Perceptions of Travel and Risk in Journeys Around Australia

Abstract

The research formed part of a larger project on survival escapist travel and the concept of tours of non-arrival. This paper explores one of the main themes from the larger research project and presents findings on the category of risk and personal danger. One of the factors that characterises independent and budget travel as a distinctive phase is the extent of risk encountered or perceived. Perceived personal 'risk' and dangerous travel experiences around Australia were undertaken by the travellers in the research as a result of a catalyst or life-changing event that forced each of them onto the road. Travelling with little money, travelling under dangerous conditions and in dangerous situations, and being oblivious to other personal dangers all formed part of each traveller's journey. The travellers in this research provided an extension of Veblen's (1899 [1934]) notions of emulation and status seeking or honorific behaviour. They had, in all their individual journeys, achieved a high status or level of 'honour' in long-term independent travel circles. It was not until they had the chance to re-live and recount their travel activities that their status became apparent to each of them and to others.

Key words: perceived risk, danger, long-term travel, grounded theory, Australia

Introduction

The concept of travel, as a rite of passage, can be viewed as a confirmation of oneself. It can also be used as a gauge of the standing or status one has accomplished in life and that will be used in the future to structure one's identity as a pioneer and survivor. Similarly, levels of experience in other areas can also be an assurance of one's legitimacy and merit in

society (Hillman 2010). According to Veblen (1934, p. 92), 'leisure is honourable and becomes imperative partly because it shows exemption from ignoble labour'. Veblen (1899; 1934) further suggested that the existence of a 'leisure class' can be related back to evolving 'primitive cultures'. Even though there was little difference between individuals in early communal societies, once the concepts of job and employment became more clearly outlined, the subsequent division of labour allowed differences to be drawn between the working and leisure classes within those societies. A person's capacity to express membership of the leisure class brought with it social ranking and personal esteem within the society. This membership was established through ownership and possession (Hillman 2010; Mason 1998).

Thorstein Veblen's seminal work, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, was written at the end of the 19th century. His notions of conspicuous leisure, emulation and status seeking or honorific behaviour are embedded in wider knowledge of the chasm between the wealthy and the poor. The attainment of assets, commodities, workforce and affluence generally, form the foundation of his interpretation and writings about the fiscal surplus value of the rich and powerful (Brown 1998; Hillman 2010). This paper is in fact, an extension of Veblen's (1899) notions of emulation and status seeking or honorific behaviour. His theories are applied to Australians travelling in their own country and who experience personal risk and dangerous encounters on their journeys.

Similar to Marx, Veblen sees leisure in consumer society as inherently alienating because it does not come from real needs in the person but from the individual's awareness of what society requires of them (Rojek 1995). As Harre, Clarke and De Carlo (1985, p. 21) suggested, 'all human action occurs in a social context'. Baudrilliard (1988 cited in Poster 1988) begins with the assertion that it is impossible to identify what authentic or genuine needs are; *all* needs, he argued, are socially constructed (Ramstad 1998). However,

juxtaposed to the position of Veblen, this study shows that the journeys of the participants around Australia were preceded by a mechanism of a powerful or life changing incident, and founded on the suspension of 'normal life'. Rather than the travel experiences not being based on 'real needs', the motivations underpinning the travel decisions were entirely centred on personal need satisfaction.

According to Kasperson et al. (1988: 177) risk is frequently defined by the manipulation of the two expressions of probability and magnitude, imagining that society should be apathetic toward a low-outcome /high-possibility /risk and a high effect /low-possibility risk with indistinguishable expected standards (Kasperson et al. 1988: 177). Participants' journeys around their home country and the events of risk in their lives are examined. These events underpinned and propelled subsequent responses to destination choice and experience. The travellers underwent 'multidestination' (Noy 2004, p. 79) tours lasting from as little as four months up to two years in duration and their travel was 'conceptualized as non-institutionalized (usually not pre-arranged by travel companies), but pursued individually', which informed their preferences for transport, leisure interests and lodgings.

