non-spatial, as for example time and cost. Any analysis of tourists' consumption of distance must theoretically embrace distance in all dimensions, and seek to understand how the tourists understand and represent distance. It will be *their* representations of distance they consume, and those representations are therefore central to any analysis.

Applying the criterion of intrinsicallity of distance, operationalised through the three theoretical propositions, this research has established that distance can be consumed by tourists. This finding is based on the analysis of the tourist-distance relationships, outlined in the previous chapter, and for any analysis of consumption of distance, the identification of such relationships are important. It is in these relationships that it will be evident whether distance is an intrinsic element of a tourist's holiday mobility.

Tourist-Distance Relationships

Any analysis of tourists' consumption of distance thus takes its starting point in tourist-distance relationships, which are situations where a tourist engages with distance, corporeally, deliberately and/or subconsciously, as part of their holiday mobility. Five such relationships were identified in the previous chapter, but this should not be viewed as a complete list, and other studies could identify other tourist-distance relationships. Tourist-distance relationships are influenced by a range of factors. Some factors relate directly to holidays, such as choices, motivations and holiday dreams and desires, while other factors relate more indirectly to holidays, as for example the economic and social contexts of the tourist. The influence of these factors results in contextualised tourist-distance relationships, manifestations of how the tourist engages with distance in the context of their holiday mobility.

Table 6.1 below, shows how the tourist-distance relationships identified in the previous chapter relate to the three different types of holidays the interviewed tourists engaged in. The table shows that the relationships tourists have to distance differs in relation to the type of holiday they engage in, and one of the results from the analysis is that most of the tourists' behaviour that can be conceptualised as consumption of distance is in relation to the experience type holidays, where there is the free-est choice of destination and transit. The experience holidays are the type of holidays the tourists engage the least in, but when they do engage in them, they are holidays to destinations that are further away than destinations of other types of holidays, and the destinations tend to be perceived as more culturally different as well. Further, this is also the type of holiday the tourists talk about the most in the interviews, which is relevant for the analysis of whether and how they consume distance, because it shows that the experience holidays are the most interesting for the tourists, and the ones which gives the better holiday experiences, and among these, experiences with distance.

Types of hols. / Tourist-dist. relationships	Visiting friends and relatives	Destination-type holidays	Experience holidays
Reps. of distance	- distance relevant as resources - distance relevant as knowledge	- distance relevant as resources - distance relevant as accessibility	- distance relevant as resources - distance relevant as knowledge
Destination choice	- fixed - no destination choice as such, rather a decision on whether to visit friends and relatives or not	- semi-fixed - based on what type of destination will fulfil the holiday desires for, for example, sun or skiing	- free-est - based on a perception of what it might be possible to experience at a given destination
Transit	- transit viewed as a necessity, that is either incorporated into the holiday experience or endured	- transit viewed as a necessity, that is either incorporated into the holiday experience or endured	- transit often viewed as adding experience-value to the overall holiday - transit likely to be over longer distances than the other two holiday types
Tur and Rejse	- this type of holidays are mostly referred to as tur, due of the perceived 'easiness' of the holiday, because of the familiarity with hosts, and familiarity with the destination through the hosts	- this type of holidays are mostly referred to as tur, because of the relatively low expectations/desire for unfamiliar experiences, and because of this type of holidays mostly being held at destinations that are not viewed as 'far away', or last more than two weeks	- this type of holiday is the one most likely to be classified as rejse - but is also classified as tur
Attitudes towards distance	- opportunist - disinterested - pragmatic - reluctant - deliberate	- disinterested - pragmatic - opportunist	- deliberate - disinterested - nonchalant - opportunist

Table 6.1: Tourist-distance relationships in relation to types of holidays, as the analysis showed how they are linked

In addition to the tourist-distance relationships identified in the previous chapter, there are other factors which also influence how tourists consume distance. These are less explicit than the tourist-distance relationships listed above, but nevertheless focus on important tourist engagements with distance. These are: tourists' understandings of distance as phenomenon, the language of distance, the role of the tourist as consumer, and the purpose the tourist can have for consuming distance.

Tourists' understandings of distance

The first part of the analysis in the previous chapter presented how the tourists represent distance in dimensions that can be grouped into three categories: distance as resources, distance as accessibility, and distance as knowledge. The basis for their various representations of distance is an understanding of distance as a phenomenon that can take on a variety of dimensions. Distance is conceptualised by the tourists in both its physical and relative dimensions, with relative interpretations of distance, such as time and cultural distance, used more often than physical distance when they talk about their holiday mobility. This distinction of distance into a physical dimension, represented by kilometres, and relative dimensions, where distance is represented via concepts that are not directly spatial, corresponds with how distance is conceptualised in the literature review, which argues that distance is a phenomenon that must be seen as multidimensional. Distance to tourists is not primarily a measure of kilometres between home and holiday destination, but a signifier of a relationship that is made explicit through the tourists' engagements with, and representations of, distance. Distance is understood through whatever entity is relevant for the tourist to conceptualise a given separation, which is an understanding that corresponds with how this research theoretically conceptualised distance as a three layered phenomenon, consisting of spatial separation, relevant relations and representations of distance. The tourists' understanding of distance has thus shown the validity of the conceptualisation of distance as phenomenon developed during the review of distance literature. The analysis of how tourists' understand distance was not based on the theoretical understanding of distance presented in Diagram 2.1, but the similarity between the two gives empirical weight to the theoretical conceptualisation of distance.

The analysis showed that the most common representations of distance used by the tourists are time, cultural difference and physical distance. Further to that, the analysis also showed that tourists view distance as both zonal and ordinal, which is an

observation that is relevant in relation to understanding tourist engagements with distance. Distance understood as zonal signifies locations, such as 'here' or 'there' (and 'not here' or 'not there'), and is typically seen when the tourist talks about getting away from home. Distance is relevant as the *separation* it signifies between specific locations, and not the quantity of a distance measurement (in for example time or kilometres). Zonal distance is important for the tourist, because such a distance signifies 'somewhere else'. Ordinal distance is the distance that is measured in order of magnitude of separation, rather than in absolute locations, and is described as numbers of kilometres, or hours of travel time, or as further and furthest (or short and shorter). Ordinal distances can thus be represented both in physical and relative dimensions of distance.

In the analysis it was also clear that distances are asymmetrical, in at least two ways. Firstly, and most obviously, the influence distance has on the individual tourist in relation to their holiday mobility is dependent on their economic context in particular, but also social contexts, such as travel experience and travel companions, and because these contexts are highly individual, the understandings of distance varies from one individual to another. It was, for example, in the interviews repeatedly stated that money has a determining influence on how far the tourists travel, and distance therefore becomes asymmetrical as a result of the tourist's economic ability, where a richer tourist might consider an airfare cheap, while for a poorer tourist the same price would represent a proportionally larger expenditure. In that way, distance becomes asymmetrical across tourists as a group, where distances that are long or relevant for some, are not for others.

Secondly, distance is also asymmetrical for the individual tourist, most noticeably in relation to the difference in the perception of distance to a holiday destination, and the distance back from that same destination. That physical distance does not change, but those two similar distances are viewed very differently, and this change in view is explained by the difference in experience and the anticipation of the destinations at the end of the distance: holiday or home. In the analysis decisions about holidays that involve contemplation of distance appear to be predominantly in relation to the outward distance, and the homeward distance assumes an inferior role in influencing holiday mobility.

Primarily, tourism literature mainly engages with distance in its physical representation when explaining how distance influences tourism mobility (see for example: Ankomah et al., 1996; McKercher and Lew, 2003; Hall, 2005; Nicolau and Mas, 2006; Lin and

Morais, 2008; Nicolau, 2008). The multiple dimensions of distance evident in the interviews in this present research suggest that tourism research could benefit from embracing distance as a multidimensional phenomenon. The tourists' understanding of distance influences their engagement with distance, because what they engage with is their understanding and representation of distance, and therefore it is important for any conceptualisation and analysis of consumption of distance to integrate the tourists' understanding of distance, which is multidimensional, and, for the most part but not exclusively, non-spatial.

The language of distance

Because the tourists' understanding of distance influences how they engage with distance, it is important to understand how they articulate this distance. In the analysis, one of the tourist-distance relationships that were identified was the tourists' linguistic appropriation of distance, where distance was signified through the use of the words 'tur' or 'rejse'. In the interviews, there is a significant difference between how those two words are *defined* and how they are *used* by the respondents. When asked to define them, generally, the tourists agreed that tur is short in time and physical distance, and less challenging or particularly exciting, while rejse expressed the opposite. Their application of rejse to holidaying follows their definition when the holiday is outside Europe, showing some agreement between the use and the definition of the word, but also holidays that might have been labelled tur were called rejse. Tur, however, was used to a much greater extent than the tourists' definition of it would suggest, with any type of travel activity being labelled tur, regardless of physical distance and time scale. Further, holidays were often linguistically transformed from rejse to tur after the holiday had been undertaken. Rejse was associated with unfamiliar or culturally different destinations, but once they had been visited, they were no-longer unfamiliar, and rejse became tur, as a form of post-rationalisation of the holiday experience, and is an example of how distance is a subjective phenomenon, linked to individual perceptions.

Through the use of tur and rejse to describe their holidays, the tourists discursively construct magnitudes of distance, without explicitly referring to distance. In both tur and rejse lie an implicit understanding of distance, which makes sense for both the tourist and to the person they are talking to, even though this understanding is not made explicit. Tur and rejse are ambiguous expressions of distance, with great difference in how tourists define and use them, and yet they are very applicable and understandable

linguistic representations of distance, used by every tourist in the interviews. Other words and expressions are used by tourists when they talk about the distances influencing their holidays as well, but tur and rejse are the most common, and they are the only words that integrate physical and time distance, as well as the expected level of holiday experiences into one word.

Dann (1996) has shown how language is important for all aspects of tourism, but little attention has been shown to the language of distance. Pirie (2009) argues that distance is often used discursively in everyday language, where references to distance are used in the communication of non-spatial situations and assessments. Distance often appears linguistically in phrases and metaphors, such as 'going the distance/extra mile', 'keep your distance', and that somebody outperforms 'by a mile'. These are examples of how distance is integrated into the language as a tool for explanation of something else, but linguistic appropriation of distance (the reverse situation), is less well documented. Through the analysis of the use of 'tur' and 'rejse' as words that capture distance linguistically, this research has shown that how distance is spoken about is an important element of how distance is understood, because this captures the tourists' multidimensional understanding of distance, one where distance is phenomenologically expressed as it appears to the individual tourist, through the words and phrases they use when they talk about distance.

Talking about distance, whether explicitly or implicitly, does not amount to distance consumption, and indeed, any talk about holidays will include talk about distance in some form. Yet, how the tourists talk about distance reveals their attitudes towards distance, and what role distance plays for their holidays. It is in these linguistic manifestations consumption of distance will be found, expressed through the language of distance.

The role of the tourist as (distance) consumer

Gilbert (1991) argues that the roles tourists assume in relation to the decisions about their holidays are important for understanding why and how those decisions are made. He suggests that tourists have different roles depending on the social context of the holiday, on what the tourist desires from a holiday, their holiday experience and their ability to undertake holidays. These different roles will influence how the tourist consumes their holiday, and therefore, this research argues, also how they consume distance.

