1. Are tourists interesting?

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1. INTRODUCTION

Tourists are often described in dismissive terms. Clusters of individuals at an attraction or site may be labelled as "just tourists" accompanied by the expression "only tourists go there". The phrases lessen the tourists' individuality and humanity. In this chapter, I argue instead that tourists are indeed interesting to many groups and stakeholders. Further, I propose that research about tourists can contribute to a better, more equitable and sustainable world. These are bold claims, but then the 1.3 billion tourists who cross international borders every year do generate a large, globally important phenomenon (UNWTO, 2018). This is surely a phenomenon which calls for researcher attention. Additionally, domestic holiday taking is even more common and magnifies the scale of tourism at so many destinations (Ghimire, 2013; Morrison, 2018). All importantly, tourism is having such impacts on the world that it is also surely worth articulating views and documenting research which might help improve the existence of those who travel and those who are affected by that activity.

It is necessary to be purposeful and clear in how the terms tourist and tourist behaviour are used in this book. As both editor and author, I have adopted a fit for purpose approach to the definitional and classification issues. In the following pages, those who travel for leisure purposes in their own country, as well as those who venture across international borders for at least 24 hours for non-work reasons, are all considered, to mimic the expressions of the police, as persons of interest. The statistics cited, such as the 1.3 billion tourists who move between countries, are built on the UNWTO definitions and classifications (UNWTO, 2018). While these data are not always perfect – due to illegal movements and unreliable reports in some parts of the world – there is an even greater subjectivity in most classifications of domestic tourists. When individuals travel within their own country, there are few comprehensive records of their movements. Instead, there are estimates based on the use of accommodation and the extent of the travel. Potentially useful indices such as time away from home and distance travelled can work well in any one country, but comparisons may be problematic when small and large countries are compared. These issues need not greatly concern the reader and the ideas presented in this book. The fit for purpose approach takes the option of asking the authors to describe clearly the people and the markets they are discussing. In reading the points made in the chapters of this book, the mosaic of types of tourists and the variety of settings they visit, need to be seen as necessary strands in the tapestry of reading about tourists and their behaviour.

The expression tourist behaviour also needs clarification for some readers. There are multiple traditions in the social sciences which have contributed distinctive nuances to this term. Philosophers, psychologists, economists, and geographers, amongst others, have used the term behaviour with both narrow and broader connotations. For the early behavioural psychologists, the expression meant only those acts which could be observed (Skinner, 1938; Catania & Harnad, 1988). For the philosophers, behaviour was often understood by distinguishing between acts and actions, with the latter distinguished from the former by the concept of intention (Harré, Clarke, & De Carlo, 1985). Yet again, behavioural economists focused on biases in choice and judgement behaviours which undermined a purely rational view of conduct (Van Raaij & Francken, 1984). The first wave of tourism researchers, many of whom had backgrounds in geography, sociology, and anthropology wanted to avoid these limiting definitions. They were wary of using the term behaviour, often wrongly thinking that it meant simply what we can observe (Nash, 2007; Smith, 2010). Driven by marketing and business studies, tourism researchers began to use the term experience. As noted by Morgan, Lugosi, and Brent Ritchie (2010), such studies and terminology date from the 1980s and 1990s but have become markedly more popular in the last two decades. The use of the term experience was consolidated by the rise of popular books about new forms of the economy. Following the ideas of Pine and Gilmore (1999), which in fact replicated some of the observations made in tourism by Krippendorf (1987) and Pearce (1988), many tourism researchers now use the term experience as their main way of capturing the lived psychological realities of travelling.

Despite these emphases, tourist behaviour remains the most powerful and integrating phrase. It is used throughout contemporary psychology to embrace the widest range of constructs pertaining to individual action (Pearce, 2011b). It is not, as sometimes seems to be implied by those with other disciplinary backgrounds, necessarily reductionist and positivist, nor does it connote ignorance of social context, mobility, or the presence of others (Williams, 2014, p. 27). It is used in this book to embrace both the observable behaviours of tourists and the mental processes which drive and accompany what tourists think, do, and feel. As employed in these chapters, and indeed in many supporting materials, the term tourist behaviour includes attention both to the experiences of tourists and their manifest behaviour with others across space and over time. Employed in this way, tourist behaviour is a more specific rendition of the term consumer behaviour.

The value in specifying and separating tourist behaviour from consumer behaviour is threefold. A first and key distinguishing point is that at least in some phases of the total trajectory in which we are interested, tourist behaviour is undertaken away from the home environment. This feature of tourist behaviour generates an array of relationships, as well as cognitive and emotional challenges, that are at least distinctive, if not indeed unique, in the consumption process. Secondly, tourists typically have an extended trajectory of involvement with how they spend their money and energy. More than 50 years ago, Clawson and Knetsch (1966) recognised five phases of tourists' consumption: anticipation, travel to sites, on-site experience, return travel and post travel memories and outcomes. The attention to all these phases is far less intense when an individual consumes a household item such as hair shampoo or a toilet cleaner. Only a few rather strange individuals would anticipate such purchases with enthusiasm or savour their passing long after they were discarded. This differentiation between purchased products and tourist holiday times is not unimportant. For many, holiday travels as opposed to consumer products, are planned far in advance, evoke numinous or spiritual moments, and contribute for years to that individual's identity, conversation and life achievements. A third and substantial point of difference distinguishing tourist behaviour from much of the study of general consumer behaviour is its episodic nature. Certainly, buying other large expensive items such as cars or computers is also not a daily event. But the variety, irregularity, and the unpredictability of when tourists will take a holiday offer researchers and analysts, as well as tourists themselves, a highly varied pattern of consumption.