The methodology and thematic findings that led to a grounded theory of travel and risk throughout journeys around Australia are developed as a result of the inductive theoretical approach. The paper begins with a brief discussion of the findings that support the nature of danger and personal risk associated with 'home grown' travel around Australia. The next section then explicates the 'grounded theory' connected to traveller's personal risk and danger while journeying around their home country of Australia. The discussion then examines the capacity of the travellers to ignore risk and personal danger. Finally, the

conclusion provides an overview of the research, and then provides an explanation of the overall findings and the significance of the research itself.

Methodology and Thematic Findings

The research formed part of a larger project on escapist travel and the concept of tours of non-arrival (Bagelman 2009; Radel and Hillman in press). Our research showed that the voyage to escape, that is preceded by a catalyst of a dramatic or life changing event, is a travel response based on a survival or self-preservation instinct that suspends the traveller's 'normal life'. For the travellers in our study however, while they did depart from the known, the theme of 'non-arrival' was prevalent because there was no intended destination for the journey. Bagleman (2009, p. 44) began to define journeys of non-arrival with her discussion whereby:

> *[i]n contrast with the 'forward march', which precisely choreographs the [traditional] escapist or Odyssean tour, non-arrival is a non-teleological state of perpetual wandering... denying the possibility of a clear origin and endpoint, or a clear trajectory, a tour of non-arrival cannot be localised to a specific geophysical or geopolitical point.*

This paper explores one of the main themes from that larger research project and presents findings on the category of risk and personal danger. The methodological approach for the research used an inductive theoretical approach underpinned by a grounded theory method. Grounded theory as a research approach seeks to systematically induce theory from empirical material which has been gathered through the ongoing interpretation of interviews, observations, document and textual analysis, in a way that is applicable to the contexts and participants in the research site. The research contexts, empirical materials, researcher and interpretation are integrated and theory evolves from this interplay (Carl and Hillman 2012;

Haig 1995; Radel 2010; Strauss and Corbin 1994). The process of grounded theory requires comparative analysis applied by 'comparing data to data, concept to concept, and category to category' (Charmaz 2000, p. 513)). This process generated integrated, theoretically dense, 'thick description' (Geertz 1973), enabling a 'tightly woven, explanatory theory that closely approximates the reality it represents' (Strauss and Corbin 1990, p. 57). The grounded theory approach offers qualitative research and researchers a rigorous process with clear guidelines for building an explanatory framework (Charmaz 2000; Denzin and Lincoln 2000).

Grounded theory can be refined to essentially consist of a three step process: constant comparative analysis; theoretical sampling to reach a point of saturation; and finally writing the theory (Radel 2010). Theoretical sampling is conducted concurrently with the comparative analysis process to enable the researchers to make theoretical comparisons, to address the initial questions (and develop new ones), find any negative cases, to select cases to re-examine, to look for theoretical 'gaps' that may arise, and to build further information (Draucker, Martsolf, Ross, and Rusk 2007; Thompson 1999). At the point where no new information is emerging from the analysis and sampling process, theoretical saturation has been achieved (Carl and Hillman 2012; Radel 2010).

Participants for the study were selected using a convenience, snowballing technique dependent on the friendship networks of the travellers. All the participants were journeying around Australia which was also their country of origin and their journeys were of different durations – from four months up to 18 months. The empirical material was gathered through a series of in-depth interviews with participants and recorded for subsequent transcription and coding purposes. Participants were aged in their mid twenties to their mid forties. The respondents were made up of two-thirds female and one third male. Participants were asked to narrate the stories of their journeys around Australia. These stories were transcribed and then coded using a thematic or grounded theoretical analytical approach (Liamputtong 2009).

Each traveller also employed an individual style of travel, often combining some elements of hitch hiking, driving their own vehicles, driving with friends for part of the journey, driving with friends for the entire journey, or some other means of travel such as using public transport options.

The Grounded Theory of 'Risk and Danger' Experienced by Survival Escapist Travellers Through Journeys Around Australia

Through the grounded theory process of recombining and integrating conceptual categories (Charmaz 2002, 2006) that were coded as a result of the constant comparative analysis, one of the main constructs that emerged from the larger research project was the theme of danger and personal risk which will be expanded on in the following section.