In the interviews, it is clear that the tourists take on a range of different roles, which change in relation to the type of holiday desired and engaged in, and who they travel with. The analysis did not specifically establish a typology of tourist roles present in the interviews, and therefore does not suggest any links between specific types of tourist roles and how these might be related to consumption of distance. Yet, it is possible, at a more general level, to argue that consumption of distance is more prominent when the tourist has less responsibility for others (such as family), and feels less restricted by holiday resources (time and money). Consumption of distance is primarily, but not exclusively, seen in relation to experience holidays, and those holidays referred to as 'rejse'. These are the type of holidays that are less restricted by considerations about time and money, and by the tourist desiring a certain type of destination, for example offering sun or snow. The tourist assumes different consumer roles in relation to different holidays, because they represent different objects for purchase, based on different holiday desires by the tourist. Therefore, because different tourist roles can be broadly assigned to different types of holidays, there will be certain types of tourist roles that are more prone to be distance consumers than others. The more freedom the tourist has for engaging in a holiday, the more likely it is that they relate to distance in a way that can be conceptualised as consumption of distance. Gilbert (1991) does not offer a typology of tourist roles, only argues for its existence. Likewise, this research has not focussed on establishing a possible typology of tourist distance consumers, but argues that there will be different roles which are linked to the holiday types the tourists engage in, and therefore also to distance consumption.

The purpose of distance consumption

When consumption of distance was conceptualised previously in this thesis, Holt's (1995) consumption metaphors were utilised as a way of operationalising possible dimensions of distance consumption. The four metaphors are: consumption as *experience* and as *play* (autotelic, or intrinsic, purpose of action), and consumption as *integration* and *classification* (instrumental purpose of action). During the theoretical discussion, it was suggested that distance consumption could be understood in four ways, linked to Holt's consumption metaphors:

- consuming distance as experience, where distance is a significant motivational and intrinsic part of a travel and holiday experience.

- consuming distance as play, where the relationship with distance is necessary for social interaction and maintaining social relationships, as for example visiting friends and relatives or travelling with significant others.
- consuming distance as integration, where the corporeal tourism mobility has an obvious relationship to distance through the necessity of spatial movement for tourism.
- consuming distance as classification, where travelling is part of a process establishing social status and identity.

Previously this chapter argued that for a tourist's engagement with distance to be conceptualised as consumption of distance, distance needs to be intrinsically present in the tourist-distance relationship, which would suggest that the consumption metaphors most relevant for understanding consumption of distance will be those relating to the autotelic purpose of action: experience and play. Consumption of distance as experience is directly relevant, and widely present in the tourist interviews. That distance is engaged with by the tourists through experiences is obvious in the way they regard the holiday transit, and make this transit, and the related transport modes, intrinsic to their holidays. Consuming distance as play is also evident in the interviews, when distance is engaged with for social purposes, together with travel companions, and indeed, the possibility of travelling with somebody was a major facilitator or restrictor for travel (travelling because somebody invited the tourist, versus. not travelling because there was no-one to travel with).

The other two of Holt's consumption metaphors relate to instrumental purposes of consumption, where the consumption is a means to an end, rather than an end in itself: consumption as integration and as classification. The purpose of consumption as integration is for the consumer to become integrated with the object of consumption, and access its symbolic properties. This can make consumption of distance for the purpose of integration difficult to conceptualise, because the symbolic properties of distance are the result of individual perceptions of distance. Engagement with distance for the purpose of integration with distance could possibly be seen in a tourist's holiday transit, when this transit is an intrinsic part of the holiday, but this makes it difficult to distinguish between consumption of distance for the purpose of experience and integration. In the interviews it is difficult to identify relationships between tourists and distance that can be confidently categorised as integration, partly because of the overlap

between experience of, and integration with, distance, but probably also because of distance being a less than intuitive and obvious object for consumption. Consumption for the purpose of integration is likely to be more evident in relation to objects that are readily identified by both consumer and spectator as consumer objects, which distance is not. Thus, while the consumption as integration metaphor is theoretically insightful for the conceptualisation of consumption of distance, analytically it has not in this research helped clarify how tourists consume distance. Holt's last consumption metaphor, consumption as classification, is more useful. Consumption as classification focusses on consumption as a tool for social integration, and establishment of identity and status. This has links to the symbolic consumption discussed previously in the thesis, which plays an important role for understanding how distance is consumed by tourists.

The contribution to this research by the consumption metaphors presented by Holt (1995) has mostly been in terms of providing an operationalised approach to categorisation of different purposes that can exist for consumption. In terms of interpretation of the analysis of the tourist-distance relationships, the metaphors have been of some help, but from the above review it is also clear that there are aspects of distance consumption that cannot be underpinned by Holt's metaphors, primarily because distance consumption is not the consumption of a 'normal' consumer good, which was the focus for Holt's argument.

However, a very important question for this discussion of the purposes tourists might have for consuming distance, is what the attraction of distance to the tourists actually is. Their purpose of consuming distance, i.e. making distance an intrinsic element of their holiday, is to experience distance, engage with others through their engagement with distance, and/or to make distance a part of their identity, but behind this must lie an attraction to distance, that (partly) drives this consumption. The analysis established that the tourists' attraction to distance can be found in:

- Liminality: this is recognised within tourism studies as a space the tourist enters when on holiday, that is not governed by the usual social and moral rules that apply to life at home, and where behaviour that is not accepted at home is fully accepted at a holiday destination (Turner, 1973). Liminality is thus linked to the tourist being in a different space than home, i.e. separated from home by

distance in some form, and therefore distance can have a role in the achievement of liminality.

- Novelty: Tobler (1970) argued that near things are more related than distant things, and seen in the light of Urry's (2002) statement that tourists search for novelty on their holidays, this could help explain the fascination with distance. In the analysis it was repeatedly reflected that distance somehow signifies difference, so therefore it is possible that when distance becomes an attraction for tourists, it represents the tourists' desire for novelty being associated with physical distance.
- The desire to get away: Possibly the situation where distance is most obviously desired as *separation*, when the attraction of distance is that it means that the tourist is not at home. Some holidays are motivated by factors that can be understood as forms of escapism (Iso-Ahola, 1982; Sharpley, 2008), and, although this was not a prominent feature in the interviews, some of the attraction of distance is the zonal displacement it signifies.
- Status and identity: More generally the links between holiday behaviour and social positioning also plays a part in explaining the attraction tourists see in distance. In the interviews particularly the deliberate and nonchalant attitudes towards distance showed that travelling across long distances were used in communication of travel behaviour for a wider purpose of social status and the establishment of identities.

The purpose of distance consumption will ultimately be the engagement with distance itself, because of the necessity of distance as an intrinsic element of the tourist's holiday mobility. If the purpose of the tourist's engagement with distance through their holiday mobility is solely to achieve something, where distance is no more than an instrument in that achievement, that tourist-distance relationship is not one of consumption. Therefore, only when (part of) the purpose of the holiday mobility is to interact with distance in its own right is distance consumed. Few holidays have just one purpose and therefore it is unlikely that any holiday will be driven only by a purpose of engagement with distance. Yet, *parts* of a holiday can have an intrinsic relationship to distance, and therefore distance can be consumed as part of a holiday, alongside more instrumental relationships between tourists and distance.

By identifying purposes of consumption of distance as experience, play and classification, and arguing that the attraction of distance can be found in distance's association with liminality, novelty, escapism and the social and identity creations related to engagements with distance, this research argues that, while consumption of distance is linked to distance being intrinsically present in a tourist-distance relationship, the reasons a tourist can have for integrating distance as an intrinsic part of their holiday mobility must have deeper motivations. The role of these deeper motivations have not been the focus for this research, as their importance has only become clear through the analysis, but they represent an important topic for further research into tourists' consumption of distance.

Manifestations of Consumption of Distance

Distance must be present in a tourist-distance relationship as an intrinsic element if that relationship is to be conceptualised as consumption of distance. Whether distance is intrinsically present will rest upon an analysis of the presence of distance as a symbol, as experience or as motivation, as outlined during the theoretical development of consumption of distance previously in this thesis. This section presents the findings from the analysis of the presence of distance as a symbol, as experience and as motivation in the interviews.

Distance as a symbol

Earlier in this thesis it was argued that much contemporary consumption is the consumption of symbols and signs, and that the primary purpose of this consumption is social distinction and the establishment of status and identity (Appadurai, 1986; Campbell, 1995; Featherstone, 2007). Distance as a symbol must be understood in this perspective, i.e. when the distance travelled over on holidays is integrated into social communication for establishing identity or status.

The identification of when distance is used as a symbol in the interviews, and represents consumption of distance, is difficult; a difficulty that stems from the challenge it is to identify symbolic consumption generally (Elliot, 1999). Symbols, as discussed previously, are themselves dynamic entities, that can be difficult to pin down, because their expression and interpretation changes over time and across social groups. Therefore it can be challenging to identify when something becomes a symbol, and what that symbol might symbolise. Elliot (1999) suggests a starting point for an analysis

of symbolic consumption in discourse analysis, which is the approach to analysis of the tourist-distance relationships that has been applied in this research. Whether or not distance appears as a symbol in the interviewed tourists' holiday mobility is identified through how the tourists *talk* about distance, and use distance in their *explanations* of, and reflections on, their travels.

In the interviews, distance is used by some of the tourists as a conveyor of status and social and personal identity. The attitudes towards distance were especially used used as an element in the communication of travel behaviour, meant for other's interpretation, and as part of social positioning, and not just for giving information about holidays. The nonchalant attitude towards distance stands out as the most direct attempt to express this, where distance becomes a symbol of travel ability and experience, where the quantity of distance (the number of kilometres travelled) and the quality of distance (the way distance has been travelled over and where this distance is), are implicit expressions of resources invested in holidays and the tourists' ability to engage in holidaying. It is clear that holidaying is used by the interviewed tourists as a way of expressing lifestyles, and that distance in this process is used to communicate especially travel experience. Distance becomes almost synonymous with being an experienced traveller, and being viewed as such comes across as a desired attribute for some of the interviewees. The longer (in physical distance and time) and the more extraordinary holidays a tourist has engaged in, the more these seem to be deliberately linked to the projection the tourist wishes to give of themselves, whereas shorter and more 'normal' holidays are not used in the same way. Linked to this is also the observation from the interviews that the holidays that are used in the establishment of social identity and status are chosen deliberately by the tourist, so that only the holidays that 'fit' with the desired image are included, even though the tourist also engages in other types of holidays. The establishment of social identity through holidaying is an active process, where distance is a symbol of ability and choice of prioritising holidaying and where distance is used in the deliberate projection of a traveller lifestyle, that the tourist wants to incorporate into their social identity.

The deliberate attitude towards distance also uses distance as a symbol, but more in relation to personal identity than social identity, where the focus for the tourist is the creation of an identity for themselves and not focussed on establishing a public identity as part of a group. Distance is a symbol for the individual tourist of *their* relation to holidaying and travelling. Distance, again, is a symbol of travel experience and ability,

but a symbol that is used more in an inward and individual process of establishing for the travellers themselves the relationship between who they are and their travel behaviour. The difference between the social and the personal process of using distance in the creation of identity is the less explicit way in which the individual process is displayed, because it is, naturally, not a process that is intended for public scrutiny and this makes it difficult to pinpoint. Yet, in the interviews there is evidence of the tourists linking this inward process to their engagements with distance, through the types of holidays they travel on and the attitudes they have towards these. However, the line between the inward and the outward process of individual and social identity is fluid, and sometimes it appears that the tourists themselves are not aware of when one becomes the other.

In the theoretical discussion of consumption of distance, symbolic consumption was an important element, because contemporary consumption is the consumption of symbols as much as it is the consumption of tangible objects. Distance is not an intuitive object for consumption, because it is neither a material object nor a service, which is why it is important to adopt a view on consumption that integrates intangible consumption, such as the consumption of symbols. Any understanding of consumption of distance must recognise the challenge given by the nature of the object of consumption, distance, and the consequential challenge it is to identify symbolic consumption of distance. This analysis has shown that distance is used by the tourists as a symbol of travel experience and ability, and applied in processes of the establishment of both social and individual identities.

