Holiday Experiences of Women and Girls over the Life-Course

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Certificate of Authorship

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of the requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that this thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in writing this thesis, and all sources used have, to the best of my knowledge, been acknowledged in this thesis.

Signature of Candidate

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Abstract

This thesis focusses on the lived experiences of women and girls as tourists. While scholarly interest in gender and tourism has developed in recent years, a gendered analysis of the central element of tourism – the tourist – is rare. The study examines the tourist experiences of women of different ages: ages 12, 20, 40 and 65+ years. The conceptual framework for the study is social constructionism, the premises being that the holiday experience is gendered and that there is no *one* woman's experience. To understand how the experience has been constructed, the women have reported their memories of contemporary holidays and memories of holiday experiences at previous ages of their life-course. This thesis examines how the intersection of gender, age/family life stage and historical time produces the tourist/holiday experience. To hear female voices in first person narration and to identify any patterns in their experiences were intentions of the research.

The feminist, social constructionist method "memory-work" developed by Haug and Others (1987) was employed. The method assumes that women's memories of their life experiences are the basis of their knowledge. The aim of memory-work is consciousness raising and empowerment for women. In the present study I was interested in understanding differences amongst women and whether patriarchal structures were more oppressive for some groups than others. As a form of leisure with the implied notion of choice, tourism can be a site of contestation and resistance to existing stereotypes of gender.

That there are many women's tourist experiences was evident in the findings. Differences between age groups/family life stages and historical times suggest women's subjectivity is both contextual and multiple. Holidays could be characterised as: "The Physical Me" at age 12; "The Social Us" at age 20; "Freedom from Them" at age 40 and; "Beyond Me, Us and Them" at age 65+. Nonetheless, there were themes which were common to women's and girls' holiday experiences and which cut across age groups. The primary theme concerned the girls' and women's relationships to others: social connectedness, attentiveness to others and freedom from others. Another theme was the embodiment of the tourist experience.

Power relations were evident through the various discourses. The holiday could be seen as a site for resistance of discourse, for reinforcement of discourse or a tension between the two. Of particular significance are the historical differences suggesting cultural shifts in both gender and age discourses. The concluding chapter proposes directions for research and suggests actions that the tourism industry might consider to provide for women and girls of different ages in order that they experience fully the benefits that can accrue, and which modern-day society has come to expect from holidays.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCING THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about the tourist experiences of women and girls of different ages over the life-course. Through studying memories of good and bad holiday experiences at ages 12, 20, 40 and 65+ years, the research examines how women and girls socially construct their holiday experiences. This introductory chapter provides a background to the study. A personal experience intersects conventional and emerging discourses[1] about holidays to provide the context and rationale for the study. The chapter outlines the direction of the research, including the research questions and aims of the study. The chapter concludes with an outline of the organisation of the thesis.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

There are often a number of factors which lead a researcher to embark on a research project. In my[2] case, the journey began in a library, not my university library but the children's section of my local library. It was a children's picture book which ignited my interest and led me to ponder more thoroughly and deeply my own holiday experiences and those of other women. The seed was sown. A closer review of the tourism literature and the established discourse about holidays led to the realisation that women's experiences were "clearly" invisible. Despite women's presence in the activity of tourism, women were absent in the scholarly knowledge of tourism and holidays. At the same time, other scholars were recognising the enormity of this knowledge gap and proceeding to fill the hole. The present study is a contribution to this endeavour.

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[1] "Discourses are structured ways of knowing which are both produced in, and shape culture. They are always laden with power and institutionalised as practices, which in turn help shape individuals as subjects" (based on Foucault's use of "discourse" in Green 1998, p.123).

[2] I have chosen to write in the first and third person. While contravening the academic rules and tradition regarding writing style, I feel the conventional requirements are not appropriate for the subject matter and not in line with women's style of communication.

A Personal Experience

The book which inspired me (and delighted my 4-year-old daughter) was *Just Us Women* by American author Jeanette Caines (1984).

> *Saturday morning is jump-off time. Aunt Martha and I are going to drive all the way to North Carolina in her new car. Aunt Martha says "No boys and no men, just us women."*
>
> *We made our list last week and double-checked it every night. Aunt Martha forgets things, so I'm her reminder.*
>
> *She picked up two road maps just in case. Last year she forgot the maps and our lunch on the kitchen table.*
>
> *I saved two shoe boxes to pack our lunch in. One for fried chicken and bread and one for cake and napkins. We're going to wrap our food in waxed paper like Aunt Martha did when she was little.*
>
> *We'll stop at all the roadside markets and buy all the junk we like.*
>
> *And there won't be anybody saying, "We can't stop, we got to make it there before suppertime," or "Oh no! We're not stopping again!"*
>
> *If it rains we'll get out of the car and walk. We'll say we walked in the rain in New Jersey or Pennsylvania. Last year we walked in Delaware and Maryland.*
>
> *We'll mosey down the back roads and talk to the farmers and buy their fruits. And if the peaches are ripe we might get a bushel and eat peaches from Virginia to North Carolina.*
>
> *We'll stop and take pictures in front of all the famous statues, and when our chicken runs out, we'll stop at a fancy restaurant.*
>
> *Aunt Martha says when it's warm and wet the mushrooms are just right, but we have to be careful not to pick the poisonous ones. We'll eat a mushroom omelette for dinner, with coffee and tea.*
>
> *We'll turn the day around and have our breakfast at night.*
>
> *When we arrive, they'll all be waiting at the front door saying, "What took you so long?"*
>
> *We'll just tell them we had a lot of girl talk to do between the two of us. No boys and no men - just us women.* (Caines 1984)