The concept demonstrated firstly that participants expressed a common idea of danger or personal risk that they faced during their journey. The travellers experienced personal insecurity and made decisions that could (and in one instance did) result in injury; but they felt powerless to change their circumstances. Ultimately, for the travellers in this study, being away from their 'normal lives', but not necessarily being 'on vacation', was their opportunity to heal the fragmentation experienced from the trauma which initiated the journey. Being in transit was a transformative yet transitory experience. The travellers were not 'escaping to' a destination and neither was the travel hedonistic, destination driven or specific, activity driven or sight-seeing oriented. The transformative nature of this type of travel delivers personal growth, inner development, self-actualisation and social transformation with the result that the travellers survived these journeys to begin a life-long search for the continuation of the tour.

Perceptions of Danger and Personal Risk

The theme of danger and personal risk was a main category that emerged from our data collection. This theme will be discussed at length in this section. One of the factors that characterises independent and budget travel as a distinctive phase is the extent of risk encountered or perceived. Goffmann (1971) argued that risk and quests are no longer a component of daily life, so risk more and more has to be sought after in travel experiences (Richards and Wilson 2009). Ulrich Beck (1992) recognised the notion of risk as an occasion for investigating the disjunction between a contemporary 'risk society' and previous eras of modernity. By comparison, Mary Douglas (1986) developed a sociological explanation of the consequences of risk with the aim of emphasising aspects of connection between our contemporary culture and that of various other phases of human existence (Wilkinson 2001).

Risk cannot be distilled to an outcome of possibility of incidence multiplied by the concentration and scale of individual risk. Significantly, it is a socially constructed experience, where some individuals have a greater ability to classify risk than others. Not all protagonists really profit from the reflexivity of risk – only those with actual capacity to identify their own risks. Risk representation substitutes class as the primary disparity of contemporary society, because of how risk is reflexively identified by actors: 'In risk society *relations of definition* are to be conceived analogous to Marx's relations of production' (Beck 2006, p. 333). The disparities of definition allow prevailing actors to amplify risks for 'others' and diminish risks for 'themselves'. The definition of risk, in essence, is a power game. This is particularly true for a global risk society where western authorities or influential financial actors label risks for others (Beck 2006).

Risk has significance only to the degree that it deals with how individuals reflect about the world and its connections (Reisinger and Mavondo 2005). Consequently, there is no such thing as 'true' (complete) and 'distorted' (collectively established) risk. More

accurately, the information structure and features of community reaction that make up societal development are necessary components in establishing the features and significance of risk (Kasperson et al. 1988; Reichel, Fuchs, and Uriely 2007; Reisinger and Mavondo 2005). Haddock (1993) and Reisinger and Mavondo (2005) identify three broad categories of risk: perceived risk; absolute risk; and actual risk. Importantly for tourism and travel, perceived risk refers to 'the individual's perceptions of the uncertainty and negative consequences of buying a product (or service), ... performing a certain activity, or choosing a certain lifestyle' (Reisinger and Mavondo 2005, p. 212). They argue that those travellers who are adventurous and search for thrilling experiences may feel less perceived danger and frequently undertake perilous and daring vacation activities (Reisinger and Mavondo 2005).

Risk and Travel Choices – Journeys of Survival That Nullify Risk

However, while perceptions of risk and personal safety may greatly influence travel intentions and behaviours either positively (for the thrill seekers) or negatively (by causing travellers to change intended destinations or activities for example) (Reisinger and Mavondo 2005), the literature does not examine the connection between travel choices that are made regardless of the assessment of risk. One participant explained how she and her friend undertook a journey at night during their travels that they perceived as risky and arduous. However due to a number of conflicting circumstances that impacted on their survival of the journey itself, they felt they had no choice but to continue.