The claim put forward in the title of this chapter that tourists are interesting is explored in more detail by firstly considering the stakeholders who find that tourist behaviour matters. Next, the relevance of tourist behaviour studies is considered. These considerations lead to a review of the topic of paradigms in tourist behaviour research with an arguably contentious perspective that these concerns may be overrated in their importance. Ways to identify tourist behaviour topics are then outlined. Passion and personal insight are highlighted in these pages. In the latter stages of the exposition, some novel and special topics which apply to tourist behaviour are considered. The topics include the impacts of emerging technology on tourist behaviour, how tourism affects relationships, and redesigning the spaces and stages where tourists interact with others. This discourse highlights the way in which tourist researchers can build new knowledge as well as serve their destination communities. Samuel Johnson was once famously quoted as saying "When a man is tired of London he is tired of life". Perhaps one can tire of being with other tourists, but studying them and therefore oneself can be an enduring, not a tiring, lifelong interest.

2. WHO IS INTERESTED IN TOURIST BEHAVIOUR?

A simple answer to this question is "a lot of people". A more considered and sophisticated response identifies tourists themselves, public figures and media observers, setting designers, heritage and natural environment managers, the communities and people visited, and the businesses that benefit from tourist behaviour. All of these groups deserve some consideration as they constitute a rich matrix of interested parties. And what they find interesting about tourist behaviour (remembering that it is a term that is used comprehensively in this volume to include tourist experience) varies from group to group.

We can start the discussion of who is interested in tourist behaviour with tourists themselves. Contemporary tourists, particularly those who are independent travellers, spend considerable time in designing and structuring their holidays. Where they go, how they get there, and what businesses and activities they choose to patronise, are key logistical choices which frame their experiences. In effect therefore, tourists' interests in their own behaviour are twofold: it is instrumental and then more richly psychological. For the psychological components, tourists may seek a range of settings which offer the chance to maximise their enjoyment; notably the desire to have sensuous and indulgent escape time that has long been described as characterising tourists' activities (Rosenow & Pulsipher, 1979). But some tourists are also motivated by a more intellectual search for aesthetic and transformative experiences (de Botton, 2002). The terms which capture these differences in the academic literature are hedonic and eudaimonic goals (Pearce, Filep, & Ross, 2011). Further, it is a consistent theme in the discussion of tourist behaviour in this book that tourists are not "islands", but in nearly all cases they are socially connected, either to those accompanying them or, through social media, to distant others. Tourists are, therefore, often interested in the behaviour of their companions and the opinions and influences about what they do. By taking a further psychological step in terms of the immediacy of relationships, it can also be argued, and there is plenty of research evidence to illustrate the point, that tourists are interested in the behaviour of other tourists. At times these behaviours might be wonderful acts of helpfulness (Glover & Filep, 2015), while on other occasions those surrounding one's travel party may be annoying influences spoiling the event (Pearce & Wu, 2018).

Tourism businesses and destinations are also very interested in the choices tourists make and the patronage of their operations and settings. As Morrison (2018) documents in detail, the enterprise of attracting tourists to a destination and encouraging them to support a specific business is a mainstream employment activity for those who work in tourism. This interest in choice and attendant expenditure by tourists is central to much government tourism policy as well as to the goals of large and small businesses. The issues are explored in detail in the chapters in this book on "Dreaming and Longing" and then "Deciding and Choosing". In this context, it is not extreme to characterise many countries as currently swept up by a tourist Sinophilia: specifically the love of the Chinese on holiday. The interest in the destination choices and market trends of these tourists is due to the promise of substantial expenditure by large numbers of people, although the complexities of managing this diverse market remain challenges for many destinations (Arlt, 2006, 2013). As the world meets and attempts to manage and profit from more tourists from varied regions, there is a solid interest in what makes new waves of tourists happy and how they can be encouraged to return and recommend the destination and businesses.

At a more specific scale of analysis, those charged with managing national parks, heritage settings, and commercial attractions have quite specific interests in tourist behaviour. These concerns tend to focus on controlling damaging impacts and negative outcomes. Some of these concerns are addressed in the chapter entitled "Behaving Badly". The behaviours of interest include preventing littering, reducing the consumption of power and water, and avoiding cultural conflicts while seeking to preserve valued environments and cultural icons. It is a challenging agenda, and the study and analysis of tourist activities and actions which are canvassed in this volume offer some preparation for achieving these dual goals. Regrettably, the views and approaches taken in this field tend to be more about limiting impacts rather than enhancing experiences and promoting the positive tourism agenda of human flourishing. These concerns are addressed in the chapter on "Well-being".

In surveying the range of interested parties who find tourists interesting, there is a less well-studied group whose interest is unwelcome, especially to the tourists themselves. This group comprises the criminals and scam artists who study the patterns, routes, and places where tourists venture. Such interested parties then use this knowledge to rob, harm, and exploit the tourists, particularly those who may be especially vulnerable because of their unfamiliarity with the local practices and dangers. Tourists trapped by and in these encounters may be relatively unwilling to report some crimes such as theft and minor assault simply because of a desire not to overshadow their holiday time with the administrative burden of interacting with foreign police and officials. Further, they may feel foolish at the ways they have been duped and drawn into compromising situations.