It is evident that symbolic consumption of distance takes place, but the deeper nature of how exactly this happens has not been the focus for this analysis. In the cases where distance is an intrinsic element of the tourists' attempts to establish identities and status through their holiday mobility, it will be a form of distance consumption that should be viewed as classification in Holt's (1995) terminology, and operationalised analytically as such. It is obvious how consumption of distance as a symbol can be conceptualised theoretically, but distance's nature as consumer object, and the more general challenge of operationalising symbolic consumption analytically, has left this analysis with inconclusive evidence about the mechanisms of this consumption. However, there is no doubt about the importance of this aspect for understanding tourists' consumption of distance. Distance matters for the tourists as more than physical separation, and in ways that are not directly linked to a given holiday, as distance as experience and as

motivation are. Distance has an impact that reaches further than just the actual holiday into the social and individual process of identity and, because of this, tourists consume distance symbolically and much of this consumption probably takes places when they are not actually on holiday.

Distance as experience

When consumption of distance was theoretically conceptualised, it was argued that distance can be engaged with through the experience of physically moving and through the experiences that are to be had along the way. Larsen (2001) has shown that such experiences include the visual consumption of the 'scapes' the tourist moves in, through the travel glance (based on a review of Urry's (2002) travel gaze, which is static, visual tourist consumption) and the slow travel literature argues that the activity of travelling can be an experience in its own right (Dickinson and Lumsdon, 2010). Similarly, Cresswell (2006) discussed how 'being on the move' is made up of multidimensional experiences of physicality, social representation and embodied practices, on scales that reach from the dance floor to global immigration flows. Movement across distance is an experiential activity, as clearly evidenced in the analysis of the tourist interviews.

In the interviews, the experiences of movement across distance are directly expressed through the reflections on the holiday transit. Most of the tourists try to integrate the transit into the overall holiday experience and turn a necessity into a good experience, but in relation to some holidays, the transit is an intrinsic part of the holiday. The movement *is* the holiday, and the activity of travelling across distance is what is desired. A similar range of experiences of leisure travel has been outlined by Moscardo and Pearce (2004), who argue that transport has multiple roles. They identify five different roles, from the 'full inhibitor', where travel is not undertaken even if desired, to the travel that dominates the experience and is enjoyed and desired. Moscardo and Pearce's (2004) conceptualisation of leisure travel brings validity to the analysis of the interviewed tourists experiences of travel, which spans a similar spectrum.

The 'make the best of the transit'-situation does not directly classify as consumption of distance, because the tourist-distance relationship does not include an engagement with distance for intrinsic reasons. Even though the transit might be a good experience, that experience was not deliberately sought by the tourist, but a consequence of the location of the chosen holiday destination. It is possible, though, that this type of "good transit experiences" can inspire holidays where the engagement with distance becomes

intrinsic and the holiday transit becomes the holiday. This is the holiday mobility that constitutes consumption of distance, because on these holidays, distance becomes important because it is through the movement across this distance valued holiday experiences materialise.

In the holidays where movement across distance is an intrinsic holiday experience, the distance that the movement is across is more important than for the other holidays, because of the higher level of engagement with this distance. This is reflected in the interviews in two ways: the tourists who engage in this type of holiday cite the ability to experience the places they travel through as one of the main reasons for engaging in this type of holiday in the first place, and secondly, those holidays are often referred to as 'rejse'. The classification of a holiday as 'rejse' is, according to the interviewees, linked to the amount of time spent on a holiday and to the quality of the experiences on that holiday, which are expected to be more substantial than the experiences on destination-type holidays These experiences are often linked to the holiday travel, where the engagement with distance is central to the experience. Distance is also an inseparable factor for some holidays in the form of cultural difference, where the purpose of the holiday is to experience foreign places and cultures. This is a situation where cultural distance is a deliberate and desired part of a holiday, and therefore consumption of distance. It is recognised in the interviews that physical distance and cultural similarity are not linked in a linear fashion, and this results in situations where the desire for distance can be met through travelling to places, that are viewed as culturally different, but not necessarily that far away in terms of physical distance, which is a relevant observation from an environmental point of view. However, the opposite argument can also be made, that if what the tourist desires is some degree of cultural similarity, places that are physically close might be discarded as potential destinations, because of difference in culture, and more distant places favoured. An example is the interviewee who spoke about not wanting to go to Ukraine, but willing to travel to Australia, based on his perception of the cultural contexts of those two places in relation to his own.

Distance as experience is definitely an element of the interviewed tourists' holidays, but not in relation to all holidays, and some tourists display more travel behaviour that include distance as experience than others. It is in relation to the holiday transit that most evidence of consuming distance as experience is found, which was not unexpected. As discussed earlier, the experience of manifest mobility, and of course manifest holiday mobility, is an important topic for mobility research, and it would have

been surprising not to find that tourists actively engage with distance and classify this engagement as independent experiences. Early tourism studies, and more generally, early mobility studies, have tended to overlook the importance of the experience of the activity of movement (with some exceptions such as Urry (1995)), an issue that was addressed through the call for new perspectives for mobilities analysis (Cresswell, 2006; Hannam et al., 2006). This research clearly shows that there are valued experiences to be had while in motion, and that these experiences are dependent on distance in a way that qualifies these experiences as consumption of distance.

Distance as motivation

Earlier in this thesis it was also proposed that a motivational relationship between the distance travelled across and the tourist can constitute consumption of distance. This is because when distance becomes motivational for travel, there is a direct engagement with distance which can be both corporeal and symbolic; a type of relationship that corresponds with the original conceptualisations of consumption and commodities, as they have been presented by Appadurai (1986), Featherstone (2007) and Campbell (1995).

Distance is part of the motivation for some of the holidays undertaken by the tourists in the interviews. It is important to remember that distance is unlikely to ever become the sole motivation for a holiday, but for some holidays the desire for distance, in one form or another, is part of the tourists' reason for going away. As discussed in the analysis, some holidays do not represent a free choice of how much distance to travel across in order to reach the destination, and obviously it would be difficult to argue that those holidays constitute consumption of distance. But the holidays where the tourist has a free choice of destination, i.e. where the destination is not determined by where holiday hosts live or the type of destination desired, can include elements of distance as motivation.

Different dimensions of distance can become part of the motivation for a holiday. The most frequently represented dimensions of distance that occur as motivation in the interviews are cultural distance (the desire to meet foreign cultures), time (the desire for long holidays) and physical distance engaged with through a slow mode of travel (where the transit is intrinsic to the holiday). That distance is an attraction for some tourists has also been observed by Peeters and Eijgelaar (2012), but since distance is a multidimensional phenomenon, it must be considered that it is only some dimensions of

distance that become motivators for tourists. The desired dimensions of distance are part of what makes distance an attraction to the tourists, while other dimensions do not feature as motivation, and are probably unlikely ever to do so, as for example cost distance.

From the interviews it is clear that for some tourists and in relation to some holidays, distance, both physical and some relative dimensions, is a motivational factor. Distances inspire and drive holidays. There is a desire to explore places that are separated from home by distance, where this distance then becomes central for the initiation of a given holiday. But distance can also motivate holidays through the desire to be at a distance from home, something that can be understood in relation to Dann's (1977) conceptualisations of destinational pull and motivational push. That motivational push can be partly driven by 'just wanting to get away', where getting some distance between the tourist and their home is as important as the destination. This was expressed throughout the interviews, especially in relation to destination-type holidays, and supports the earlier suggestion that distance can be a zone as well as an order of magnitude. When distance is understood as an order of magnitude its ordinal qualities are relevant, while distance as zone relates to categories of 'here' or 'there' (and 'not here' or 'not there'), where the magnitude of distance is less important than the location signified by the separation of distance.

It is when distance is identified as a motivational factor for travel that it is most obvious that distance is being consumed by tourists. When distance becomes part of the reason the tourist travels on holiday, it is clearly an engagement with distance for the sake of distance, and therefore easily conceptualised as consumption of distance. Further, this identification of distance as a motivational factor for holidaying has wider implications for the current understanding of holiday mobility, because distance has previously been viewed as mainly a frictional factor. This research shows that to be only partially correct and that, in some situations, distance is desired by tourists. The claim here is not that distance is the only, nor the main, motivator for holidaying. Rather, the presence of distance as a motivational factor should primarily be viewed as evidence that distance, in a range of dimensions, is frequently regarded as a highly positive factor by tourists that significantly contributes to their holidays. This is a valuable insight, because it challenges the view that distance causes friction for mobility. In some cases it does, but in other cases distance's influence on holiday mobility is quite the opposite.

The purpose of this review has been to identify distance as an intrinsic element of the tourists' holiday mobility, which has been operationalised by the theoretical outline of consumption of distance developed previously in this thesis. From the review of the presence of distance as a symbol, as experience and as motivation is it clear that all three are represented in the tourist interviews, and that the way in which tourists relate to them can, sometimes, be understood as consumption of distance.

The phases of tourism and consumption of distance

Many theories focus on tourism as a process, where one stage is followed by another, and cast holidaying as a journey through different modes and decision and behaviour situations, as much as it is a journey through space. Holidaying is described as a process, that starts with holiday decisions and anticipation, and ends with post-holiday reflections and memories of the holiday experiences (Fridgen, 1984; Parrinello, 1993), and Gilbert (1991) outlines how the holiday decision is a process that is influenced by energisers, filterers and affecters of demand. Tourists' consumption of distance is not such a staged process, that can be mapped out in steps linked to one another. Consumption of distance is linked to various steps in a holiday process, but is not itself a process the tourist passes through as part of them becoming and ceasing to be a tourist.

As outlined above, consumption of distance manifests itself through the tourist's intrinsic engagement with distance as a symbol, experience and/or motivation. These three ways of consumption of distance obviously lend themselves to be linked to the different stages of tourism, as they were outlined by Fridgen (1984). In the analysis, engaging with distance as experience was clearly related to the transit element of the holiday, and thus corresponds with the two transit stages of the holiday and, in some cases, the stage where the tourist stays at the destination. The return journey from a holiday is obviously also a holiday transit, but has less experience-value than the outbound journey, and therefore sees less engagement with distance that can be understood as consumption, but some examples of this are evident in the interviews.

Engagement with distance as motivation is linked to the first phase of tourism, which is holiday anticipation and planning. If distance in itself is a motivational factor, its influence will manifest itself when the tourist dreams about and plans their holiday and therefore distance consumption can become a part of the pre-holiday arrangements, i.e. distance can be consumed before the tourist has actually moved from their home. That

distance consumption does not, initially, necessarily involve corporeal movement might seem counter-intuitive, but shows that engagement with distance is an activity that is not always linked to space.

Consumption of distance as a symbol is linked to all the phases of tourism, because the primary purpose of engaging with distance as symbol is for social reasons, through the establishment of status and identity. This can happen at any stage of the process: before, during and after the holiday, depending on how the tourist uses the holiday in a social positioning game, but is probably particularly linked to the post-holiday period, where the holiday is used by the tourist in the creation of social and personal identity. This could even be termed post-consumption of distance.

That the three types of distance consumption can be broadly linked to different stages of the tourism process highlights that they exist independently of each other. The consumption of distance as motivation is not a prerequisite for consumption of distance through experiences, and symbolic consumption of distance is not a result of the tourist having consumed distance as motivation or experience. Each can be present alone, or occur along with the other two, in a tourist-distance relationship, and in relation to specific holidays. Any assessment, therefore, of whether, and to what extent, a tourist consumes distance will need to look at distance as symbol, experience and motivation individually, and make a diligent evaluation of the presence of them. Therein also lies the argument that consumption of distance has the potential to be present in a tourist-distance relationship to a greater or lesser degree, and therefore is not necessarily binary, i.e. present or not present. Some holidays will not include consumption of distance, while others will do to some degree. Yet others again will include consumption of distance at a high level, as for example the holiday undertaken by the interviewees who cycled through Australia and Asia.