The brief 332-word text and illustrations of this picture book for children (ages 4-8) appeared to me, as an adult, to depict the essence of a "good" holiday experience. The back page summary describes the book: "Warm cheerful pictures illustrate this story of a black little girl planning a long car trip with her favorite aunt. The text's

unhurried rhythm reinforces the sense of their relaxed companionable journey" (Caines 1984).

While motivation for touristic (holiday) trips is various, for many, a "relaxed companionable journey" and stay are the core of a good holiday. The book's title and text suggest that, for the book's characters, such an outcome is best achieved without the company of boys and men. The theme of the children's book spurred an interest to pursue the study of women's holidays, a topic which was under-researched in the feminist literature and in the tourism literature. A gender reversal, "Just Us Men", no girls, no women, is equally plausible in the pursuit of a relaxed companionable holiday. It is also a worthy topic of research. However the present research gives women centre stage and limits the study to women and their experiences of holidays.

The Holiday Discourse

Until recently, tourism studies have been accused of androcentrism. L. Johnston (2000) argues that "the study of tourism within the social sciences has been built on Western hierarchical dualisms and tends to produce hegemonic, disembodied and masculinist knowledge" (p.181). This perpetuates discourses of power and "Othering". Davidson (1996b) explains:

> Tourism studies very often begin with the intention of understanding the tourist's motivation and satisfaction in order to provide the 'right' product … Empirical and theoretical work which focuses on individual motivations in order to enhance market viability, will often ignore broader social patterns which reflect inequity and power distribution, as well as ignore the agency of the holidayer or tourist. This type of research, whilst acknowledging differences in experience, and indeed taking great pains to identify behaviour difference according to socio-economic or demographic factors, does little to explain why these differences occur or acknowledge the power relations reflected by those differences. There is a burgeoning concern that research should include issues of power relations around gender, race, class and ability (Kinnaird et al. 1994; Richter 1995). (Davidson 1996b, p.8).

As a background to the study it is useful to document the contemporary, accepted (but masculinist) understanding of tourism and holidays. Davidson (1996b) identified four discourses of holiday. The first discourse is "'Holy day' and connection" (pp.40-41) which stresses sharing, creativity and celebration and is exemplified in motivational studies which include motives of family bonding and social interaction. The second discourse is "Industrialisation and the regulation of time" (pp.41-43) which sees the holiday as time, space and activity separate from paid work. Citing Cunningham, Davidson (1996b) says: "The formalisation and institutionalisation of the holiday in the context of paid work represented a shift in the discourse of the holiday to that of a regulated period of time and corresponded to a popularisation of individual autonomy and liberty" (p.43). Although the above two discourses are not solely discourses of tourism, they are related. The third discourse is that of "Travel and tourism" (pp.43-45) which has been made possible by economic, social and technological developments. Included in this discourse are many types of travel which may or not involve the tourism industry. The final discourse identified by Davidson is the holiday as "Commodity" (pp.45-47), an experience which can be bought, what Wearing and Wearing (1992) refer to as "the ultimate commodified leisure escape" (p.6). The tourism industry develops products and services for different market segments. However, as Davidson (1996b) says, "the commodified holiday is quite deliberately constructed as an experience exclusive to particular groups" (p.46). Bell (cited in Wickens 1994) explains that the "ethic of hedonism, of pleasure and play" (p.820) is an ethic of consumption.

Within these discourses is the expectation that a holiday is a pleasurable experience and a different experience from everyday home life.

> A holiday is time set apart from ordinary life, a change of pace, usually a change of place, an opportunity for re-establishing old ties or exploring new ones, for having an adventure, for pleasure, for doing whatever you want to do, or for doing nothing at all. There is a sense that the normal rules of everyday life are set aside and new ones operate for a time. (Crawford, Kippax, Onyx, Gault & Benton 1992, p.127)

Urry (1990) stresses "the notion of 'departure', of a limited breaking with established routines and practices of everyday life and allowing one's senses to