Boakye (2010), amongst others, has highlighted that tourist hotspots provide opportunities to target victims. The crowds, the anonymity of those interacting, and the lowered vigilance of those on holiday all produce what has been described as crimogenic zones (Crotts, 1996; Ryan, 1993). Figure 1.1 depicts the crowded tourist spaces typical of many European cities in summer.

Source: Photos by the author.

Figure 1.1 Tourists in Sol, Madrid, one of many central tourist hotspots

The nature and seriousness of the crimes against tourists varies according to the country, and in part is due to the gaps in affluence within countries and by comparison with the tourists (Biagi & Detotto, 2014). For the topic of scams, studies of national and international tourists in China and Thailand reveal that the practices may differ a little according to the country, the tourists targeted and locations (Pearce, 2011a; Li & Pearce, 2016). It is clear however, that those who prey on tourists are quite acute observers of tourist behaviour, noting in particular where they spend their time and how they may be vulnerable.

There is a further coalition of interested local parties who are sometimes troubled by and attentive to tourist behaviour. The communities and the citizens of destinations where tourists are exerting pressure on the resources and spaces of the location may begin to protest against the demands on their world. If these voices grow louder, then local media may pay attention to the concerns and in time political powers react and consider mechanisms for control and management of the offending tourists and the very forces of tourism supply. This sequence of involvement and interest is well illustrated by the development of concerns about overtourism in Europe in recent northern hemisphere summers.

Overtourism is a media created term that now effectively supersedes the more formal, long-standing academic labels of the social, cultural, economic, and environmental impacts of tourism (cf. Jafari, 2005). The term is, however, used rather loosely and appears to contain multiple interpretations. There is one perspective that denotes a community annoyance at the way tourism is controlled. This concern is directed against the external investment and ownership of tourism businesses and the role local politicians play in allowing these operations. Economic leakage due to tourism being controlled by external agents, especially in terms of the ownership of Airbnb properties and cruise operations, is the core of this concern. Next, there is a sense in which local citizens feel annoyed at the consequences of there being so many tourists in their locale. Here, the frustrations can be linked to the crowding and congestion but there may not be a direct anger against the tourists themselves; rather there is a growing intolerance with the management of the numbers. A third and sometimes overlooked feature of overtourism lies in the use of tourism related issues as a surrogate target, one emblematic of wider social concerns for self-determination and political power. In this case, protests against tourists and tourism represent a crystallisation of a deeper social malaise. In all of these cases and interpretations, it is important to point out that direct hostility to tourists is only a part of the story, often not the dominant part.

These interpretations are not meant to downplay the problems of large numbers of people in many destinations. In Barcelona and Amsterdam, pedestrian foot traffic along the main thoroughfares in the summer months is more like joining a crowd leaving a football match than engaging in a relaxing stroll. Media attention to this phenomenon has followed the protests of local citizens. Government and regional authorities have signalled their interest because tourists have begun to crowd their communities. For the present interests in tourist behaviour, two issues can be stressed. Firstly, there is the need to adopt good management practices to shape the movement of large numbers of people (Albrecht, 2017). New zoning laws, restricted opening times, diverting cruise ships, and suggesting that tourists manage the timing of their visits and spread out to less crowded destinations can work on some of the impacts which occur at very popular sites. Secondly, the wider issues of the control of power and economic benefits represent a different kind of problem, indeed a wicked problem, for the groups who are currently active in trying to resolve the seasonal surges in tourists. At least, it is important to recognise that tourist behaviour in these settings has suddenly become an agenda item of significance. These European developments may foreshadow a more global awareness of how to think about and design the future of tourism and hence the tourist behaviour and experience concerns.

Readers of this book are members of another party interested in tourist behaviour. Advanced level students and researchers have taken on the study of tourist behaviour in relatively large numbers. Academic analyses of tourism study topics typically have documented the growth of tourist and consumer behaviour studies to rank among the top three interest areas – the other slightly more popular topics tend to be tourism marketing and destination planning and development (Huang & Hsu, 2008; Xiao, Jafari, Cloke, & Tribe, 2013). The academic interests are sometimes instrumental in the sense of seeking to provide information about public topics of concern. Key topics which are underpinned by concerns with sustainability include assessing and ameliorating impacts and bad behaviours, understanding new markets and cultural contact, and building a knowledge base about motivation and satisfaction to boost profitability. Further, many researchers have found niche interest areas in tourist behaviour which address the essential psychological value of tourism in terms of human development, the study of relationships and transformational moments.

2.1 Considering Relevance

A frequent charge levelled against many academic publications in the social sciences is "Who cares?" It should already be apparent that many groups care about the study of tourist behaviour but, at the level of investigating a specific topic, there persists a demand to establish the further relevance of the research endeavour. The broad public view questioning the value of research is often reflected in the desire of new graduate students to do something that is relevant, in short to make a difference through their research efforts. It is timely to paint a broad landscape in contemplating the term relevance. Deconstructing the relevance of academic work (predominantly research) lies in specifying relevant to whom, in what tourism or development sector, at what scale, over what time period and with what themes. That is, academics in tourism may answer these questions in a variety of ways and being able to articulate such answers serves as an important defence and justification of academic hard work. These perspectives are outlined in Table 1.1.

The view that there is one kind of relevance – often assumed to be a problem solving, economic contribution in the short term to a specific business or a region – is clearly a limited view of how researchers can advance the study of the field and make a contribution over time. There is often an accompanying question about tourist behaviour studies which speaks in part to relevance. This question is what kinds of knowledge building contributions should researchers and academics in tourism pursue. In Table 1.2, a listing of some options for conducting work and communicating findings are portrayed.