Following the discussion in the above section, a relevant question is whether any intrinsic tourist engagements with distance can be identified, that fall outside the theoretical framework developed earlier in the thesis, and therefore not identified through analysis of distance as a symbol, experience and motivation. As it was argued during the theoretical discussion of distance as a phenomenon at the beginning of the thesis, distance has many dimensions, and any list of such dimensions will never be complete, because the identification of a relevant dimension of distance is an individual, and therefore subjective, matter. Distance dimensions relevant for some tourists might not be so for others, making distance a social construction more than an objective

phenomenon. Obviously some dimensions of distance have resonance with larger numbers of tourists, with distance understood as time, cultural difference and physical distance the most frequently used in the interviews, but the constructionist nature of distance provides a challenge for an analysis of consumption of distance. This is because the assessment of whether a tourist integrates distance as an intrinsic element of their holiday will need to be based on a clear understanding of the relevant distance dimension, which, due to the dynamic nature of distance as phenomenon, is difficult. Only when it is known how a tourist articulates distance, i.e. conceptualises a given spatial relation or separation, can analysis explore whether this distance is consumed. So the question about the potential for other intrinsic relationships between tourists and distance must be answered with a 'certainly', but in this thesis these remain unexplored. The theoretical and analytical foundations for such exploration has been outlined though and consumption of distance in some of its most prominent ways has been analysed here.

Mobility and Consumption of Distance

As part of this discussion of consumption of distance it is important to remember that the tourists' corporeal engagement with distance is also a form of consumption, albeit not consumption of distance as it has been conceptualised in this research. Cresswell (2006) argues that any form of mobility would only be adequately understood if viewed as constituted of three aspects of mobility: the facts of the physical movement, the representations of that movement, and the experienced practice of that movement. The latter two aspects of the interviewed tourists' holiday mobility are examined through the consumption of distance concept, but the first aspect, the facts of the physical movement, is not essentially important for understanding consumption of distance *per se,* but can provide useful insights into the tourism mobility that consumption of distance is part of.

The tourists' corporeal mobility spans an enormous range of distances, both physical and relative distance. Some holidays are undertaken close to home, other holidays bring the tourists to the other side of the planet. Some holidays are held in familiar social and cultural surroundings, while other holidays are undertaken in more foreign contexts. The tourists also use a variety of modes for the transport from home to holiday destination, ranging from bicycles to cars, trains, coaches, ferries, cruise ships and planes. The plane is the most used mode of transport, and the preferred, because it is

fast and often cheap compared to other transport modes. In spite of this, the plane is not the favourite transport mode, because the experience value of air transport is low, a similar perspective as has been acknowledged by, for example, Budd (2011), Jain and Lyons (2008), Guiver and Jain (2011), and Adey et al. (2007). The interviewed tourists' choice of how to corporeally transcend distance in order to reach a holiday destination is primarily linked to factors that make that transit efficient in terms of time and money, in spite of the tourists generally acknowledging that the most efficient transit is far from always the most interesting or enjoyable. Only when a conscious effort is made to integrate the transport into the holiday does the factor of time and money efficiency become less determining for the transport choices.

Within the framework for this research, corporeal mobility and consumption of distance are viewed as distinct from each other. It is obvious that the two are related, because without corporeal mobility in some form, consumption of distance would not exist, but corporeal mobility does not necessarily involve any consumption of distance. It is only when the corporeal mobility is intrinsically integrated with more complex relationships between distance and tourists, that it becomes consumption of distance. Corporeal mobility describes and explains the material facts of mobility, while the consumption of distance concept focusses on the meaning of that engagement and on how distance itself can become a driver of corporeal mobility.

In this research it has been argued that previous studies of the influence distance has on tourists' travel behaviour apply a narrow understanding of distance that primarily focusses on physical distance and sometimes time and cost distance, but excludes the effects other dimensions of distance has on travel behaviour. Part of the explanation for this is likely to be the perspective of the research. Many of the previous studies have adopted a macro-perspective, deducing (often quantitatively) the impact of distance across a large group of tourists, and not focussing on how the individual tourist perceives and relates to distance. This research has adopted the opposite perspective, and emphasised the importance of knowing how distance is perceived at a micro-level. The insights from macro and micro level studies of how distance influences travel will obviously be different, and the aims of this research would not have been adequately met by adopting a perspective that does not explore individual perceptions of distance. It is the individual tourist's understandings of distance that are central to understanding how distance might be consumed, because it is in the tourist-distance relationship consumption appears.

Within tourism studies this macro-perspective on the influence of distance on holiday mobility can be linked to the relatively little focus there has been on transit as part of a holiday. Compared to studies that focus on the activities at a holiday destination, the holiday transit is often conceptualised as 'travel', a means to the end of being at a holiday destination. In recent years there has been more and more focus on the role of holiday transit (Lumsdon and Page, 2004), not least because this part of the holiday is a significant contributor to tourism's overall environmental impact (Scott et al., 2012), yet, before this research, holiday travel has not been understood as an individual's explicit engagement with distance. For this research that factor is crucial though, because, as argued above, travel is not necessarily consumption of distance. Some travel is, but only when the relationship between the tourist and distance is intrinsic in some form. Distance is instrumental for all travel and mobility, and physical distance has a determining influence on mobility. Distance is obviously a fundamental element of consumption of distance, but travel does not become consumption of distance if distance is not also intrinsically present and a motivator for travelling for the sake of engagement with distance.

Summary: Defining Consumption of Distance

Tourists consume distance through any behaviour and activity that engages with distance and where distance is an intrinsic part of that behaviour or activity. No specific behaviour or activity can be said to always be part of tourists' consumption of distance, just as any behaviour or activity in principle can become consumption of distance. What distinguishes when a behaviour or activity is consumption of distance is its integration of distance as an intrinsic element, which is a situation that can manifest itself in a variety of ways. This research has established that it happens through the tourist engaging with distance as a symbol, as experience and as motivation. Distance as a symbol focusses on how the tourist uses the distance they have travelled in a process of creation of personal and social identity and distance as experience is focussed on how engagement with distance results in valued holiday experiences. Distance as motivation is focussed on how distance, both physical and relative, can become a desired holiday attribute, that motivates the choice of what type of holiday to travel on, and where to travel.

Thus, based on the research that has been presented in this thesis, *consumption of distance* is defined as *the process through which distance is made an intrinsic element*

of holiday mobility. Three elements of this definition have emerged from this research as important: distance, how distance becomes intrinsic to holiday mobility and the holiday mobility itself.

- Distance: It is the tourists' own understanding of distance that is at the centre of how they consume distance and this research has shown that tourists understand distance as a spatial separation, made relevant through relations and expressed in multiple dimensions through the tourists' representations of distance.
- Intrinsicallity of distance: This research has established that distance becomes intrinsic to holiday mobility through its integration into tourist-distance relationships as a symbol, as experience and/or as motivation. However, the research also showed, through the establishment of how tourists understand distance as separation-relation-representation, that there is a potential for distance to become an intrinsic element of holiday mobility in other ways than those explicitly explored here.
- Holiday mobility: This research has conceptualised holiday mobility as any relationship that might exist between the tourist and distance, and it is in these relationships evidence of consumption of distance is to be found. A range of factors influence the tourist-distance relationship and those identified in this research are: economic and social contexts of the tourist, holiday desires, holiday types and tourist roles.

Consumption of distance is manifested through a range of behaviours and activities undertaken by the tourists, and earlier in this chapter the different stages of tourism were linked to the different forms of consumption of distance, but to conceptualise tourists' consumption of distance as a step-wise process that is uniform for all tourists is not possible. For each tourist, the process of consumption of distance will be individual, because how distance is consumed can differ from one tourist to the other. The actual consumption of distance can follow many paths, dependent on the holiday mobility of the individual tourist, so what the conceptualisation of consumption of distance in this research offers is not a sequence of events or decisions to be made in order for travel behaviour to qualify as consumption of distance, but a framework that outlines how some holiday mobility behaviours will constitute consumption of distance, while others

will not. The exact behaviours or activities that constitute consumption of distance will always only be identified through analysis of manifest behaviours.

The next chapter concludes the thesis by answering the research questions that were formulated in the beginning of this thesis and that have guided the research into consumption of distance. The chapter then considers the implications and contributions of this research, and gives directions for further research related to tourists' consumption of distance.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter answers the research questions that have guided the research, followed by a discussion of the original contributions and implications of this research. Finally, further research is suggested based on the research into consumption of distance presented in this thesis.

The aim for this research has been to explore whether and how tourists consume distance when they travel on holiday, and the research has focussed on the relationship between tourists and distance in order to identify how consumption of distance is part of these relationships. The research questions that have guided the inquiry are:

- How can the relationship between tourists and distance be understood as consumption of distance?
- To what extent do tourists consume distance?

Theoretically this research has conceptualised consumption of distance as tourists' integration of distance into their holiday mobility as an intrinsic element, based on a review of theories of distance, contemporary consumption, mobility and tourism motivation. Tourists' consumption of distance was then explored through the analysis of interviews with 30 Danish tourists about their holiday mobility.

Research Questions

How can the relationship between tourists and distance be understood as consumption of distance?

Consumption of distance occurs when distance is an intrinsic element of tourists' holiday mobility. Distance will always be an instrumental element of holiday mobility, but not necessarily an intrinsic one. That something is intrinsic means that it is an end in itself, and constitutes an inseparable part, that is valued in its own right. Distance that is intrinsic to holiday mobility is distance that is not just part of travelling because of the spatial separation of home and holiday destination, but is when the tourist engages with

distance *per se*. Only when distance assumes such an intrinsic role can holiday mobility be conceptualised as consumption of distance.

Central to understanding consumption of distance is, of course, distance itself. The review of tourism literature found that much of this applies a one-dimensional understanding of distance when exploring the effects distance has on travel behaviour, where distance is measured in kilometres, and where little attention is given to the phenomenon that is distance itself. A review of literature from other fields also concerned with distance, such as geography and social science, showed a more complex understanding of distance, which led this research to argue that distance is spatial separation, and a relevant relationship, which can be measured and contextualised through a variety of dimensions of distance, of which kilometres is but one. Other dimensions of distance include time, cost, affect, network and social distance. Because distance is essentially a spatial relationship, a dimension of distance is any way it is relevant for somebody to conceptualise of this relationship. This means that what is often understood as an objective phenomenon can be highly subjective and the conceptualisation of consumption of distance presented in this research builds on understandings of distance as a multidimensional and subjective phenomenon.

Consumption of distance focuses on the intrinsic values distance can have for holiday mobility through examining elements of distance as a symbol, experience and motivation. Through the detection and analysis of these in relationships between tourists and distance, it can be established whether that relationship can be understood as a form of consumption. Distance as a symbol focusses on whether the holiday mobility includes elements of communication of identity, status or social integration, expressed through engagements with distance. Distance as experience focusses on to what extent valuable holiday experiences are derived from distance *per se*, and the activity of travelling across distance. Distance as motivation focusses on how distance becomes a driver of holiday mobility, where the distance is a desired element of a holiday, rather than a spatial necessity. The conceptualisation of consumption of distance was based on reviews of theories of contemporary consumption, mobility and tourism motivation. Each of these fields provided insights into how distance can become an intrinsic part of holiday mobility through offering different perspectives on the process of consumption and tourism consumption and mobility within a tourism context.