> We left Port Hedland and headed to Darwin. We drove mostly at night, as it was cooler then. But the negative side of that is that kangaroos and other animals come out to feed and find water at night. So, it is a dangerous time to travel, and you must be alert to stray animals bounding onto the road in front of the car. On the way to Darwin we drove through Fitzroy Crossing, Halls Creek, Turkey Creek, Derby and Kununurra. We had very little money and very little food. We did not stop off to look

at Broome, as that meant a 60 kilometre return trip into Broome and back again to

the main highway. We simply could not afford the petrol. (female participant, early

30s, Australian)

Elsrud (2001) suggested that risk is not essentially the content of an action, which classifies it as including or devoid of risk. It is how the act is encountered, at what time and where it occurs, and what tradition has to say about it that generates the description. Kasperson et al. (1988) argued that immediate encounters with risky conduct or actions can be either encouraging (as with automobile driving) or disturbing (as with cyclones or floods). In general, experience with extraordinary disasters or risk episodes heightens the remarkability and possibility of the danger, thus intensifying the awareness of risk (Kasperson et al. 1988; Reichel et al. 2007). Therefore, the travellers in this research underwent heightened feelings of danger and risk in the transformation of themselves during their journeys. They perceived themselves to be at greater risk because of their vulnerability due to a lack of funds and the itinerant nature of their journeys (Reisinger and Mavondo 2005).

Riley (1988) suggested that, in comparison to the principles of the organised, 'package' tourist, the non-organised tourist places importance on originality, impulsiveness, risk disinterestedness, and a plethora of choices. The drifter is additionally more of a risk-taker than the others (Elsrud 2001; Riley 1988; see also Cohen 1973). Therefore, risk-taking is a predominantly robust narrative about the 'self', an 'exploration story' that can only be greatly appreciated contrary to something dissimilar: the non-adventure. When taking risks, life is pared out instead of simply lived in the impressions of others (Elsrud 2001, p. 603). Another traveller experienced what he thought would be an exciting time, only for it to turn

into a somewhat different scenario. He felt misled by the events of the situation, and innocently put himself at risk.

> *Anyway, I was in Alice Springs for about three days. During that three days...we were sitting around a campfire, I think it was on the last day, it was the last day. I met a woman there and we were talking very nicely. We were getting attracted to each other. Now, I didn't realise that opposite was hubby and we were getting very lovey dovey, which was naughty of her actually because she knew and I didn't know. And he kicked me in the face, which was like fair enough, in retrospect it was fair enough. But I had a badly swollen face that day, very badly swollen face. (male participant, late 30s, Australian)*

The effortlessness with which one can make contact with new people is derived from the conventional wisdom that everyone is keen to establish groups, to share activity, expenses, risks and events (Binder 2009). In social group communication, these explanations of risk will have a propensity to be incorporated into larger frameworks of standards and investigation and to turn out to be impervious to contemporary, contradictory information. In other words, interpersonal interactions will produce differing risk assessments, management preferences, and levels of apprehension. As was apparent in the previous example, the male participant did not recognise or manage the inherent risk of the situation due to the commonly understood social contract, norms of behaviour. Further, as Binder (2009) conversely argues, through the fleeting disposition of the backpacker, and thus independent traveller, connections tolerate powerful interactions to be created with no risk. The participant from the above example was naively put at risk through interpreting a situation in an incorrect manner. The self-transformative journey for him thus included reassessing interpretations surrounding affection and jealousy. In one sense, there is never escape from that type of

'risk' situation. As Wilkinson (2001, p. 2) succinctly argued, 'knowledge of risk can never be certain or complete; rather, it thrives upon our ignorance of the future'.

The Nonchalance of Risk

Returning to Veblen's (1970) theory, it was argued that 'all that a stranger can know about one is based on what is visible, one's pecuniary strength must be displayed clearly and unambiguously through one's appearance' (Campbell 1995, p. 43). Indeed, in contemporary society a major part of the prospective audience for an individual's consumption is comprised of anonymous individuals – 'everything that an outsider can know about someone is founded on what is evident. An individual's fiscal potency must be exhibited openly and explicitly through an individual's demeanour if an individual is to make an impression on the mostly anonymous onlookers of one's everyday life (Campbell 1995). Another traveller explains her and her travelling companion's nonchalant and risky attitude to widely reported tourist incidents with native wildlife.