In the tapestry of possibilities portrayed in Table 1.2, there are key cultural and organisational influences on where scholars and students are expected to spend their time. Sharp contrasts can be drawn. In some universities where there is a current preoccupation with publication-based ratings, citations and status, academic staff and students

Table 1.1 The deconstruction of the relevance of tourist behaviour studies

TOURIST BEHAVIOUR STUDIES CAN BE RELEVANT . . .	
For specific stakeholders	Tourists themselves, business interests, government officials, destination marketers, tourism employees, general public interest, tourism analysts and academics, media and politicians
In key sectors	Hotels and hospitality, transport, attractions and entertainment, festivals and conferences, infrastructure and planning
At varied scales	Single business, local, regional, national, international
Across different time periods	Immediately, short term, long term, generational
Emphasising different sustainability themes	Socio-cultural concerns, economic dimensions, biophysical impacts and protection, administrative and educational support
With varied styles	Advice and problem solving, offering new ways of thinking
THAT IS, THROUGH A BROAD PANORAMA OF POSSIBILITIES	

Table 1.2 The multiple routes to influencing others in academic study and work

IMPACT and INFLUENCE PATHWAYS

1. NON-COMMERCIAL AND OFTEN LIMITED SUPPORT
   a. Academic writing, teaching and workshops: a sense of achieving theoretical goals predominates but professional involvement in influencing others through educational objectives and altruism pervades this category.
   b. Newspaper and popular writing including social media influences: this activity builds on networks and friendship circles for influence.
   c. Positions on boards, industry bodies and associations; contributions to the discipline, to policy and to business decisions.
2. COMMERCIALLY SUPPORTED INFLUENCE
   a. True commercial consulting: restricted dispersal of the ideas due to confidential reports and the conditions of receiving the money. Individually useful for the funding organisation.
   b. Funded research studies: this more open category may permit the researcher to publish material but a specific agenda needs to be followed.

will be expected to work largely in the first box described as academic writing. In other institutions, engagement with the community is paramount. In select countries, acquiring funding is seen as of pivotal importance for researchers. The acquisition of large grants may be seen as a de facto measure of prestige and the quality of the work. This prestige may be derived in part from comparison with researchers in science and medical fields who typically use such monies to require expensive equipment and fund research teams (Becher & Trowler, 2000). Two of these emphases, academic writing and a stress on funding, may be closely juxtaposed, especially for the status seeking organisations. Curiously though, as is evident from the history of tourism scholarship, many of the foundation and creative ideas in the field were built by researchers with minimal funds, an interesting conundrum for those who boast about their level of financial support (Cohen, 2004;

Nash, 2007). In Table 1.2, a number of public communication and influence actions are itemised. These kinds of more populist efforts are gaining favour in many settings due to the need to convince politicians and senior fund managers that tourist behaviour and tourism topics are addressing issues of community concern.

3. WHAT COUNTS AS RESEARCH?

Everyone who travels can view and comment on tourist behaviour. Either during or after their holidays, tourists may choose to post their views on social media, write reflective essays about their experiences, or regale others directly with their strong opinions. At times, they may even claim that they truly know about the topic under discussion, such as how queues work or how a particular nationality behaves, because their direct experience has informed their view. It is possible for tourism researchers to get locked into rather fruitless arguments with such returning tourists who can be dogmatic that they know about the topic despite the researchers' longer and more comprehensive research programme investigating the issue. At the heart of this mini-conflict is the question "What counts as research?" And the question directs attention to a concept implicit in the listing of research topic directions and choices in Table 1.2; it is that of paradigms. It is an interesting and contested expression and arguably the meaning of the term is evolving and changing (Tribe, Dann, & Jamal, 2015).

A discussion of paradigms begins by noting that scholarly communities are tied together by some collectively shared goals. There are degrees of tolerance for the right way to do things, the correct way to handle methodological issues and typically an approved process for authenticating the value of the work. The formative and extensively quoted author Thomas Kuhn used the term paradigm to stand for "the entire collection of beliefs, values, techniques and so on shared by members of a given community" (1962, p. 175). For scientific communities, the existence of this set of beliefs and practices is not only valued and shared but policed, in the sense that journal editors, promotion committees, and conference attendees all patrol the borders of the territory of the tribe (Becher & Trowler, 2000). Unacceptable work is not published, those who seek promotion based on dubious studies may languish in their careers, and the miscreant conference presenter may receive stern comments debunking their effort.

There is an ongoing discussion in the field of tourism study concerning the value of using and searching for such clear paradigms (Harrison, 2017). As a part of the defence of their work, it has become somewhat common, almost obligatory in the Anglophone world, for doctoral level students to state and defend the paradigm they are using. This is typically done by providing a review which pays homage to the work of Kuhn, and then considers revisions and extensions as discussed by Guba (1990), Dann (1997), and others. Key research texts often usefully provide a summary of the components – epistemology, ontology, methodology, and axiology – which are used to distinguish the main paradigms (Jennings, 2010). Most of these texts identify post-positivism, constructivism, and critical theory as the dominant paradigms. Variants include paradigms of action research, pragmatism, and critical realism (Platenkamp & Botterill, 2013).