engage with a set of stimuli that contrast with the everyday and mundane" (p.2). Whether recreationalist or explorer, the tourist goes in search of "otherness" (MacCannell 2001). Tourism is escape, "a break from routine" (Crompton 1979, pp.414-415). According to S. Cohen and Taylor (1976), "More than any other everyday escape, the holiday is a small-scale replica of the great escape messages of our culture" (p.114). Tourism is a "kind of ritual", standing in opposition to everyday life (Graburn 2001, p.42). Elsrud (1998) understands tourism as both "time out" (p.311), related to liminality, and an opportunity to "create" (p.327) time, to recontextualize time with space. Despite the agreement by most that holiday involves escape and a search for difference, there is a lack of agreement as to what it is that individuals are escaping. Consequently there is a difference of opinion as to what tourists are seeking, in other words, what constitutes good and bad (or "not so good") holiday experiences. Although most tourism writers conceive of the holiday experience as different from the home experience, it has recently been postulated (Richards 2002; McCabe 2002) that the distinctions between the extraordinary experience of tourism and the ordinary experience of home are becoming blurred. As McCabe (2002) argues, "tourism is now so pervasive in postmodern society that, rather than conceiving tourism as a 'departure' from the routines and practices of everyday life, tourism has become an established part of everyday life culture and consumption" (p.63). Such a view, however, neglects to address why tourists still travel elsewhere for leisure and pleasure reasons. Clark and Clift (1994) acknowledge that "Research on tourist motivation has failed to produce a unified theory of influences to travel, and has been somewhat hampered by tourists' inability to explain their decisions and desires" (p.1). It is not the purpose of this thesis to comprehensively review the motivational writings in tourism studies. However, the writings of those scholars frequently cited and the reasons they give for touristic travel will be summarised.

The following themes of travel motivation can be seen as travel discourse or travel narratives but, as Simmons (2001) says, few have classified their themes as such. MacCannell (1976), challenging Boorstin's (1971) notion that tourists travel to experience superficial, pseudo-events, asserts that modern man [*sic*] is alienated from his traditional roots and, having lost the spirituality of religion, travels elsewhere in search of the real life of others, to experience authenticity. As the

tourist experience becomes more commercialised and homogenous, there follows an "*antitourism*, which promises *real* as opposed to *tourist* experiences" (MacCannell 2001, p.382). Other writers have identified a variety of reasons for travel. Crompton (1979), frequently cited in tourist motivation studies, claimed there were two groups of motives, the socio-psychological motives or push factors which explain the desire to take a touristic trip and the cultural motives, the pull factors, which explain the choice of destination. Behind these needs is an overall need for a break from routine. The motives considered as socio-psychological are "escape from a perceived mundane environment", "exploration and evaluation of self", "relaxation", "prestige", "regression", "enhancement of kinship relations" and "facilitation of social interaction". The cultural motives are "novelty" and "education" (pp.416-421). Taking a different approach, Pearce (1993) applied Maslow's hierarchy of needs to tourist behaviour in the form of a travel career system. Likening the steps or stages of travel to a ladder, Pearce conceived of tourist motivation in terms of a travel career ladder. Pearce, Morrison and Rutledge (1998) explain, "The travel career ladder retains Maslow's ideas that lower levels on the ladder usually have to be satisfied before the person moves to higher levels of the ladder" (p.42). Starting at the bottom of the ladder, these needs are "physiological", "safety/security", "relationship", "self-esteem/development" and "fulfillment" needs (p.44). Each of the needs may be self- or other-directed. People tend to ascend the ladder as they increase their travel experience. Both Crompton and Pearce acknowledge that travel needs may be multiple. S. Cohen and Taylor (cited in Davidson 1996b) propose that the holiday, away from the clutter of everyday life, is a site to maintain an identity. Holidays are also seen as a site in which one can be a different kind of person than the one at home. The association of holidays and hedonism is prevalent in a Western society. Since touristic travel is discretionary and undertaken with the expectation of satisfying leisure needs, individuals have the opportunity to select activities in which they can feel competent and exhibit competency.

Tourism is considered a commonly sought aspect of the modern experience (MacCannell 1976; Graburn 1983a; Van Doren & Lollar 1985; Urry 1990; Clark & Clift 1994). As Van Doren and Lollar (1985) said, "It is considered to be a right" (p.479). Indeed the tourist is seen as a "metaphor of the (post-) modern condition"

(Jokinen & Veijola 1997, p.24). Since both men and women participate in such a significant social activity a gender analysis is required.

Most studies which have examined motivation have not taken a gendered approach, an age approach or historical approach. Each theorist has presented his list of leisure travel motives as if they were static and universal. Not only are they presented as gender-, age- and historically neutral but they are also neutral according to other dimensions such as class, race, sexuality and ethnicity. It is often difficult to know to whom the travel motives apply. Breathnach, Henry, Drea and O'Flaherty (1994) explain the omission of gender from tourism studies.

> Conventionally, gender studies argue that, where no allowance is made for gender differences in social research, this is because of a gender bias which subsumes female behaviour into that of the dominant male pattern. However, in the case of tourism, it may be that the underlying assumption is that tourists travel as couples or family groups with shared aspirations and objectives. (p.57)

This limited perception of tourists is confirmed by other tourism writers (Urry 1990; Marshment 1997).

> Unlike markets for so many other goods and services (clothes, cosmetics, magazines and so on), the holiday market is not constructed along gender lines. This has the plus of constructing holidays as not gender-specific and thereby not excluding women as participants and consumers but, simultaneously, the minus of rendering invisible the economic and social differences between women and men that affect their ability to take holidays on the same basis. (Marshment 1997, p.18)

Where studies of tourist behaviour note gender, "data are seldom analysed and presented in a meaningful way" (Norris & Wall 1994, p.58). The scholarship is usually from the perspective of dichotomous (male/female) differences without an explanation or deconstruction of such differences.