Distance as a symbol, as experience and as motivation thus have to be present in a relationship between a tourist and distance for it to become consumption of distance, as

it is through these three factors it can be evaluated whether distance is an intrinsic element of that relationship. They do not all have to be present at the same time for a tourist-distance relationship to be one of distance consumption and the level at which distance is consumed will depend on to the degree these three factors are present in the tourist-distance relationship(s).

A tourist-distance relationship is one where the tourist engages with distance, and such an engagement with distance can take on many forms. Any situation where there is interaction between tourists and distance will be such a relationship and they can be both corporeal, where the tourist travels across distance or be situations or decision processes where distance is included as a factor. It is in these relationships that evidence of consumption of distance can be identified and therefore the analysis of the extent tourists consume distance is based on these relationships.

To what extent do tourists consume distance?

This research has found that tourists do, sometimes, consume distance, mostly in relation to experience-type holidays, but the research has also found that most holiday mobility cannot reasonably be classified as consumption of distance. However, when distance is consumed, it often involves long physical distances, on holidays that stretch over relatively long time periods and involve engagement with places that are culturally different than the home place. Further, consumption of distance is evident on holidays where slow transport modes are used and where the transport *is* the holiday such as, for example, cycle holidays.

The analysis presented earlier in this thesis established that tourists understand distance as spatial separation and as a relevant relationship and the three dimensions that tourists use most often to contextualise this separation and relationship are: time distance, distance as cultural difference and physical distance measured in kilometres. This is not a surprising finding, because these are representations of distance that are understood intuitively by most people as signifying relations between places, through simple questions such as how far is it? How long does it take to get there? What is it like there? Neither is it surprising that these are the forms of distance, then, that are most likely to actually be consumed by tourists through their holiday mobility.

The discussion of the first research question established that behaviours and activities that can be conceptualised as consumption of distance are found in the relationships between tourists and distance. The analysis in this thesis identified five such

relationships in the tourist interviews: the tourists' representations of distance, their choice of destination, the holiday transit, classification of holidays as 'tur' or 'rejse', and the tourists' attitudes towards distance. These are actions through which the tourist engages with distance as part of their holiday and holiday preparations. These are the tourist-distance relationships identified in this research, but they are not necessarily an exclusive range of relationships, and other studies might identify other tourist-distance relationships. Through the analysis of the five tourist-distance relationships, evidence was found of integration of distance as an intrinsic element into holiday mobility. Using discourse analysis, the analysis was operationalised by the three criteria outlined during the conceptualisation of consumption of distance as indicators of intrinsic distance: distance as a symbol, distance as experience and distance as motivation.

Distance as a symbol was identified mainly in the tourist-distance relationships focussing on the classification of holidays as tur or rejse, and in the tourists' attitudes towards distance. Distance as a symbol focusses on the situations where the distance tourists travel is part of the establishment of personal and social identity and is therefore evident in those tourist-distance relationships where holidays are communicated to others through the explicit use of language and specific ways of portraying holiday experience(s).

Distance as experience was present in the tourist-distance relationship of transit and how transport is (or is not) integrated as part of a holiday. Through deriving valued holiday experiences from being on the move, engaging with distance becomes an experience in its own right and, for some tourists, this is an experience that constitutes the holiday and therefore becomes an evidently manifest way of consuming distance. When travelling across distance assumes such an important role, being the main purpose of the holiday, distance is definitely consumed, both as physical distance and as a higher level of engagement with the places that are encountered kilometre after kilometre, which the analysis showed was a major factor for the tourists engaging in this type of holiday, i.e. where the transport *is* the holiday.

Distance as motivation for holidays is most clearly seen in the relationship tourists have to distance when they choose what type of holiday to travel on and where to travel. Distance becomes a motivator for travel when the tourist desires distance in some form and prioritises to integrate this distance into their holiday. Again, the tourists' most used ways of representing distance (time distance, cultural distance and physical distance) are also the three dimensions of distance that are the strongest motivators. Wanting to travel

far away and for a long time period was often mentioned by the tourists as the most important elements of their dream holidays, before naming actual destinations, as well as the desire to see something else (sometimes: anything else). Through that, distance motivates travel and destination choices, even for holidays that might be of a lesser magnitude than the dream holiday, and distance appears as one (albeit never the only) factor upon which holidays are chosen, leading to the argument that distance is very much consumed by tourists by motivating travel.

The analysis identified three types of holidays which the tourists engage in: visiting friends and relatives, destination type holidays and experience holidays. Evidence of distance consumption can be found in relation to all three types of holidays, but it is the experience holiday that, by far, sees the most distance consumption. This is because this type of holiday has the free-est choice of destination, and distance can be allowed a larger role in that choice, accommodating distance desires by the tourists that might be difficult to satisfy through the other holiday types. Further, experience holidays are expected by the tourists to be 'bigger', further, for longer time periods and to more alien places than the 'normal' summer holiday. So although experience holidays are the type of holiday the tourists undertake the least, they are also the ones where there are fewest restrictions on how much time and money will be spent, making room for more substantial engagements with distance. There is no doubt from the analysis that distance is a strong attraction to the tourists, but only the experience type holiday fully accommodates this desire, and creates a holiday framework of resources, expectations and prioritisations where distance is consumed. And this is the reason that this research concludes that tourists do consume distance, but that consumption of distance is not part of the majority of holiday mobility, because the experience holidays, where distance is primarily consumed, are not undertaken with the same frequency as the other types of holidays by the tourists.

Diagram 7.1, below, shows the main elements of understanding consumption of distance, as they emerged from the analysis presented in this thesis, including the factors that influence the tourist's relationship with distance. The analysis showed that the tourist-distance relationships are influenced by a range of factors: understandings and representations of distance, how distance is spoken about, holiday types and desires, and the role an individual has as a tourist, as well as the economic and social contexts of the individual.

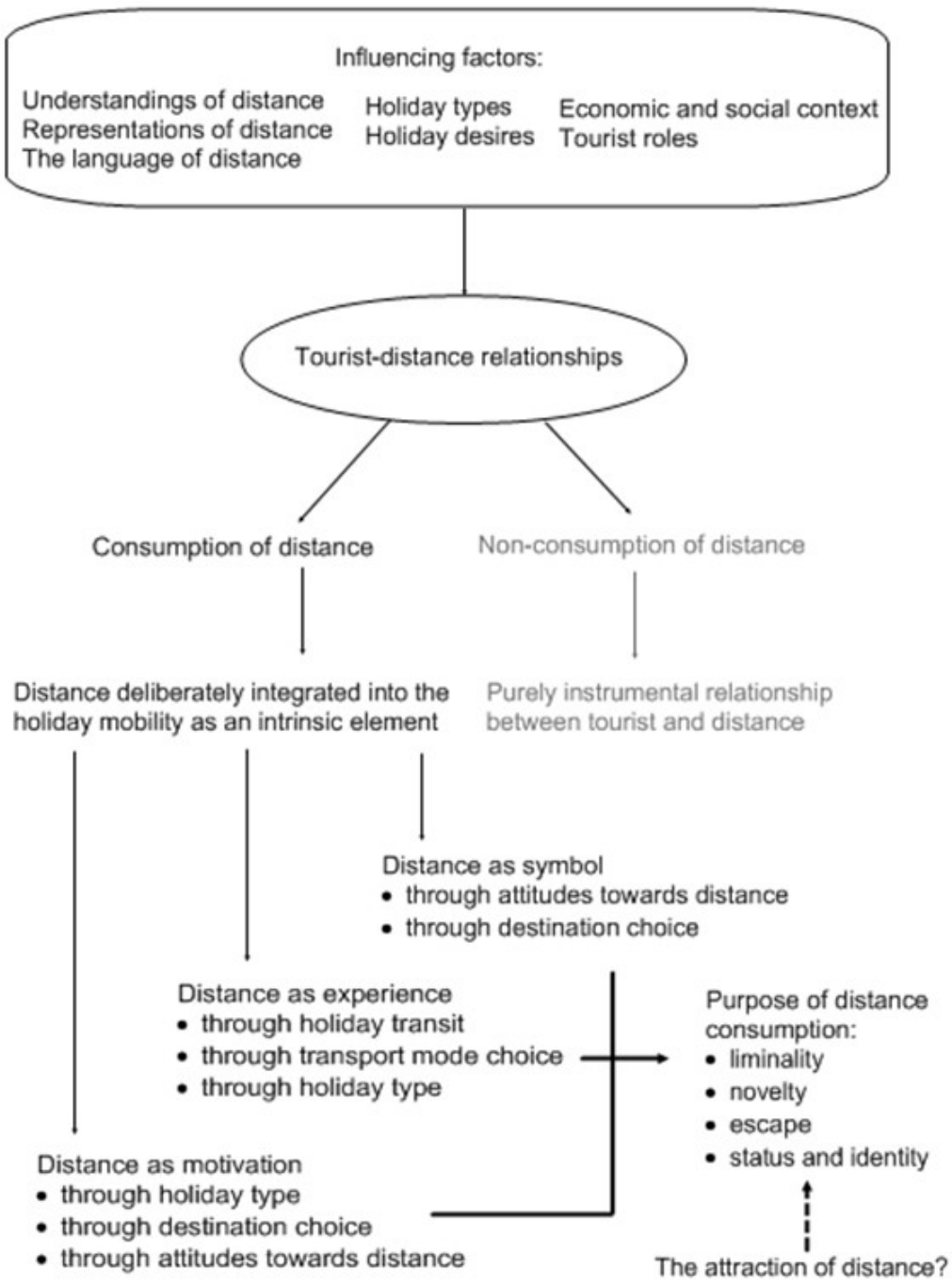

Diagram 7.1: Schematic overview of the research findings

Theoretical reflections

The first literature review chapter of this thesis outlined the theoretical understanding of distance as a phenomenon that has underpinned the research throughout the process. The review extended beyond the normal understanding of distance in tourism literature, and incorporated theories from mainly geography, but also sociology, and allowed for an understanding of distance that is more complex than usually seen in tourism studies. The review formed the foundation for the inquiry into how tourists understand distance, by suggesting different ways in which distance could be represented. The insight from the literature on distance that was brought forward to the analysis was not, however, the list of distance representations suggested theoretically by a range of authors. Rather, the analysis was based on the understanding from the literature, that relevant representations of distance must derive from the interviewees, rather than a list derived from the literature. Had this research adopted the list of distance representations referred to in the literature and accepted these as the ways in which distance must be understood, the research would have been guilty of imposing pre-formulated understandings of distance upon the tourists participating in the interviews, and not allowing them their own representations. A criticism this thesis has brought forward is the too narrow understanding of distance used in research into distance's role for holiday mobility, but the same criticism could have been applied to this research if the list of distance representations from the literature review had been brought into the empirical analysis unquestioned. Instead, the view was adopted that a relevant representation of distance will only be valid if it comes from the analysis, not from theory. As a consequence, this research does not provide 'additions to the list of distance representations' to distance theory in general, but rather argues that theory on distance should focus more on *how* representations of distance, both by tourists and others, are created in a (social) constructionist way, instead of focussing on suggesting new representations of distance to be added to the list.

In the second literature review chapter holiday mobility was conceptualised as potential consumption of distance and this was informed by a number of theories from the fields of consumption, mobility and tourism motivations. The literature on consumption provided two valuable insights to this research, one on the process of consumption in general and one on symbolic consumption. A conceptualisation of consumption of distance needs to be underpinned by knowledge on 'how consumption works'. The literature suggested criteria for when an activity moves from being 'just' an engagement,

to actual consumption. In this research, those criteria are the necessity to integrate distance as an intrinsic element of holiday mobility, the point at which a tourist-distance relationship moves from being just an engagement with distance, to consumption of distance. To what extent this present research provides significant contributions to theories of consumption more generally is probably questionable, but it does offer an empirical analysis that utilises consumption theory in an unusual way, because of the consumption object. Distance has not before been discussed as an object for consumption, or a commodity, and through the discussions of distance in this thesis, the commodity-concept has been stretched theoretically, to include an object that is not a thing nor a service.