A succinct summary of these approaches to research can be offered by attending to the defining terms of ontology, epistemology, methodology, and axiology. Ontology is our view of reality. For example, the questions to be asked here are those of "Are trees, ghosts and good management all real?" That is, we are asking is there something out there separate from ourselves or is there no objective reality, just a constructed and assumed world? Potential ontological positions include being a naïve realist (yes there are "trees" and "good management", but maybe not ghosts), a critical realist (yes there is a possible reality of "ghosts" but we have to discuss and share a lot of views to confirm that the concept is sound), a position of relativism (there is not really any objective reality for any of these terms, it depends on who you are and your own point of view), or a pragmatist stance (there is a reality if we all say so; what "works" is what is real or true). Epistemology is much more about how we know what we claim to know. A first position is that we are all about building a summary device (a pithy saying, a model, a formula, or a symbolic image) of an objective reality. Formulae are clear symbolic systems ordering variables and establishing their influence. For more qualitative work, we have to refer to the power of language to inform and express our understanding through analogies and images. We know, for example, that lions are exceedingly dangerous because they are "killer cats". An emblematic social media image of a lioness dragging a hapless tourist from a car window dominates and supports our understanding. This position is called representational epistemology. A second position asserts that we cannot separate ourselves from what we know and who we are, and we have to negotiate and argue for our understanding (use logic, explore many examples, participate in discussion, seek group consensus, and negotiate interpretations). This position is called transactional or subjectivist epistemology. On this occasion, our own knowledge about how dangerous lions are can evolve through a series of conversations and counterclaims from African rural residents which include their more informed views of purposeful aggressiveness due to living near the animals.

Paradigms are also characterised by some dominant methodologies and methods. The distinction between these terms is that methodology refers to the logistics, the whole design of the study, while methods are the actual tools employed to collect information. Some characterisations use the term axiology as a further defining feature – essentially the philosophical study of goodness, or value, in the widest sense of these terms. The use of the term axiology in the context of paradigms partly speaks to the relevance issue addressed earlier, although it also connotes the moral or ethical judgements involved in thinking about the benefits of studies.

By juxtaposing the terms defined above, there are several dominant, paradigm-like positions in tourism studies. The expression paradigm-like is deliberate, as we may come to reappraise the applicability of the expressions when applied to tourism study and even more directly to tourist behaviour research efforts. It is worth outlining the essential features of these positions before directly tackling their ongoing value in the study of tourist behaviour. Pure positivism is the kind of research style adopted in a traditional science such as chemistry. For some time, the relevance of such a style of work as a philosophical position for the social sciences has been under attack (Outhwaite, 2000). In the social sciences, a purely positivist position fails to recognise the interaction between the researcher and the people they study; as the psychologist George Kelly noted, "the bubbling green slime" is looking back at the researcher (Kelly, 1955). As the name suggests, post-positivism is an adapted form of positivism. It is not always a stated or recognised position by its participants but offers a more accurate view of what they do rather than strict positivism. For the post-positivist position, the ontology is largely one of critical realism – there is a world external to the observer but we have to do some work to negotiate and check on its existence. The epistemological view is that observations are theory laden and influenced by theory but we can also construct theory inductively – absolute researcher objectivity is unattainable but there are better arguments than others for assuring the development of knowledge and knowledge can be represented in so far as communities agree on it. The methodology is primarily quantitative, with some tendency to see qualitative methods as a precursor to quantitative methods but there is not a single or perfect scientific method. The axiology is largely instrumental, the work can be seen as serving the good of the tourism management system and often businesses within that system.

The constructivist (also known as the interpretivist paradigm) recognises the fallibility of some post-positivist assumptions and measures. For example, if employment data are considered they almost inevitably must be wrong or misleading. Why? Quite simply, we know there are criminals in all communities, often affluent ones, but no census/employment/taxation data from these individuals will be present in the records. These missing records underline the point that even in data often taken as highly reliable, there are inevitably perspectives and interpretations. Indeed, interpretivists argue that knowledge can never be certified as true, and interaction is the only way to access people's constructions of their world. The approach has strong roots in sociology (Berger & Luckman, 1967) and favours "thick description", a term used by the anthropologist Geertz to present a situation (Geertz, 2008). It is not strong on generalisation. The ontological stance for constructivists is relativist. It assumes that reality, as we know it, is constructed among people. That is, we develop our understanding through our direct experiences and with others. The epistemology is transactional, we cannot separate ourselves from what we know; the investigator and that which is investigated are linked. In terms of the methodology, the constructivists favour accessing people in natural settings and engaging deeply with their views. Naturalistic methods such as interviews, reading of what people write, and sections of talk are all used. The analysis of online records, including the now increasingly popular approach of netnography, is valued (Kozinets, 2015; Wu & Pearce, 2014). For axiology, moral and power questions are important and the open expression of researchers' values is encouraged.

Critical theory is sometimes known as the "critical turn" – a view that researchers are coming to question the power and political underpinnings of what they do and now ask whose interests are served by their labours (Ateljevic, Morgan, & Pritchard, 2013). It is immediately apparent that a strong axiological position – a concern with the good and welfare of others, typically those who are marginalised – underpins this paradigm. Critical theorists depend on the insights of Wittgenstein and other analysts of language to understand that the way we use terms perpetuates power and privilege (Harris, 1990). As an example, the notion that physical sciences are objective and social sciences subjective is a linguistic device, in effect a classification that privileges one group (Gould, 2004). Critical theorists are often actually trying to change situations, not just understand them. The approach can be linked to a similar paradigm or approach identified in the 1980s referred to as an emancipatory orientation (Pearce, 2005). It is also similar or linked to some of the intentions of feminist theory or more recently that of queer theory (Waitt & Markwell, 2014). These research efforts question the roles and labels for women and men and draw attention to the influence of dominant powerful majorities in shaping acceptable public conduct. There are also links to action research which is an iterative approach of participating in change through research being immediately implemented. Quasi-experimental field studies of school classroom practices which are then followed by the quick take-up of the findings, sometimes before the research is fully completed, provide examples (Kemmis, McTaggart, & Nixon, 2013).