Gender and Holidays

Changes in women's social position in recent times have increased the propensity of women to travel for both leisure and business purposes. A decade ago, Hwu (1993) and Kelley (1993) noted an increase in the female travel market. Marshman (1997) also reported a PATA study which found "women were at the high growth end of the travel market" (p.4) with women dominating nature-based, adventure and cultural tourism. Examination of Australian domestic tourism data from the *National Visitors' Survey* for the years 2000 to 2003 (Bureau of Tourism Research unpublished data) consistently indicates that overnight trips for touristic purposes (holidays/leisure or visiting friends and relatives) are more likely to be taken by women than by men. A closer inspection of the travel data shows that the number of overnight trips for holidays or leisure is greater for men than for women but the number of overnight trips to visit friends and relatives is considerably greater for women than for men. When visitor nights away from home are considered, gender differences in travel for holiday or leisure are not great, and not consistent in the direction of the difference. However, when men and women are compared in terms of nights away from home for the purpose of visiting friends and relatives, there is a considerable gender difference with women spending nearly fifty percent more visitor nights than do men in visiting friends and relatives (see Appendix A). Australian outbound figures for the years 2000 to 2003 (Australian Bureau of Statistics unpublished data) reveal that women also dominate both the outbound holiday market and the outbound visiting friends/relatives market (see Appendix A). These findings demonstrate a trend from an earlier report, based on 1998 figures (Collins & Tisdell 2002b), which concluded that women are the larger segment of the Australian outbound tourist market. The relative size of the female tourist market is one reason for demanding the inclusion of gender in tourism studies.

Recognising the absence of gender research in the tourism literature, researchers in the past decade have sought to remedy the situation, examining gender relationships from the perspective of gendered tourism marketing, impacts on host women at the destination, the employment of women in the tourism industry and, to a lesser extent, women as tourists. It is the tourist, the central element of the tourism phenomenon, who is the focus of the current research. Nevertheless, the tourist experience can be fully understood only within the broader gendered context which includes the gendered

society from which the tourist originates and the gendered society encountered at the destination. As Rao (1995) says:

> Our diverse and complex social structures, economic, social, cultural, political and environmental are conditioned by **gendered relations**. Tourism engages in all these structures in the process of its change, with consequences for the marginalised individuals and communities that become part of its structure. (Rao 1995, p.30)

While the tourism literature has been accused of being gender-blind, the mainstream tourism industry in its provision of services and facilities has also neglected women tourists. However, there are emerging signs that some sectors of the industry are responding to the suggestion that men and women might travel differently (Dole 2002). Responses include all-women travel companies (particularly for adventure travel). Matthews-Sawyer, McCullough and Myers (2002) report more than eighty companies in North America offering adventure travel specifically developed for women. Other endeavours are the publication of travel guides for women and gendered facilities and services in some 5-star hotels and backpacker hostels. Nonetheless, these developments are not overwhelming and a number of feminist-inspired operations established in the 1980s and 1990s have disappeared owing to a changing social attitude and economic position of feminist businesses. Aitchison and Reeves (1998) believe "gains in the gay market may have been at the expense of the feminist market" (p.66). With the exception of gendered accommodation facilities, most *mainstream* consideration of gender is restricted to published travel advice to women and tales of women's travel rather than any concerted effort to change the gendered experience the women will encounter in travel.

The tourist experience is located within not only a gendered milieu but also a context based on age, social class, family life stage, sexuality, dis/ability, ethnicity and historical location. Within tourism studies, these other frameworks have also been neglected to varying degrees. The literature traditionally has imagined the tourist as a white, heterosexual, middle-class, able-bodied, young to middle-aged adult male with a traditional family structure. While there is a developing scholarly interest (often generated by the perceived market potential) in certain subjectivities, homosexual, disabled and senior tourists, other identities based on race/ethnicity,

socio-economic class and family life stage have largely been ignored. Where studies have considered tourism from any of the above perspectives, the focus has been one-dimensional; tourism scholarship rarely addresses the intersection of these identities, or considers them within historical time. From other fields of study we find that when gender intersects other subjectivities, not all women are equal. If women are Other, then there are "Other" Others.

Age and Holidays

In recent years, tourism scholars have turned their attention to the tourist experience of different age groups. However, while senior tourists and, to a lesser extent, youth tourists have captured the attention of tourism scholars, children and middle-age tourists have attracted little interest. From the perspective of the tourism industry, age is more likely than gender to be a segmenting variable. Acknowledgement that different age groups of tourists might have different needs is reflected in the industry's marketing and service and facility provision for different age groups. The industry caters for children through Kids Clubs in resorts and on cruise ships, children's attractions and child-focussed interpretation at heritage attractions. The young adult market is recognised by the industry through the backpacker sector and clubs and tours for the 18-35-year-olds. In Australia, the tourism industry has embraced and fostered Schoolies Week while in the United States Spring Break is a recognised student ritual for which the industry caters. It is less clear how the tourism industry provides for the middle-age market. Perhaps the general tourism product is considered relevant to this group. Many in this age group fall into the family travel market; thus, the industry might interpret catering for children as catering for parents. Recent initiatives have been directed at the single-parent travel market and, although targeted at both parents, tend to attract mothers rather than fathers. These tour operators have recognised the needs of parent/mother and children, providing opportunities for family time and time apart with other single parents (Sakakeeny 2004). The senior market is targeted by specialist tour operators such as Saga holidays and the non-profit US-based organisation Elderhostel. Holidays for senior singles "à la 'Club Med'" have been suggested (Leitner & Leitner 1996, p.435) although as Environmetrics (1991) warns, "It would indeed be very easy to 'do it wrong' in this segment" (p.43). Other initiatives such as the *Healthy Aging Guidebook* produced by the international hotel group Accor in