This leads to the second insight from the consumption literature to this research: that contemporary consumption cannot be understood if symbolic consumption is not included. With the unusual nature of the object for consumption in this research, the knowledge of symbolic consumption offered a way of operationalising one approach to how distance can become intrinsic to holiday mobility. Distance is not consumed the same way as, for example, food or culture is, and therefore other ways of understanding the consumption process were needed. Symbolic consumption focusses on the non-material outcomes of consumption and, through the review of the literature, it became evident that it would be inappropriate to exclude the symbolic values distance holds as part of an inquiry into whether and how distance is consumed. In a sense, this research has confirmed the importance of symbolic consumption, because it shows that, even though the object under scrutiny is not intuitively an object for consumption, the logic of symbolic consumption very much applies to that particular consumption, thereby extending the scope for what symbolic consumption is. The consumption literature was less informative in relation to the analytical process of actually identifying symbolic consumption in the interviews. Discourse analysis was suggested as a good starting point, but beyond that, little help was given by the literature, but this present research is an example of how an analysis of symbolic consumption can be done.

Literature on mobility was the second major contributor to the conceptualisation of consumption of distance and provided this research with an emphasis on the manifest mobility, that will always be an important part of consumption of distance. What was surprising in the mobility literature and confirming the importance of this research, was the lack of discussion and evaluation of the role distance has for mobility. The mobility literature has informed this research because it operationalised analytical approaches to

mobility, but this research will also be important for the mobility literature, because it offers new understandings of the representations of distance used by mobile individuals, which are important for understanding how these individuals relate to distance through mobility.

Tourism motivation was the last part of the literature review. This literature generally accepts that it is difficult to understand tourists' motivations for travel and holiday choices and the primary insight from this literature for this research has been the various typologies of tourists, which are defined by their apparent motivations to travel. Tourism motivation was relevant for this research in relation to the inquiry into whether distance can be a factor that motivates travel, which this research has established that it is, but no 'consumer of distance-typology' has been suggested based on this research. The analysis identified six different attitudes towards distance displayed by the interviewees, but the sample and methods were not appropriate for distinguishing classes of distance-consumers, so it may be relevant for further research to investigate in more detail whether there are specific types of distance consumers and distance consumption. The tourism motivation literature provided useful, albeit general, insights into the conceptualisation of consumption of distance and framed the analytical inquiry into distance's motivational influence. Further, and more importantly, it highlighted the need for more depth in the analysis of exactly *wherein* the motivations of distance lie, beyond the acknowledgement that it *is* motivational.

Research Contributions and Implications

The research presented in this thesis has resulted in knowledge about how tourists relate to distance: the definition of tourists' consumption of distance, knowledge about how tourists understand distance, and the establishment of distance as a holiday motivator and attraction to tourists.

Tourists' consumption of distance

Consumption of distance gives research into holiday mobility a theoretical framework within which it is possible to integrate a multidimensional distance into research on how distance influences travel behaviour.

The distinction of some holiday mobility as consumption of distance, and other holiday mobility as not consumption of distance is important, because the holiday mobility that has an intrinsic relationship to distance needs more explicit analysis of the role of that

distance for that mobility, as this role will be more complex than for holiday mobility where distance is only instrumental. This will have implications for the way this mobility is understood: its motivations, the potential for influencing and managing this mobility and its meanings for the individual, as well as the individual's experience of movement. All of these factors will be influenced differently depending on whether the holiday mobility has an instrumental or an intrinsic relationship to distance, because distance is such an important element of mobility. Thus, this research has implications for how holiday mobility should be conceptualised, in order to adequately capture and understand it. Not all research into holiday mobility will need as detailed scrutiny of the intrinsic relationship to distance as this present research has provided, but the insights from this research are useful to other studies, because of the implications this distinction has for understanding motivations, potential for management and the experiential qualities of holiday mobility.

Tourists' understandings of distance

A part of the inquiry into how tourists consume distance has been the analysis of how tourists understand distance. In order to know *how* they consume, it must be known *what* they consume and without an analysis of how they understand distance this research would have imposed an understanding of distance on the tourists that might not have corresponded with how they view distance. The tourists' understandings of distance were the focus of the first tourist-distance relationship to be explored in the analysis, and the analysis found that tourists view distance as spatial separation and a relevant relationship, which they then contextualise through the way in which they represent this distance. The tourists' understandings of distance can be categorised as representations signifying distance as resources, accessibility and knowledge and, as previously mentioned, the three most used representations of distance that appear in the interviews are distance as time, cultural difference and kilometres.

The implications of this knowledge, which problematises the way distance is often conceptualised in research into distance's influence on tourists' holiday mobility, is that tourism studies needs to embrace a more complex understanding of distance, instead of relying too heavily on physical distance as the only, or dominant, representation of distance. Part of the explanation for the understanding of distance often seen in current research into distance in tourism is, that this research adopts a viewpoint that does not focus on the individual tourist, but rather studies tourists' holiday mobility as a group

(and often using quantitative methods), where it is not desired or possible to understand the single tourist's view on distance. Yet, this research has highlighted that tourists contextualise their understanding of distance through a large number of distance representations and not just as physical distance. This lack of correspondence between tourists' view of distance and tourist researcher's view of distance leaves a gap in the knowledge about how distance influences holiday mobility. This current research attempts to close this gap, by conceptualising consumption of distance, but the knowledge of how tourists understand distance could be extended to more tourism research, in order for it to adequately evaluate distance's role in holiday mobility (although individual and subjective representations of distance can be difficult to integrate into studies using quantitative or aggregate data).

Distance as motivator and attraction

Another contribution of this research to the field of holiday mobility is the role of distance as a factor in motivating travelling. Previous research has registered that distance is not always a restrictor for holiday mobility and that it can be an attraction for tourists. This research takes this observation a step further, and argues that, especially for the experience type holidays, a significant part of the travel motivation is the tourist's desire for distance, primarily in the dimensions of (journey) time, cultural difference and physical distance. The desire for engagement with these distances can become one of the reasons tourists travel on holiday and influence where they travel to, and how. This ties in with the above argument that distance is consumed by tourists; not always and not by all tourists but, because of the motivational qualities of distance, it is clear that there is a potential for distance consumption. It seems logical that distance is attractive if it is consumed and this research has suggested that distance can become attractive for four reasons (at least):

- its role in the achievement and experience of *liminality* and *novelty*, as for the tourists distance often comes to symbolise these,
- the necessity of distance in order to *separate* the tourist from their home space, and
- because distance can be used to create *social* and *personal identity*.

That distance can be an attraction to tourists is important for academics and policy makers alike because of the potential impact on the environment it will have if great numbers of tourists seek to satisfy their attraction to distance through increased travel. Reducing the physical distances travelled by tourists is one of the areas listed by Peeters (2007) as important for reducing tourism's environmental impact, so knowledge about the attraction of distance to tourists is important for the challenge it will be to meet tourists' desires for distance with less of an environmental impact. Much research into the environmental impact of tourism and holiday mobility does not explicitly include distance as a potential motivator and attraction for tourists, which is a dimension of that discussion that is very important. For the purpose of understanding and managing the environmental impact of holiday mobility, research must produce knowledge about whether and how the motivation, and certainly attraction, of distance will not result in longer distances travelled by tourists, if this is at all possible.

Insights into why distance attracts some tourists, so much so that they consume it, will also be valuable knowledge for the tourism industry, as they will be able to utilise this knowledge for their benefit. If they can offer tourists ways to satisfy their desire for distance through tourism products, this could be a new niche in the tourism market, albeit one that could be at odds with the environmental argument just presented.

Further implications of research

This research will have implications that reach further than tourism studies That tourists consume distance is an insight that is immediately relevant for mobility studies. If tourists consume distance through their holiday mobility, it is entirely possible that distance is also consumed by people when they are not tourists, which is an important question to be asked by mobility studies. This has implications for the understanding of the role of distance for mobility, and though it is likely that non-tourists' consumption of distance must be conceptualised differently than tourists' consumption of distance, this will provide relevant insights into the nature of and motivations for mobility. That *travel* has intrinsic qualities for the mobile individual (tourist or not) has already been explored in a range of studies (cf. Mokhtarian et al. (2001), Lumsdon and Page (2004), Moscardo and Pearce (2004), Cao et al. (2008), Jain and Lyons (2008), Dickinson and Lumsdon (2010)), and this research into consumption of distance is a natural addition to this research, placing a more explicit emphasis on *distance's* role for intrinsic travel.

Another implication of this research is, hopefully, that the role distance has for tourism will be made a more explicit element of the teaching of tourism to students. Knowing how tourists understand and relate to distance will enhance tourism students' knowledge more generally about holiday mobility. The insights into the role distance has for holiday mobility from this research and how tourists understand distance in multiple dimensions could become part of an increased spatial focus for tourism students, for whom the knowledge of how tourists acts towards distance is valuable, whether they become tourism researchers or tourism professionals.

Further Research

The scope for further research based on the findings from this research is evident, because the perspective on holiday mobility presented in this research is novel. Tourists' holiday mobility has not before been conceptualised as consumption of distance and a number of research areas within this perspective are relevant, but as yet unexplored.

One focus for future research is the need for the conceptualisation of consumption of distance to be applied to a different group of tourists than the ones who participated in this research. 30 Danish tourists were interviewed about their holiday mobility, but Denmark is geographically a small country, culturally it is homogeneous, and it is commonly accepted that both Denmark's nature and climate can be somewhat bland. Therefore it can be argued that Danes have good incentives to travel to foreign countries on their holidays, and with Denmark being an affluent country as well, most would have adequate resources to fund foreign holidays. Therefore it is important that this research into tourists' consumption of distance is conducted with tourists of different nationalities, in order to establish any differences and similarities in tourist-distance relationships, and their consumption of distance.

A research area that will emerge as a result of this research is the language of distance. The issue of how tourists talk about distance, and discursively construct distance as part of their holiday mobility has been a topic in this research, but it is clear that much more knowledge about this issue is needed. In this research, the language of distance emerged as an important part of how tourists relate to distance, through the use of the words 'tur' and 'rejse'. Research that is specifically focussed on the linguistic features of distance, and how they are applied by tourists, will be able to explore this in greater detail than this present research. This will provide important knowledge about tourists'

appropriation of distance, which will inform research into why distance is an attraction to tourists.

That distance is an attraction to tourists has been established in this research, but the question still remains about *why* this is. Distance has been at the centre of this research as an object for tourists' consumption and this research has contributed with knowledge about how tourists understand distance and how some relationships between tourists and distance can be conceptualised as consumption of distance. A natural next research step would be to explore *why* distance is consumed by tourists. This issue was touched upon in the previous chapter, but rigorous research into this is yet to be conducted. Further, further research is needed into how this desired experience of distance can be accommodated without increasing the physical distance of a holiday and how this attraction to distance can become integrated into a satisfying holiday without the further impact on the environment which would be a consequence of travelling over longer distances using unsustainable travel modes. One possibility is to satisfy the attraction of distance through a modal changes this research has shown that experiences of distance are linked to transport mode. If travelling a shorter physical distance using a mode that ensures greater interaction with distance is just as satisfying as travelling a longer physical distance using a less experience intensive transport mode, this would have clear environmental advantages. How transport modes are linked to satisfying tourists' distance desires has yet to be researched, which could be part of a more detailed inquiry into tourists' attraction to distance.