For critical theorists, ontology assumes there is a reality that has been created by past practices, notably political, social, cultural, and economic forces which have crystallised social structures. Critical theorists suggest that treating these as real is limiting and they can be re-examined. Again, a transactional or subjectivist epistemology prevails, with the position stressing we are linked to what we know and cannot separate ourselves from what we know. We are embedded in these constructed realities. The trap for researchers using this approach is to find only what they are looking for; searching with their personal spotlight rather than illuminating an entire topic area with a broad vision of possibilities. The methodology of many who would count themselves as critical theorists is to foster conversation and reflection, encourage dialogue to understand conflict and tension, and question people's current experience with regard to values. If these processes are followed thoroughly, then the limitations of looking for and finding only what one already thinks can be lessened.

These policed collections of beliefs, values, and techniques shared by members of a given community which Kuhn first suggested defined paradigms, may apply imperfectly to tourism and tourist behaviour study. Three issues can be highlighted which prevent any simple application of the ideas and concepts to tourist behaviour research. Firstly, there are difficulties in using an out-dated version of the term paradigm. Kuhn was a distinguished scholar for a long time and wrote about the topic of paradigms and the tenets of scientific research for some 40 years. Inevitably perhaps, he changed and modified his views. While the 1962 work is the major text cited, he added refinements and comments about social science almost 40 years later (Kuhn, 2000). In an analysis of these changed views, Harrison (2017) reveals that in the later work Kuhn effectively abandoned the term paradigm and wrote a lot more about how the extent of incommensurability could divide study areas. The expression can be summarised or recast in a positive way as the degree to which study areas share common standards of measurement. The implication here is that if study areas do not share such common standards, then work in one field is likely to appear as unjustified, possibly incomprehensible to those in another area. To illustrate the point, a set of relationships about tourists' prejudice towards others that are cast into the statistical armoury of structural equation modelling may be incommensurable with those who seek to change exploitative guest–host community relationships by investigating the power and gender imbalances of the contact situations. If the updated views focus less on paradigm identification and more on the question can researchers understand one another, is it indeed worth persisting with the concept?

A second reason to question the ready applicability of paradigms in this book lies in the restricted topic of tourist behaviour and experience. Our concern is not with the whole spectrum of tourism. Such topics as development agendas, marketing, human resources and rights are touched on but do not occupy the main space in the volume. The older use of the term paradigms can arguably still apply to those who go about their tourist behaviour work in different ways, but if researchers can understand one another quite well, even if they do not want to work in that style, then the modern test of incommensurability suggests an eclectic research approach rather than a tight paradigmatic area of inquiry. Indeed leading journals publish approaches to tourist behaviour which vary from the highly empirical to the broadly speculative, from concerns with building models to rich descriptive recounting of experiences.

There is a third point which also serves to cast doubt on the viability of the paradigmatic view. Much of the paradigm-linked discussion tends to describe an assumed homogeneity among tourists and their interests and behaviours. Sociological writing, as well as much of that produced by human and social geographers, even from the well-known authors in the field, repeatedly adopts a molar view that seeks to address the common fundamentals of tourists' motivations, actions, movements, and impacts (cf. Urry, 2012; Lew, Hall, & Williams, 2014; Larsen & Urry, 2016). There are clearly, however, many types of tourists and much differentiation in what they seek to do and experience (Galani-Moutafi, 2000). The warning here is to avoid easy generalisations, to be aware of the diversity of cultural contexts and western-centric views, and to appreciate the diversity of different markets and travellers (Maoz, 2006; Wijesinghea, Muraa, & Culalab, 2019). In this volume, the search for very broad frameworks of understanding and generalisations, such as advocated in the new stream of research on mobilities, is not pursued. In line with the fit for purpose approach to defining tourists, a much more differentiated and graded approach is adopted with specific findings about specified groups being the chosen pathway (Stebbins, 1997). Rather than advancing a view that tourists do this or that, seek these outcomes or others, the approach suggests that some tourists are motivated by specific goals while others are driven by different aspirations; some enact specific behaviours under certain setting conditions while others do not. Adopting this style of thinking, it is arguably now naïve to state that tourists all seek authenticity or gaze on the world in common ways (MacCannell, 1976; Urry, 1990). Indeed the very authors who proposed these earlier notions have revised and modified their views, noting how a changing digital world has required a more diverse set of propositions and classifications (MacCannell, 2008; Urry, 2008). It follows from this differentiated view that proposed "paradigms for the area", such as authenticity and mobility, are not comprehensive and credible candidates in thinking about tourist behaviour (cf. Harrison, 2017).

In summary, it may be useful to preserve the labels given to the paradigms as a shorthand way of explaining incommensurability. But even this ruse to preserve the meaning of the concept requires a relaxed rather than a single-minded approach to the classifications. As Gould (2004) observes, it appears to be a cognitive limitation of humans to develop neat categories when in fact many phenomena in the world are patterned, overlapping, and continuous. Further, researchers may use the approaches of one style in one study and then another style in a second part of their research effort. This is particularly evident when researchers use mixed methods designs, some of which answer an array of questions, and where researchers fit their tools and approaches to the questions rather than being constrained by a paradigmatic prison cell. Further, researchers may swap between styles of research depending on the topic and their changing interests. This pragmatism is a long way from the original Kuhnian concept of changing paradigms and seems to describe rather more fruitfully researchers working in a tolerant field of inquiry that accepts multiple styles provided the work is clearly explained in terms of its goals and techniques (De Crop, 2004).