conjunction with Harvard University Health Services can be seen as a development which acknowledges the tourist experience as aged (Bayes 2001). In Australia, the Seniors Card Tourism Scheme aims "to encourage travel as a healthy activity for seniors, encourage tourism operators to develop specific product designed for this market, improve information available to seniors on tourism and help operators overcome perceived barriers restricting senior travel" (Bayes 2001, p.18).

THE STUDY

This thesis examines how the intersection of gender and other identities produces the tourist/holiday experience. The women and girls who participated in the research shared certain identities: race/ethnicity (white, Anglo-Australian), socio-economic class (middle-class), sexuality (heterosexual) and able-bodiedness. They differed in terms of age/family life stage[3] and historical time. The focus of study was women's and girls' good and bad holiday experiences at different ages/family life stages and the women's and girls' explanations of these experiences. To hear female voices, both the single and plural voice, in first person narration, was the intention of the research. The study looked for patterns of holiday experiences. It examined the relationship between holiday experiences and age (individual time)/family life stage (family time) and historical time. With 1913 being the birth year of the oldest participant and 1987 the birth year of the youngest, the holiday experiences spanned the years from 1925 until the end of the century.

The holiday discourse, in viewing tourism as an "escape" from the home environment, can simultaneously reveal life "at home", that from which one is escaping. As Blunt (1994a) says, travel reveals "as much about constructions of 'home' as 'away'" (p.52). According to Graburn (1983a), tourism styles "may be leading indicators of fundamental changes which are taking place in a class or national culture, changes which may be latent in the more restricting institutions of the everyday world" (p.29). Tourist behaviour might also reflect changes along other dimensions such as gender, age, sexuality, disability and family structure. Studies of leisure and tourist behaviour

[3] Chronological age can be related to income, family life stage, ability/disability etc. In examining one form of identity, one must be aware of other linkages. In the present study, chronological age (individual time) coincided with family life stage (family time). See the description of participants in Chapter 6. References to age imply a family life stage. At ages 20 and 40 the family life stage was specified for participant eligibility.

can expand our knowledge of people's life experiences. Much of the literature in other fields of study which focusses on particular age groups, such as youth and older people, relates to problems. Research into holidays can give a more balanced view of the lives of different age groups within particular societies.

I share the view of Kinnaird, Kothari and Hall (1994) that "tourism processes are gendered in their construction, presentation and consumption, and the form of this gendering is configured in different and diverse ways which are both temporally and spatially specific" (p.2). The processes which are socially constructed "inevitably embody power, inequality and control" (Kinnaird et al. 1994, p.8). The present study was undertaken within a feminist, social constructionist paradigm. The approach assumes that the tourist/holiday experience is not a neutral social practice but, rather, is socially and historically contingent. There is therefore no single women's experience; experience is shaped by various discourses. The focus of the research led to the formulation of the following research questions:

1. Within each age cohort of women and girls what are the commonalities/ differences in the holiday memories at a specified age?
2. What are the commonalities/differences in holiday memories between same-aged women and girls at different historical times?
3. What are the commonalities/differences in holiday memories of women and girls of different ages at one historical time – the late 1990s?
4. How has each cohort constructed the holiday experience over their life-course?
5. How can one theorise the holiday experiences of women and girls?

While questions 2 and 3 could be considered "cross-sectional", question 4 is thought of as "longitudinal" in terms of memories over the life-course.

The research method employed to address these questions was the feminist social constructionist method, "memory-work" developed by Haug and Others (1987). The method is concerned with how women construct themselves into and through existing social relations. The method presumes that women are not socialised by others, but rather are active in the process. Women's memories of their life experiences are the

basis of their knowledge. The aim of memory-work is consciousness raising and empowerment for women. A feminist approach attempts to understand the patriarchal structures which oppress women and to effect change for the betterment of women. In the present study I was interested in understanding differences amongst women and whether patriarchal structures were more oppressive for some groups than others. As a form of leisure with the implied notion of choice, tourism can be a site of contestation and resistance to existing stereotypes of gender. Relevant to the study of women's tourist experience is the acknowledged leisure benefit of identity formation (see Mannell & Kleiber 1997). In other words, through leisure women can become more confident and affirmed in their identity to enable them to "resist oppression in all aspects of their lives" (Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw & Freysinger, 1996, p.8). On the other hand, the holiday might be a site for the reinforcement of gendered subjectivities.