Through conceptualising holiday mobility as potential distance consumption and the definition of consumption of distance, this research has provided new insights into how tourists understand distance and how some holiday mobility integrates distance as an intrinsic element. This was done through applying the theoretical conceptualisation of consumption of distance to the analysis of interviews with 30 Danish tourists, where how distance becomes an intrinsic part of their holiday mobility was explored, through the presence of distance as a symbol, experience and motivation in their travel behaviour. Distance as a symbol focussed on whether the holiday mobility included elements of communication of identity, status or social integration expressed using distance. Distance as experience focussed on the extent valuable holiday experiences are derived from distance and particularly from the activity of travelling across distance. Distance as motivation focussed on how distance becomes a driver of holiday mobility,

where the distance is a desired element of a holiday, rather than being a spatial necessity. The research concluded that tourists do, sometimes, consume distance.

This research examines how holiday mobility can be understood as consumption of distance, and to what extent tourists do consume distance. The influence distance has on holiday mobility is not just determined by physical distance and the resources required to overcome this distance, but also by the tourist's understanding of distance in its relative dimensions and by the attraction distance has for tourists. This research demonstrates that distance is not just an instrumental element of holiday mobility but holds significant intrinsic values, which help us understand why people travel.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

Int. no.	Age	Gender	Occupation	Children	Marital Status
A1 Pilot	29	F	Call centre manager	no	Single
A2 couple	26/26	M/F	Economist/marketing consultant	no	Co-habiting
A3	29	F	Special needs teacher	no	Single
A4	32	F	Transport planner	no	Single
A5	32	F	Parking consultant	no	Married
A6	37	M	Bicycle consultant	yes	Married
A7	31	F	Town planner	no	Single
A8	28	M	Police officer	no	Co-habiting
A9	27	F	Social worker	no	Single
A10	29	F	Transport planner	no	Single
A11	27	F	Student	no	Single
B1 couple	33/33	M/F	Economist/legal adviser	yes	Married
B2 couple	30/29	M/F	Geographer/town planner	no	Co-habiting
B3	29	F	Business developer	yes	Co-habiting
B4 couple	63/60	M/F	Engineer/Nurse	yes	Married
B5	29	M	Geographer	no	Single
B6	34	F	Accountant	no	Co-habiting
B7	41	F	Receptionist	yes	Co-habiting
C1	29	F	Custom service agent	no	Single
C2	26	F	Marketing consultant	no	Single
C3	34	M	Student	no	Single
C4	30	M	Engineer	no	Co-habiting
C5	28	F	Occupational therapist	no	Co-habiting
C6	29	F	Occupational therapist	no	Co-habiting
C7	26	F	Dietician	no	Co-habiting
C8	30	F	Teacher	no	Single
C9	28	F	High school teacher	no	Co-habiting
C10	60	F	Social worker	yes	Single
C11	59	F	Social worker	yes	Single
C12	67	M	Retired theatre engineer	yes	Married

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDES

Questions for focus group interviews in Aalborg, October 2010:

Name, age and occupation?

Where was your last holiday to?

What has been your best holiday?

What is a good holiday?

What makes a holiday destination good?

What role does the transport to and from the destination play for a good holiday?

Why do you travel on holiday?

What determines how far you travel?

How far is far away?

What associations does it give to travel far?

Moderator summarises the interview and asks for further comments.

Questions for first round of in-depth interviews in Copenhagen, November 2010:

Name and age?

Latest holiday?

Best holiday?

- Why?

How often do you travel/go on holiday?

Why do you travel?

- What do you seek when you travel?

What is a good holiday destination?

Is the journey to and from the destination part of the holiday?

What is the difference between a trip, a holiday and a journey/travel?

Do you have any preferred modes of transport when you travel on holiday?

What determines how far you travel?

How far is far away?

Does distance matter when you travel on holiday?

What is your dream holiday?

Have you planned your next holiday?

Questions for second round of in-depth interviews in Aalborg, March 2011:

Name and age?

What has your latest holiday been?

What has your best holiday been?

- Why?

How many holidays have you been on in the past year?

Why do you travel?

- What do you seek when you travel?
- Do you go in impulsive holidays?
- Is it important where you travel to?
- Do you travel to get away from home or to go to specific places?
  - Why is it important/necessary to get away from the routine?
  - Is distance important if the purpose of the holiday is just to get away?
- How much do you plan your holidays and how long in advance?

Does travelling give a sense of freedom?

If you like travelling why don't you then do it more often?

Can you need a holiday?

- Wanderlust?

What is a good holiday destination?

- Is it important that you can relate to the place you travel to, socially or culturally?
- Is it important that you travel to a place that is different from home?

Is the company important for your holiday experiences?

- How long is a long time to be away for?
- How long is an ideal holiday?

Is the journey to and from the destination part of the holiday?

- Is it important that the transit is new or interesting?

What is the difference between a trip, a holiday and a journey/travel?

- Could you imagine travelling in Scandinavia for two months?
- Does travelling around at the destination influence whether it becomes a trip, a holiday or a journey/travel?

Do you have a preferred mode of transport when you go on holiday?

- Does the mode of transport influence your perception of when the holiday starts?

What determines how far you travel?

- Why?

What makes a place 'far away'?

- What places are far away?
- Does the length of time you are away for influence how far away you feel?
- Difference?
- Knowledge?
- Does distance matter for the perception of whether a place is far away?

Are your expectations to the holiday dependent on how far you are travelling?

Does distance matter when you travel on holiday?

- Does it matter if you have to travel far to get to a place?

Does recognition matter for your perception of distance?

- The route
- The place you travel to?

Have you ever lived abroad?

- Has that influenced your perception of distance?

Are distance and accessibility linked?

What is the connection between distance and a good holiday?

Does distance influence whether the holiday is interesting?

Can travelling on holiday be a form of escapism?

- The further the better?

Does it give prestige to have travelled far?

Is it important to have a good story to tell when you get home?

Can distance be a motivational factor for holidays?

What is your dream travel?

- Is distance an important part of your dream travel?

Have you planned your next holiday?

- What has the motivation for that been?
- Has distance mattered in the choice of destination?

Why do you think most people's dream travels go outside Europe?

Questions for third round of in-depth interviews in Aalborg, April 2011:

Name and age?
Where did your last holiday go to?
What has been your best holiday?
How many holidays have you been on in the past year?
Why do you travel?
Is it important where you travel to?
How much do you plan your holidays and how well in advance?
Have you planned your next holiday?
Do you travel as much as you would like?
What is a good holiday destination?
Is it important to see something new when you are on holiday?
Do you travel to places where you have been before?
How and where to did you travel as a child?
What is your dream holiday?
Do you travel to get away from here or to go to specific places?
Does travelling give a sense of freedom?
Can you need a holiday?
Do you get wanderlust?
What is a large/substantial holiday/travel?
Is it important that you travel to places that are different from here?
Is the company important for your holidays?
Can holidays have a social function?
What is authenticity and is it important?
How long is a long time to be away for?
How long in time is an ideal holiday?
Do you have any preferred transport modes when you travel?
Is the journey to and from the destination part of your travels/holidays?
Is it important that the transit part of the holiday is new or interesting?
Does the mode of transport influence the experience of when he holiday starts?
Does the transit part of a holiday hold any value per se?
Is there any difference in how the journey on holiday and back from holiday feels?
What is the difference between a trip, a holiday and a journey/travel?

What determines how far you travel?

What makes a place 'far away'?

Are your expectations to the holiday dependent on how far you travel?

Do you have to travel far to get a good holiday experience?

Does distance matter for you when you travel on holiday?

Does it matter if you have to travel far to go to a place?

What is the furthest away you have been in distance?

What is the furthest away you have been in time?

Are some place too far away for you to travel there?

Does familiarity influence your perception of distance?

Is your perception of distance linked to the accessibility of a given place?

When do you feel you are far away?

Why do you think most people's dream travels/holidays go outside Europe?

APPENDIX C: ANALYSIS CODES

This appendix is a list of the codes that were used in the initial analysis of the interview transcripts. This analysis was done using the qualitative analysis software Atlas.ti, and the coding tool within this software was used for the open coding process. 67 codes were used:

A 'big' holiday
Accessibility and distance
Authenticity
Best holiday
Childhood holidays
Criteria for good holidays
Destination criteria
Destination indifferent
Difference in how travelling there and back feels
Distance's influence on holiday experiences
Dream holiday
Environmental concerns
Far away
Getting your money's worth
Having to get away on holiday
Holiday desires
Holiday restrictions
Holiday transport mode
Holiday types
If familiarity with route makes it feel shorter
Knowledge about destination
Learning about yourself
Leave from work
Length in time of holiday
Living abroad
Looking forward to holidays
Maximum travel time for a weeks holiday

Necessary distance (having to get away, just anywhere)

Needing a holiday

Once in a lifetime

Opportunistic travel

Other's recommendations

Perception of time spend away

Personal relation to destination

Planning of holidays

Processing holiday experiences

Reasons for going on holiday

Relative distance abroad

Resources invested

Scale issues

Single experiences

Social functions of holidays

Telling holiday stories

The bounty beach

The freedom of travelling

The importance of difference

The Map

The role of distance

The time-distance paradox

The tourists

Time spend on holiday transit

Time spend travelling vs time spend in transit

Too far away?

Transit in general

Transport mode determining when holiday 'starts'

Travel companions

Travelling enough?

Travelling for the sake of travelling

Travelling to new places

Tur-ferie-rejse

Unfamiliarity

Wanderlust

Weather

What determines how far to travel

What makes a place far away

World travel map

Yearly travelling

APPENDIX D: MEMO EXAMPLE

This appendix is an example of a memo used in the analysis of the data from the interviews. The memo developed over the cause of the interview period, from the initial analysis of focus group interview 3 in November 2010, until the analysis moved from direct coding and themes identification based on the interview transcripts, in October 2011. After this period the analysis became focussed on the themes that had been identified using the various memos, and the initial memos where thereafter used as reference rather than as analysis documents.

This extract was taken from the discussions in focus group 3, which lead to the question of distinctions between trips, holidays, journeys and travelling being included in the interview inquiry.

> **S**: Now that I am sitting here thinking about it, I think that I would say that, we have been in Nice a while back, and in Portugal in Lisbon, and we just went to Norway - which is actually my latest travel, but I would not call that travelling [rejse], I would rather say that we have been on a trip [tur]. So we have been on a trip to Nice, and a trip to Lisbon and we certainly were on a trip to Norway. I think if I am travelling, then it will somehow be defined as....no, outside Europe I wouldn't say...
>
> **T**: It has to be further away?
>
> **S**: Well, maybe somehow, but then I would probably say travelling to Rome. Maybe because it is close to Africa (laughs)...I am not quite sure
>
> **Interviewer**: So there is a difference [between 'rejse' and 'tur']?
>
> **S**: Yes
>
> **Interviewer**: Has it got something to do with how different the culture you travel to is?
>
> **S**: Yes, I think maybe it has...I really don't know.
>
> **T**: I think that generally, I mean a trip to Norway would probably be holiday-travel ['ferie-rejse'] for me, but I think that maybe that has something to do with me not being as used to travelling as you are. But I would say a trip to Berlin, that would not be holiday-travel.

Interviewer: But has it then got something to do with for how long you are away?

S: Yes, I think maybe it has...

Interviewer: If you weren't away for a week then it wouldn't be travelling?

S: No, if you are just away for a weekend up in Norway with your brother-in-law, then you aren't travelling.

T: Yes, it could have something to do with that, the length of the trip.

S: But if I was in Norway for half a year...? I really do not know...

H: Maybe it also has got something to do with the liberties you give yourself when you are away proper. Then it doesn't really matter whether you are dining out or spending money on things, in comparison to if you were on a trip to the summerhouse. There you have somehow other restrictions on your economy, because it is more everyday-like. But I would say that Berlin would be a holiday ['ferie'] for me. There is not a large difference there. But certainly the degree of liberty in comparison...