> *Leaving Darwin we went first through Litchfield National Park. We went swimming and again didn't get eaten by crocodiles! I keep repeating that because all over the [Northern] Territory there are signs warning against swimming, as you might get eaten, and we were listening to the radio and one tourist actually got rather badly gnawed on in Kakadu while we were wandering around! Then we drove on to Kakadu National Park. Again we camped out in Kakadu (up on tables so we wouldn't get eaten by crocodiles!) (female participant, mid 20s, Australian).*

Risks are oftentimes nothing more than collective or social interpretations, with the deliberate or involuntary purpose of maintaining a cultural configuration (Dake 1992; Douglas 1992; Renn 1992). While risks during travel are often 'authentic', compared with for example disasters, physical condition (Clift and Grabowski 1997) and law-breaking,

Elsrud (2001, p. 598) focuses on 'risk taking' not predominantly as a significant, objective reality, but more accurately as a mechanism used to create a narrative.

Furthermore, in an attempt to safeguard themselves from an apparent danger, individuals are cognisant of a shared arrangement of aims and objectives. By convincingly distinguishing 'others' as the origin of the risk, they are supplied with a mutual outlet for their apprehension through the directing of fault to those who are acknowledged as threatening to disturb a favoured 'way of life' (Douglas and Wildavsky 1982). In this case, the wild animals were at fault for being a 'risk' to the travel experience of this traveller and her friend. 'Variables such as age, occupation, gender, geography, ethnicity and nationality' could all have a considerable influence on the ways in which individuals distinguish and determine the gravity of the risks they encounter – females rank risks as being more critical than men (Wilkinson 2001, p. 9).

Self-reliance as a Result of Risk and the Appreciation of Assistance

Danger and personal risk forced the travellers to become very self-reliant and perhaps more self-aware as a result of overcoming those trials.

> *We eventually made it to Perth and then set up camp in Fremantle just south of Perth on the beach. We were living in the car at that point and I had about $10 left to my name. But we discovered that, thanks to Fremantle hosting the America's Cup boat race some years before, the public toilets in the main street also have hot showers!! Score!!! Also, we could get 95 cent, all you can drink coffee at McDonalds which was literally right on the beach. Just gorgeous! (female participant, mid 30s, Australian)*

Elsrud (2001) employs Giddens' (1991) concept that individuality is left to people to consider through the means they are presented with by society, and the idea that Western tourists embark on 'risky' journeys because they originate from a society that requires from them the capacity to deal with risk successfully. An awareness of differentiation is typically

derived from the 'primitive Other', and this supplies the perspective in which Elsrud (2001) examines risk connected to specific locations, together with the tradition of telling stories about risks related to the physical self, for example illness, dangerous foods or malaria (Ateljevic and Doorne 2009). In this case, exposing oneself to potential attack by an unwitting native animal, a star crossed lover, or a vicious predator, was perceived as self-transformative in the sense of being aware of the danger and practicing minor preventative measures. It is also possible to interpret this as 'escapism' from the constraints, rules and regulations of the situation left behind. Conversely, though participants were faced with a severe lack of resources and often high levels of personal risk from which they gained self-identity and self-worth, all participants also reported that at some point in their journeys, a fellow traveller or host assisted them which encouraged them to keep travelling or to enjoy instances in their journeys. As one participant noted, *"...we were looked after by him. He showed us around 'the Top End', and we enjoyed ourselves without too much worry" (female participant, early 30s, Australian).*

In complete contrast to the development of personal identity and resilience as a result of the perceived risks of their travel situations, the travellers all recognised and appreciated the assistance of strangers. While Brown (1998, p. 53) highlighted that we occupy a planet that allows status for 'being all you can be', it does not typically remunerate virtuous, human benevolence in any type of equivalent way. What a sustainable twenty-first century society requires is not more self-actualisation, but more accountability and compassionate conduct.