The present study is exploratory, rather than hypothesis-testing. I was interested in the emergent themes of the different age/family life stage groups. The research was grounded in the sense that theory was constructed inductively. The emergence of themes in the data led me to explore the relevant literature from many disciplines outside my own. Nonetheless, as a tourism academic, I was not unaware of the literature from leisure studies and tourism studies relating to gender and age/family life stage. I could not escape this existent knowledge. It would be naïve to imagine that the themes which emerged are completely independent of me and my subjectivities. This thesis is written within what Iverson (1997) calls "a 'Western' orientation of thought regarding tourist behaviour and culture" (p.41). It is also written within a middle-aged, middle-class, white, able-bodied, heterosexual, woman's perspective. A purpose of the thesis is academic accreditation which precludes the feminist goal of truly collective research. I had to take responsibility for the research. However, I hope my similar positioning with the women along the social dimensions (with the exception of age/family life stage of three of the cohorts) allowed me to represent them within the constraints of academe. The data, the tourist experiences, reported and discussed were "familiar" to me. I was hearing the experiences of my mother's generation, my own generation, my students' generation and my daughter's generation. I developed a method of data analysis which had the advantage of being systematic and thorough, while allowing me to stay close to the data in a way that felt most comfortable to me as someone positioned with the group.

The present study draws on the work of feminist researchers from a range of disciplines and fields of study, such as tourism studies, leisure studies, cultural geography, anthropology, sociology, psychology and gerontology. The relationship of tourism to leisure implies that the progress made by leisure researchers in the study of gender should benefit tourism researchers with a similar focus. However, while the knowledge generated from leisure studies is relevant to the tourist, the touristic or holiday experience which involves at least one night away from home can be seen as qualitatively different from the leisure experience with no overnight stay.

Feminist research which has foregrounded women as the focus of study has often been accused of making women's experiences visible at the expense of men's. I have been challenged by male academics for studying one gender. Despite the historical absence of women's experiences in tourism studies, there is the assumption that one can only study women by comparing women to men, in other words, by studying gender differences. As stated by Henderson and Bialeschki (1992), putting women at the centre of analysis is a "corrective mechanism", thus reversing the traditional approach of placing men at the centre, the benchmark, to which women are compared. The study of gender relations does not require the inclusion of men and women as research participants. Gender relations can be studied from the perspective of one gender. In the same vein, if a tourism researcher wants to understand the Japanese travel market, no one questions or expects that the researcher should include Americans (or any other nationality) in the study!

Aims of the Study

The intention of the present study is sixfold. Firstly it is to contribute to the academic literature on tourism and to make visible and give voice to those who have been invisible and voiceless. Secondly, it is to contribute to other fields of study (gender studies, gerontology, child development etc.) and expand on what some see as the more "serious" issues of life with the "play" aspects of tourism to give a fuller understanding of the person. Thirdly, if tourism is an escape from life at home, the tourist experience can enlighten us on the ordinary, everyday which can be difficult to research simply because we are so embedded in it. Fourthly, the aim is to inform the tourism industry

of the gendered and aged tourist experience and the differences amongst women so that the industry can provide appropriately for women of different ages/family life stages, thus allowing them to enjoy the full benefits of tourism. In turn the industry benefits from knowledge of the market. Fifthly, it is hoped that this research which has examined some of the more privileged groups of women will be a starting point to investigate the experiences of others: women with a disability, women who are lesbians, women who are single mothers, women who are working class, women from developing countries, women of different races and so on. Finally, the aim is to expose the tourist experience to women themselves who, hopefully, through collective understanding will become more knowing and empowered to actively engage with such knowledge to better their lives both on holiday and at home.

Definition of Terms

Throughout the thesis, the terms "holiday" and "tourism" are used interchangeably. I have employed the following definition of tourism as a framework within which to discuss tourist/holiday experiences.

> **Tourism** is travel and temporary stay, involving at least one night away from the region of a person's usual home, that is undertaken with the major expectation of satisfying leisure needs that are perceived as being better able to be satisfied outside the home region. (based on Stear 2004)

Those who participate in the activity are tourists or holidaymakers. The definition of tourist is born from the definition of tourism.

> **A tourist** is a person engaging in activities directly associated with their travel and temporary stay that involves at least one night away from the region of their usual home and is undertaken with the major expectation of satisfying leisure needs that are perceived as being better able to be satisfied outside the home region. (based on Stear 2004)

While the terms "tourism", "tourist" and "touristic" experience are, from a scholarly perspective, more accurate representations of the activity under study ("holiday" does not necessarily mean travel and temporary stay), I felt that "holiday" more closely

reflected the "everyday", "commonsense" understanding of the activity I was studying. Negative (and often limiting) connotations of "tourism" can lead individuals to disassociate themselves from the activity and from identifying as "tourists". In instructions to the participants, an abbreviated form of Stear's (2004) tourism definition was applied to "holiday".

> **Holiday** means travelling and staying at least one night away from home for the purposes of leisure and pleasure.

Those who participate in a holiday are "holidaymakers" and their experiences are "holiday" experiences.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on women leisure "travellers". While the common understanding of "traveller" implies someone finer than the more frivolous "tourist" or "holidaymaker" (Boorstin 1971), from an academic perspective, and for the purpose of the present study, the concept of "traveller", like that of holidaymaker, is subsumed in the definition of "tourist".

The definition of gender employed in the present thesis stresses that gender is negotiated and fluid and that it is not, as might appear, a "given". Inherent in notions of gender are power relationships and the possibility for resistance. Gender cannot be understood without reference to biological sex and presumed sexual orientation.