Pragmatism as a generic label for the mixing and matching of approaches to suit research questions can itself be accorded a paradigm-like status (cf. Jennings, 2018). The approach is flexible and tolerates the combination of methods and research purposes. For this reason it is not a strongly policed position, so arguably it does not have a defining feature of the original Kuhnian meaning of the term. The adaptability of the position does mean, however, that researchers can avoid being pigeon-holed as guided by a single style of thinking and researcher positionality – that accolade may be a key survival mechanism for researchers and the approach.

As a fresh way to rethink the paradigm discussion in tourist behaviour study (and possibly in the wider study of tourism) it is insightful to look at the wider issue of acquiring knowledge. In the educational literature the most powerful voice describing the acquisition of levels of understanding is undoubtedly that of Bloom (Bloom, 1956; Krathwohl, 2002). His ideas have had and continue to have a strong influence on educational design, yet rather curiously they are rarely applied to the researcher acquiring knowledge (Forehand, 2010). The dominant features of Bloom's taxonomy are described by using a set of verbs to characterise the tasks which a learner must accomplish. The terms vary a little in different texts but in essence there is a rising spiral of sophistication captured to define and describe (comprehension), model and analyse (explanation), apply, evaluate, and synthesise (creation) (Marzano & Kendall, 2006). There is an apparent correspondence here with the goals of researchers. While undoubtedly all tourist behaviour researchers seek to achieve multiple knowledge gains across this spectrum, there is something of an alignment among constructivists seeking comprehension, post-positivists striving for explanation, and critical theorists building towards promoting change. This line of thinking highlights again a very key consideration in the planning and shaping of research. Exactly what is it that we want to know and achieve? What kind of question is being addressed?

It is perhaps tempting to conclude this section with the call to abandon the understanding of how to study tourist behaviour by framing studies within certain paradigms. There are voices trending in that direction (Gorard & Taylor, 2004; Walker, 2010; Harrison, 2017). The milder approach of recognising that they may provide some background factors explaining why incommensurability arises can also be adopted. And beyond this tolerance of what other tourist behaviour researchers do, it is valuable to be drawn repeatedly to the questions of exactly what it is that we are trying to find out. Perhaps a useful final word on this aspect of studying tourist behaviour comes from Anthony Becher (1989), the original author of the volume *Academic Tribes and Territories*. He provided an answer to the author who had queried how tourism study fitted into the scheme of paradigms and disciplines. The reply was that tourism appeared to be a pre-paradigmatic study area, one where no single approach prevailed, and it was desirable for it to stay that way to address all the different questions at so many scales of investigation.

4. SOURCES FOR GENERATING RESEARCH IDEAS

Being relevant in a broad sense, working in and around paradigms, and how to spend one's time are orienting issues for tourism researchers. What to study is an even bigger puzzle for many who start out on or seek to embellish their career. The view that tourists are interesting and that studying their behaviour is worthwhile is the guiding theme of this chapter. The term interesting is subjective and possibly indulgent, but it can also mean being of significance to the field of study. The value of using the term interest in theming this chapter lies in the conjunction of these points. In particular, the power of emphasising interest can be linked to how topics in tourist behaviour study can be generated. An array of ideas about sourcing topics to study is presented in Table 1.3, but a preface to these approaches is also warranted. In the traditional British Oxford and Cambridge educational system, successful applicants to the institutions were typically offered a formal acceptance letter. The wording of that letter expressed the point that the individual was invited to "read for the degree". Good research and scholarship in tourist behaviour does indeed need individuals to read the existing material prior to launching their study. This advice to read deeply and thoughtfully applies across the spectrum of sourcing ideas supplied in Table 1.3.

The sources of ideas listed in Table 1.3 offer the opportunity to comment on several key concerns. These issues include the importance of having a balanced passion in research, and thinking about pre-science. As already discussed, these topics are underpinned by researchers' explicit (or sometimes implicit) assumptions about what is good research and hence their awareness of the paradigms used in the field (cf. Jennings, 2010; Harrison, 2017).

Passion, conceived here as strong, intense interest in a topic, is frequently mentioned by senior researchers as a prerequisite for early career researchers and graduate students when developing their research interests. Such enthusiasm, while potentially powerful in sustaining the intensity of work and time needed to complete studies, may also have a dangerous downside. An illustrative case can demonstrate the point. Tourists who undertake whale watching tours interested a particular student with whom I worked. As a committed enthusiast about whale watching, the student believed that the activity was special and tourists were predicted to have deep spiritual and moving experiences when they saw the whales breeching and splashing close to the boats. The survey results revealed that only a few tourists thought about the experience that way, many merely thinking it was interesting or quite nice. The student's passion for the topic led to doubting the findings, to suspect that the research method was wrong, and indeed there was a tendency to want to distort the findings towards the personal view. The example speaks to the necessary open-mindedness of the role of the researcher. Passion to study a topic can be excellent but a willingness to see the world from the participants' point of view, an approach referred to as emic (Cohen, 1979), remains an important part of a balanced orientation to a research topic.