Conclusion

Perceived personal 'risk' and dangerous travel experiences around Australia were undertaken by the travellers in the research through the mechanism of a catalyst or life-changing event that forced each of them onto the road and into areas of danger and personal threat they would not have experienced in their usual lives. Travelling with little money,

travelling under dangerous conditions and in dangerous situations, and being oblivious to other personal dangers all formed part of each traveller's journey. Innocence and unawareness were not apparent as personal traits of the research participants; the notion behind the personal risk and danger was aligned with not having travelled in this manner previously.

Each participant's departure was instigated by a life changing event or occurrence. The event was too hard to live with, and was also the culmination of a number of negative events that proved to be the conditions under which participants entered into their venture. The traveller's in this project were travelling Australia with no sense of purpose; they travelled in 'flight' as opposed to 'fight' mode. Dangerous and risky situations were undertaken with a complete lack of awareness of the unintended consequences that could, and in one case, did arise, because the travellers perceived they had little choice but to undertake the risky situation that they confronted at the time of their journey.

The travellers in this research provided an extension of Veblen's (1899, 1934, 1970) notions of emulation and status seeking or honorific behaviour. But, the travellers were not aware until *after* the travel that what they had done was to be revered. They had, in all their individual journeys, achieved a high status or level of 'honour' in long-term independent travel circles. But, they had also been 'caught up in the moment' of the journeys and not realised the circumstances and unintended consequences related to personal risk and danger as they travelled. It was not until they had the chance to re-live and recount their travel activities that their status became apparent to each of them and to others.

References

Ateljevic, A., & Doorne, S. (2009). Theoretical Encounters: A Review of the Backpacker Literature. In G. Richards & J. Wilson (Eds.), *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice*. Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications.

Bagelman, C. P. (2009). *Tours of non-arrival: The politics of escape in tourist practices*. Unpublished Master of Arts, University of Victoria, Victoria, BC, Canada.

Beck, U. (1992). *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage.

Beck, U. (2006). Living in the world risk society. *Economy and Society, 35*(3), 329-345.

Binder, J. (2009). The whole point of backpacking: Anthropological perspectives on the characteristics of backpacking. In G. Richards & J. Wilson (Eds.), *The global nomad: Backpacker travel in theory and practice* (pp. 92-108). Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications.

Brown, D. (1998). Be all you can be: Invidious self-development and its social imperative. In D. Brown (Ed.), *Thorstein Veblen in the twenty-first century: A commemoration of the theory of the leisure class (1899-1999)*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Campbell, C. (1995). Conspicuous confusion? A critique of Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption. *Sociological Theory, 13*(1), 37-47.

Carl, J., & Hillman, W. (2012). Sociological research. In *Think Sociology* (pp. 268-282). Frenchs Forest, NSW: Pearson Australia.

Charmaz, K. (2000). Grounded theory - Objectivist and constructivist methods. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed., pp. 509-535). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Charmaz, K. (2002). Qualitative interviewing and grounded theory analysis. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of Interview Research - Context & Method* (pp. 675-694). Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage Publications, Inc.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory - A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Clift, S., & Grabowski, P. (Eds.). (1997). *Tourism and health: Risks, research and responses*. London: Pinter.

Cohen, E. (1973). Nomads from affluence: Notes on the phenomenon of drifter-tourism. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology 14*(1-2), 89-103.

Dake, K. (1992). Myths of nature: Culture and the social construction of risk. *Journal of Social Issues, 48*(4), 21-37.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Douglas, M. (1986). *Risk acceptability according to the social sciences* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Douglas, M. (1992). *Risk and blame: Essays in cultural theory*. London: Routledge.

Douglas, M., & Wildavsky, A. (1982). *Risk and culture: An essay in the selection and interpretation of technological and environmental dangers*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Draucker, C. B., Martsolf, D. S., Ross, R., & Rusk, T. B. (2007). Theoretical sampling and category development in grounded theory. *Qualitative Health Research, 17*(8), 1137-1148.

Elsrud, T. (2001). Risk creation in travelling: Backpacker adventure narration. *Annlas of Tourism Research, 28*(3), 597-617.

Geertz, C. (1973). Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture. In C. Geertz (Ed.), *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays* (pp. 3-30). New York, USA: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Goffmann, E. (1971). *Relations in public: Microstudies of the public order*. New York: Harper and Row.