> **Gender** is the socially constructed and contested cultural meaning associated with one biological sex and sexual orientation in relation to another.

ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

The thesis is organised as follows. Chapter 1 has provided a background to the study and outlined the aims of the study and the research questions to be investigated.

Chapters 2 and 3 review the literature on women and tourism. Since historical time was a dimension of study in the present research and since the memories in the present thesis cover a span of seventy-five years, it was considered useful to examine the

tourist experiences of women in the preceding years of the twentieth century and the nineteenth century to give background and comparison to women's current experiences. I am aware, however, that our understanding of the nineteenth-century woman traveller is constructed from our position in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The burgeoning interest in the intrepid Victorian lady travellers through republication of their writings, the development of anthologies and academic critiques have resulted in quite an extensive literature on this tourist subject. Chapter 2 reviews women's past and contemporary accounts of their leisure travel. Chapter 3 examines the academic literature on tourism and gender. Since the tourist experiences gender relations in all spheres of tourism, it is appropriate to provide a comprehensive review of tourism and gender. Of particular focus, however, is the literature related to the woman *as traveller* and more specifically the woman *as tourist*. Although a distinction is made between the woman business traveller and the woman leisure traveller (tourist), there are likely to be shared gendered travel experiences. Included in this chapter is a review of relevant leisure literature associated with gender.

Chapter 4 reviews the literature relating to tourism and age. The review is organised into the age groups which are the focus of study in this thesis: children, youth, middle-aged and senior tourists. It is apparent that most of the research has focussed on senior tourists and youth and appears to be the result of the market potential of these sectors. Children are unlikely to be final decision makers. Middle-aged tourists have certainly been studied but the absence of a *focus* on this age group is assumed to mean that researchers and industry see nothing distinctive about this age group to warrant special treatment. Literature which deals with tourist experiences across the life-course is also reviewed in this chapter. As the reader progresses through this chapter she/he will realise that most of the studies originate within a positivist framework and deal with age separately. There are few which are concerned with the interstices of other dimensions of subjectivity such as gender. While it is recognised that leisure studies have developed a literature on age and leisure, a comprehensive review of that literature was beyond the scope of the present study.

Chapter 5 outlines the conceptual framework, feminist social constructionism, within which I have designed and undertaken the study and interpreted the results. In this chapter I address what I understand to be the nature of reality, how reality is known

and who are the knowers. The literature presented in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 highlights the current limitations in tourism studies in terms of what is known and who are the knowers. A social constructionist paradigm accepts that it is through language that we construct ourselves and are constructed. Meaning comes about through experience and intersubjectivity. Subjectivity is seen as the "collision" of discourses. The self is considered to be fluid and multiple rather than static and unitary, thus offering women the possibility for change. Women are seen as agentic rather than determined and, within limitations, can resist the constraints of the tourist experience.

While Chapter 5 provides the epistemological and ontological context for the research, Chapter 6 describes the methodological approach to the research. The employed research method, memory-work, is explained in terms of its history and development, philosophy and procedure. Since the reader may be unfamiliar with the method, recent applications of memory-work across a wide range of disciplines and fields of study are cited. The method of data analysis and interpretation of the findings are discussed at the end of this chapter.

Chapters 7 to 11 present the findings of the research. Chapter 7 includes a summary of the findings of all age groups at different ages/family life stages of the life-course. Also included in this chapter are emergent themes not specific to any age group but which cut across all groups. These themes tended to be related to the tourism industry (accommodation, meals, transport and environment of the destination) and were included in the women's and girls' memories as background description, as context. The following four chapters are dedicated to the findings from each of the four age groups: Chapter 8 focusses on holidays at age 12; Chapter 9 focusses on holidays at age 20; Chapter 10 focusses on holidays at age 40 and Chapter 11 focusses on holidays at age 65+ years. Each chapter compares the memories of the current members of that age group with the memories of the older women recalling memories at that previous age. The construction of the tourist experience is examined. Each chapter is divided into two parts. Part 1 presents the voices of the women and girls recalling holidays at that age and Part 2 is my, the researcher's, interpretation of the emergent themes. The structuring of these chapters in terms of results and analysis approximates Phases 2 and 3 of the research method as discussed in Chapter 6.

Chapter 12 is a critique of the research method in the context of the present study. Since the reader might be unfamiliar with memory-work, a detailed evaluation is provided of the defining features of the method, related ethical issues and the emotional experience of being involved in memory-work.

Chapter 13 addresses the research questions posed in Chapter 1 and identifies the broad themes, common to all (or most) of the age/family life stage groups, which emerged in Chapters 8 to 11. These themes are suggested as the basis of a theory of women's and girls' holiday experiences.

Chapter 14 concludes the thesis with a discussion of the implications of the findings for the tourism industry and further directions for tourism research. The means by which women and girls might contest gendered and aged discourses is proposed.