S: But maybe I would also call it holiday, just not travelling. I don't know whether you can define what is a holiday ['ferie'] and what is travelling ['rejse'], whether it is the same, to go on holiday and to go travelling.

T: You are asking some difficult questions...

S: Well, I don't need an answer (laughs)

T: But sure, when I go four days to Berlin, that is holiday for me...

S: But it is not travelling?

T: No and I think it is because, holiday is defined for, somewhat like H says, that you let go of what you have at home, so if you go for a weekend trip to Norway, I am not sure I would be able to let completely go of everything at home, because on Monday you are back to normal again.

E: But is it then holiday if it is for a weekend?

T: Well, that is the question. It depends on the length of the trip ['tur'], the holiday trip ['ferie-tur'].

H: But doesn't it also have something to do with the things you experience, what you are doing and what you can experience?

E: But maybe also what you are used to. I had a colleague who said to me that I travel all the time at the moment, and I was thinking that I hadn't been anywhere. 'But you have been both to Skanderborg Music Festival [in Denmark] and two

weekends in Copenhagen', leaving me thinking...I wouldn't call that travelling, but if your own holiday travels go to Southern Jutland in Denmark, well, then it becomes a lot of travelling, but I was all confused, you must be talking about somebody else...

Interviewer: So it has also got something to do with the things you do?

S: Yes

E: I think it depends on what you compare it to

T: But I also think H is right when she says that you tend to...for example when I am on holiday in Roemoe [southern Danish island], then I am well aware of the price of things in the supermarket. You can make it look a little bit like home in terms of budget, but for example in Berlin, lets spend some money! We are outside Denmark. So I recognise that. But whether it then is outside the Danish borders it becomes a holiday, I do not know.

Memo on how tur-ferie-rejse can be understood:

All the interviewees agree that there is a difference between trip, holiday and travel (in Danish: tur, ferie, rejse), but to pinpoint the difference is difficult. Using the different terms to categorise the activity of going some place else than home for leisure gives the activity different associations, not only to the tourist but also to the people being told about the event. In spite of the difficulty of capturing the essence of the three terms, a trip has a more nonchalant and routinised ring to it than travelling does, clearly reflected in the comments on a trip being more closely associated with the routines of everyday life than travelling is.

Where trip and travelling appears to be terms categorising the same activity albeit with a scale difference, the holiday terms captures something more, seemingly related to the nature of the activities engaged in while away on either a trip or away travelling. One can be on a trip holidaying, but also holidaying while travelling.

The terms are also very relative, as commented by E and her conversation with her colleague. Someone's trip can be somebody else's travel, again highlighting the potentially significant issue of scale being a core differentiating factor between the two.

Saving the holiday-discussion for later, what exactly IS the difference between a trip and travelling?

(Before opening that discussion fully, it should be noted that in Danish it makes perfectly good sense to say 'a travel', which probably would be translated into 'a journey', but these two words are not exactly the same and cannot be used interchangeably. Where journey can be unproblematically used in the description of everyday activities - such as a journey to work - this does not apply to the Danish word 'rejse'. Whenever this word is used, it hints at extraordinary circumstances that are different from the routines of everyday life. For the purpose of this discussion travelling will be used in stead of a journey, because this better captures the meaning of the term from the Danish interviews.)

The women in the focus group discussed what the difference between a trip and travelling could possibly be, all knowing that there is a difference, and that while the generic distinction might be the same for everybody, individual circumstances would make the corporeal results - i.e. what becomes a trip and what becomes travelling - different from one person to the other. They arrived at three determining factors: how far you travel, for how long you are away from home and how different what you are doing and experiencing is from your everyday life.

Although the aim (if there ever was one) of the discussion was not to generate a stone-set definition of the terms and their individual characteristics, those three factors are open to interpretation, to say the least, in a multitude of ways.

How far you travel? As noted in another interview 'if you are only wearing your knickers, two miles is far away - maybe not qualifying as a travel, but anyway' (FG1G: 365-366). How far far is is itself worthy of a lengthy discussion, and the interpretation of the distance of far away will, in relation determining whether something is a trip or travelling, rest heavily upon a string of individual circumstances: are you a seasoned traveller, what mode of transport are you using, what resources do you have available to you, what knowledge do you have about the place you are going to, to mention but a few.

How long are you away for? Again, what is a long time for some might not be for others. An interviewee from the first round of in-depth interviews noted that he doesn't like travelling for long periods at a time - a month or two would be enough for him at a destination (A6). This is a different notion of how long 'how long' actually means than others might have. And as with the notion of distance, individual interpretation is central, once again bringing individual circumstances into play. The same goes for what one might views as 'different from your everyday life', where the contrasts to peoples everyday lives would be as plenty as the ways in which the everyday life is lived.

So if these are the factors determining the difference between trips and travels, that difference becomes somewhat hazy, consequently begging the question of the relevance of a discussion of the difference. (I'm sure its relevant).

Following the exchange in the third focus group interview, the question of the (any) difference between trips, holidays and travels was added to the question guide for the in depth interviews. All interviewees agreed that there was a difference, and all failed to pinpoint what the difference was. It is the sort of thing you just 'know'. But their reflections did circle around the same parameters highlighted by the ladies, length both in terms of time and distance and how unfamiliar the destination is.

Added to these was also the point of the amount of travel you do at the destination, which might make difference: you go on a trip to Berlin, but if you go to a number of places in eastern Germany, it is no longer a trip but 'a travel', even though you are away for the same period of time and roughly the same distance away from home.

Interesting though it was also mentioned (by A2f), that the terms might be used somewhat interchangeably, but without loosing their independent meanings - maybe hinting that depending on the story you want to tell about your trip-travel-holiday and how you want others to perceive it, you can apply the different terms. If you want to make it sound as if you are well travelled and that it takes a lot for something to be extraordinary you went on a trip to Dubai, but if you want to have others believe you were away and immersing yourself in the country you were on 'a travel' to Dubai.

I certainly think this is an interesting reflection to have come from the interviews and want to hear all the interviewees opinions on this. Still not quite sure where it would fit into an analysis, but I am sure it will.

It is likely that the more interesting discussion is to be found in the distinction between trip/tur and journey/rejse, rather than holiday/ferie, because this term and concept is qualitatively different from the two others? This appears to be the reflection in the interviews, although all three of them are linked in that they focus on the same 'thing'

How would this fit into the wider analysis of distance in this research? Obviously, from the interviews it is clear that both trip and journey is linked to distance, both physical and more relative distances such as time (in particular), and maybe also cultural distance? Accessibility distance?

The point to be drawn from this discussion, could it be themed as some form of 'classification of holiday (or holiday mobility?). A classification that has an implicit element of distance? Interesting. Are there other examples of this, from other studies/literature? Not that I can think of on the spot.

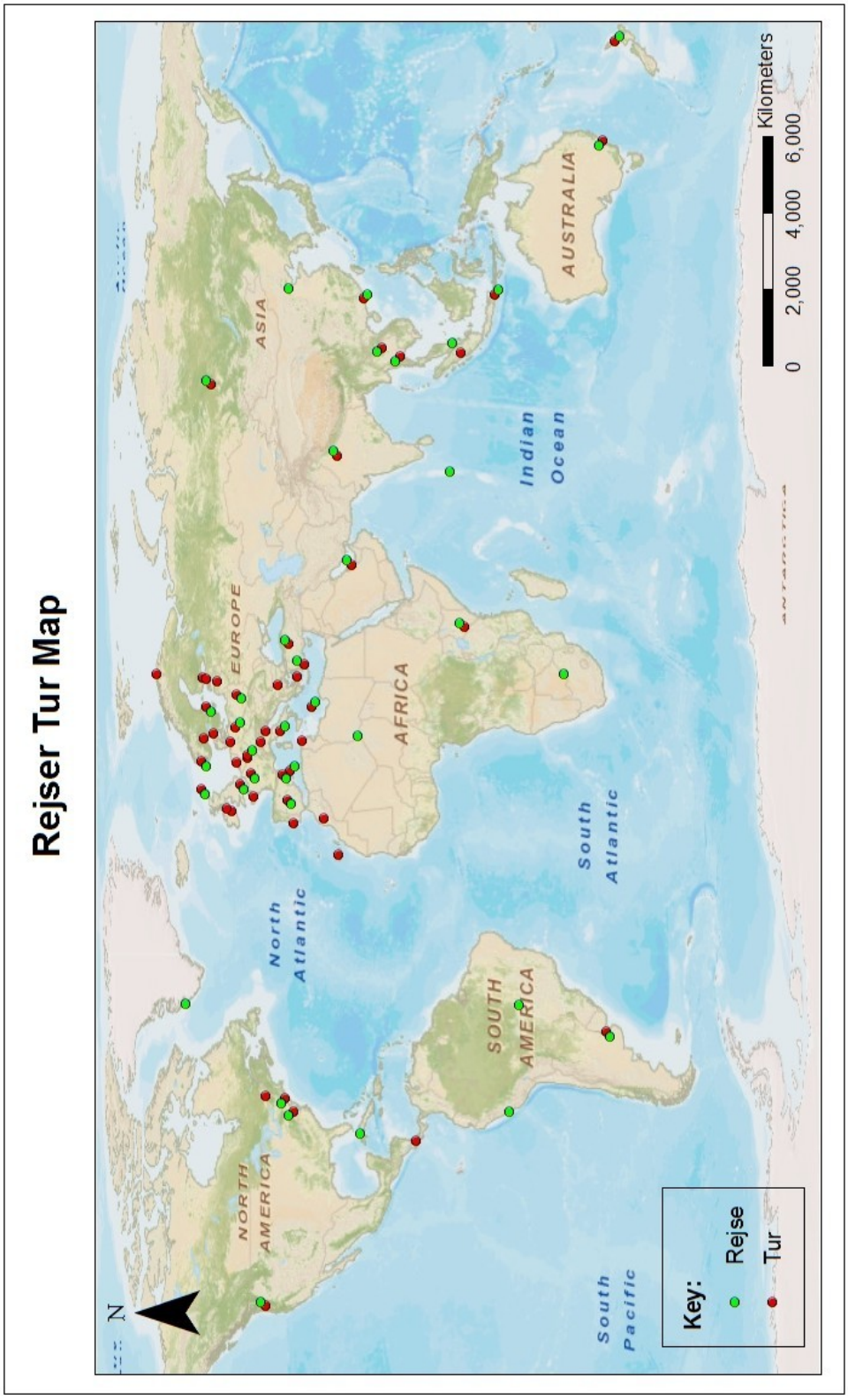
There is a significant difference in how the interviewees say they define the words trip, holiday, journey (tur, ferie, rejse), and how they actually use them. Why is that? This is especially the case regarding trip. They say it is short, in time, kilometres, etc., but yet, they all seem to use that world about any spatial displacement, so that it does not necessarily say anything about the magnitude of the venture. Journey is more consistently used in accordance with how they define it.

Could a map show this – a map of what word has been assigned to a specific destination? That would probably show if there is a distance-factor in the differentiation of the words, as the interviewees say there is.

I think this should be included in the analysis as a separate theme. This implicit linguistic reference to distance through every, and somewhat non-spatial words is widespread, used by all interviewees, and sure important for an exploration of any

relationships between tourists and distance. Just because you don't say 'distance', it does not mean that you are not talking about it.

APPENDIX E: REJSE TUR MAP



The tur-rejse-map was used in the analysis of how the interviewed tourists classified their holidays as 'tur' or 'rejse'. The map used in the analysis was hand-drawn, and larger than the one above, and was therefore more detailed. This map was only produced to illustrate the tur-rejse analysis, and was not used in the analysis.