Haddock, C. (1993). *Managing risks in outdoor activities*. Wellington, NZ.: New Zealand Mountain Safety Council.

Haig, B. D. (1995). Grounded theory as scientific method.   Retrieved 5 July, 2004, from
    http://www.ed.uiuc.edu/EPS/PES-Yearbook/95_docs/haig.html

Harre, R., Clarke, D., & De Carlo, N. (1985). *Motives and mechanisms - An introduction to the
    psychology of action*. New York, NY: Methuen & Co.

Hilllman, W. (2010). Veblen and the theory of the backpacker leisure class: Status seeking and
    emulation in the Australian contemporary tourist economy. *Tourism Review International, 13*,
    157-171.

Kasperson, R. E., Renn, O., Slovic, P., Brown, H. S., Emel, J., Goble, R., et al. (1988). The social
    amplification of risk: A conceptual framework. *Risk Analysis, 8*(2), 177-187.

Liamputtong, P. (2009). *Qualitative research methods* (3rd ed.). South Melbourne, Australia: Oxford
    University Press.

Mason, R. (1998). *The economics of conspicuous consumption: Theory and thought since 1700*.
    Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Noy, C. (2004). This trip really changed me - Backpackers' narrarives of self-change. *Annals of
    Tourism Research, 31*(1), 78-102.

Poster, M. (Ed.). (1988). *Jean Baudrilliard - Selected writings*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University
    Press.

Radel, K. (2010). *The Dreamtime Cultural Centre - A grounded theory of doing business in an
    Indigenous tourism enterprise*. Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy, Central Queensland
    University, Rockhampton.

Radel, K., & Hilllman, W. (in press). 'Not on vacation': Survival escapist travel as an agent of
    transformation. In Y. Reisinger (Ed.), *Transformation tourism*.

Ramstad, Y. (1998). Veblen's propensity for emulation: Is it passé? In D. Brown (Ed.), *Thorstein
    Veblen in the twenty-first century: A commemoration of the theory of the leisure class (1899-
    1999)*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Reichel, A., Fuchs, G., & Uriely, N. (2007). Perceived risk and the non-institutionalized tourist role:
    The case of Israeli student ex-backpackers. *Journal of Travel Research 46*, 217-226.

Reisinger, Y., & Mavondo, F. (2005). Travel anxiety and intentions to travel internationally:
    Implications of travel risk perception. *Journal of Travel Research 43*, 212-225.

Renn, O. (1992). Concepts of risk: A classification. In S. Krimsky & D. Golding (Eds.), *Social
    Theories of Risk*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Richards, G., & Wilson, J. (2009). The Global Nomad: Motivations and Behaviour of Independent
    Travellers Worldwide. In G. Richards & J. Wilson (Eds.), *The Global Nomad: Backpacker
    Travel in Theory and Practice* (pp. 14-39). Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications.

Riley, P. (1988). Road culture of international long-term budget travellers. *Annals of Tourism
    Research, 15*(3), 313-328.

Rojek, C. (1995). Veblen, leisure and human need. *Leisure Studies, 14*, 73-86.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and
    techniques*. Newbury Park, CA.: Sage Publications, Inc.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1994). Grounded theory methodology: An overview. In N. K. Denzin & Y.
    S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 273-285). Thousand Oaks, CA.:
    Sage Publications, Inc.

Thompson, C. (1999). Pearls, pith, and provocation - Qualitative research into nurse decision making:
    Factors for consideration in theoretical sampling. *Qualitative Health Research, 9*(6), 815-828.

Veblen, T. (1899). *The theory of the leisure class: An economic study of institutions*. New York, NY:
    BW Huebsch.

Veblen, T. (1934). *The theory of the leisure class: An economic study of institutions*. Toronto,
    Canada: The Modern Library.

Veblen, T. (1970). *The theory of the leisure class: An economic study of institutions*. London, UK:
    Unwin.

Wilkinson, I. (2001). Social theories of risk perception: At once indispensable and insufficient.
    Current Sociology, 49, 1-22.