An undesirable pre-commitment to the outcomes of research can be distinguished from the valuable term pre-science. Corley and Gioia (2011, p. 23) define pre-science as "the process of discerning what we need to know and influencing the intellectual framing of what we need to know to enlighten both academic and reflective practitioner domains". The pressure to think constructively about what it might be important to find out about a topic derives from the idea that there is a reputed gap between academic work and its impact. Corley and Gioia, amongst others, suggest that it is not so much that work is lost in translation but that it is lost before translation. In this view, formulating what we need to know can again be emphasised as the fundamental first step in the research effort.

Table 1.3 Sources of ideas for studying tourist behaviour

Source of the research project	Directions and examples
Theoretical clash in the existing literature	The work is developed by responding closely to the existing literature. The approach is usually built on specific journal articles where there is a contest between authors on how to study a topic. Researchers can look for a clash of conceptual schemes or ideas, such as more physiological versus experiential ways of looking at emotions or dramaturgical versus equity approaches to a topic such as tipping and service.
Applying existing ideas to a new context, country, culture or setting	This mainstream approach builds knowledge in small incremental steps by the extension of a scheme to a new context, country or culture. Some studies in this approach may only be of local interest. The special challenge with this approach is to build significant scientific or applied value in the study. Taking a market segment such as millennials and seeing how they differ from baby boomers might add to the knowledge base on destination choice in a specific context.
Personal biography	By building on deep personal feelings about a topic and lifetime experiences, researchers can generate fresh niche topics or valuable extensions to ongoing work. The approach includes considering special events, and intense interests and values. As an example, personal concerns with the hygiene practices in hotel rooms might lead to a specific study of health and welfare issues for guests and employees.
Current events, hot topics	Close reading of the last few months of newspapers and or trade journals can raise broad concerns. Similarly, recent government reports frequently conclude with needs for research. Predictably the topics vary from year to year. Considering how new laws to limit Airbnb operations in crowded European cities affects budget hotels might follow recent news reports.
Colleagues raise topics	Others have their own research and research with previous students which might have a ready extension or new direction. There is also a much underused resource – previous theses – the final sections of many PhD dissertations identify future research.
Business and government inspired projects	Contact with commercial interests such as an industry association, an individual business, or a destination region may lead to specific topics. Similarly, contact with government at national, regional, or local levels may stimulate a research opportunity.
Acute observation	Personal experiences of watching and observing other tourists may lead to ideas about the public displays of behaviour by tourists. As examples, consider rule breaking when tourists drive through game parks or the ways tourists photograph themselves at iconic sites.
Synthesising the available concepts	Not all research contributions involve collecting new evidence. It is possible to assemble the available material on a topic and generate a fusion of the available ideas with a integrating model for practice and for further testing.

5. INTERESTING BEHAVIOURS, A MORE PERSONAL VIEW

There are well-studied topics which could benefit from refreshed approaches as well as novel topics which can capture the attention of future tourist behaviour researchers. Many of these possibilities are explored in the remaining chapters of this book. As well as offering fresh perspectives in many of the forthcoming chapters, a few specific possibilities can be outlined. There could be more work done on the physical limitations which restrict and constrain tourist behaviour. These include the human need to stay comfortable in trying conditions; the importance of following hygienic practices when travelling; the way luggage and fitness affect activity choices; the effects of jet lag on mood, well-being, and sociability; seasickness and its consequences; and tourists' roles in avoiding and transmitting diseases. While there is a recognition of the power of motivation concepts such as escape and relaxation, sometimes described as "doing nothing", the meaning of these constructs for different market segments would add to the armoury of academic and industry knowledge. How tourists now use their smart devices to shape their travel is discussed throughout this volume and elsewhere, but the addictive facets of linking to friends and family off-site compared to enjoying the immediate setting is worthy of further sophisticated scrutiny. There is work to be done on creating more amenable settings for such behaviours as the safe viewing of large but dangerous animals, as well as for open access sites involving gorges, canyons, and waterfalls, especially in less developed countries. Taking photographs, shopping and buying souvenirs are staple tourist behaviours but following through on the long-term use of these images and products is still limited.

The social components of tourists' experiences are still worthy of close attention. There has been plenty of work on the service providers' abilities and competencies but the role of the tourist and their behaviours as gracious or greedy guests could be developed. A study of the fleeting but not unimportant little groupings which form during the course of many holidays is also of academic and practical interest. Whether it be while waiting for luggage from aircraft, queuing in long lines in theme parks and at attractions, or eating in public spaces, the way individuals monitor, acknowledge, and treat nearby others matters for their safety and the pleasantness of the encounters. The fundamental interest of many tourism academics has been on how tourists treat the exotic or unfamiliar others who reside in the locations they visit. Here too, the routines and rules of acceptable and desirable contact, studied with close attention to context could be developed further. Such localised requirements for desirable conduct can include how to benefit the local community financially, how to behave in precise ways that respect the society and culture visited, and how to build, even briefly, the kind of understanding and rapport for intercultural harmony.

Tourist behaviour is no longer a virgin field without its admirers. It offers attractive prospects for researchers. In time, good studies will build ideas and concepts that can be deployed for the smart design of places. As has been noted quite recently in Europe, and as has been apparent for some time in the major populations of China, India, the United States, Indonesia, and Brazil, tourists can overwhelm sites with their holiday presence. Tourist behaviour is no longer a specialised and fledgling study topic area. It matters to many and attention to building the canon of conceptual insights and usable knowledge is a respectable and needed research endeavour. Tourists and their behaviours are indeed interesting.

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