CHAPTER 2: GENDER AND TOURISM: LITERARY ACCOUNTS AND ADVICE FOR WOMEN TRAVELLERS

INTRODUCTION

> Women … move through the world differently than men. The constraints and perils, the perceptions and complex emotions women journey with are different from those of men. (Morris, Mary 1993, p.xv)

An interest in women's travel experiences is evident in the number of English language publications filling the travel sections of bookshops in recent years. The genres include autobiography, biography, anthology, bibliography, retelling and critiques of women traveller writers. The glossy coffee-table book *The Illustrated Virago Book of Women Travellers* (Morris, Mary & O'Connor 2000) is testament to the current popularity of women's travel publications. Middleton (1982) says of her own publication:

> In the seventeen years since *Victorian Lady Travellers* was first published, the subject has been taken up with increasing enthusiasm both in Great Britain and (even more so) in the United States. My book, based largely on the writings of the ladies themselves, seems to have set a fashion and to have opened a door into the past for a generation eager to trace the roots from which spring today's feminist movements. My travellers are seen by many as blazing a trail for the Women's Liberation movement … (Middleton 1982, p.xv)

The accounts of earlier women travellers sit side by side in the bookstore with those of contemporary travel writers such as Robyn Davidson, Bettina Selby and Dervla Murphy and collections of modern writings such as the Rough Guides (Jansz, Davies, Drew & McDougall 1999) and Travelers' Tales Guides (Bond, M. 1995, 2003; McCauley 1998; Bond, M. & Michael 1998, 1999; McCauley, Carlson & Leo 2000). Some anthologies (such as Morris, Mary 1993) combine travel writings from different historical periods.

Despite the interest in the journeys of women over the past few decades, McLeod and Frederick (1993) proclaim, "the existing body of travel criticism is still overwhelmingly male-centred" (p. xiii). As M. Bond (1995) says:

> … while more and more women of all ages and means are taking to the road, the lion's share of travel books are by men and geared to men and their view of our small blue universe. And no matter how egalitarian the writer, there are often things missing for the woman traveler and reader. (Bond 1995, p.xiii)

When The British Council exhibition, *Writers Abroad,* supported by Thomas Cook, was staged in Sydney in 1992, the absence of women travel writers was noticeable. In the six- page Introduction of the catalogue by Jonathan Raban, the only woman mentioned was Jan Morris. Of the fifty-six writers exhibited, only seven were women.

Nonetheless, women *are* writing about their own travel experiences and critiquing the experiences of others, often from a feminist perspective. The present chapter examines the literary accounts of past and contemporary women travellers. I regretted not having the time to read all of the women travellers' first-hand accounts: I had to accept that that was not the focus of *my* thesis; that was someone else's! The focus of this chapter is women leisure "travellers". As stated in Chapter 1, "traveller" is subsumed in the definition of "tourist".

LITERARY ACCOUNTS OF WOMEN TRAVELLERS

From the Private to the Public Realm

Within the society from which women's travel accounts emerge, men travel; women stay at home. Women, like Penelope in Homer's *The Odyssey* wait at home while their Odysseus voyages (Lawrence 1994). In a study of the masculine journey (depicted in Australian bush literature and paintings) Rowley (1991) identifies woman's spatial and temporal position. She explains that "three features have great significance for the representation of women: the emphasis on the boundary between the interior and the exterior; the representation of the interior as the place of men's departure and return; and immobilised waiting as the surrogate action of women" (Rowley 1991, p.72). While the metaphysical poet John Donne in his compass conceit in "A Valediction: forbidding mourning" (Gardner 1972) might be intending unity, interdependence and

equality between man and woman, in his metaphor of the compass as the relationship it is the woman who is the "fixt foot" and the man who is the roving foot. The woman only moves with the man.

> Thy soule the fixt foot, makes no show
> To move, but doth, if the' other doe.
>
> And though it in the center sit,
> Yet when the other far doth rome,
> It leanes, and hearkens after it,
> And growes erect, as it comes home.
>
> Such wilt thou be to mee, who must
> Like th'other foot, obliquely runne;
> Thy firmness makes my circle just,
> And makes me end, where I begunne.

The poem argues for the superiority of the couple's love and claims that their spiritual love is enhanced by their physical separation. However it was the poet, Donne, and not his wife who was the adventurer![1]

Despite the fact that some women did travel prior to Victorian times, they were, according to Tyler (cited in Schriber 1997), "accidental tourists". Travel was for religious purposes, practical purposes or out of necessity (Schriber 1997). It was not until the 1800s that women travelled out of choice and for pleasure purposes, from the private realm into the public.

The association of women with private space and the home and men with public space and travel continues. Meaghan Morris (1988) interprets Sam Shepherd's *Motel Chronicles*:

[1] It is believed that the poem was given by Donne to his wife when he left to go to France with Sir Robert Drury in November 1611 (Gardner 1972).

> On the left-hand page, a poem: the world-weary drifter declares, in a moment of 'domesticating' his experiences while not-at-home, 'I've about seen/ all the nose jobs capped teeth and silly-cone tits I can handle/ I 'm heading back to my natural woman'. On the right, a photograph of a woman in a house or motel laundry – her body balanced beautifully between the ironing board and the washing machine … Labour is inscribed on both sides: Man on voyage (writing poem) positions Woman in *domus* (with washing). (Morris, Meaghan 1988, p.12)

Travel and Freedom

Robinson (1991) notes that it is the intrepid Victorian spinster who is the stereotype of a woman traveller of the past. Middleton (1982) describes this "Victorian lady traveller":

> Travel was an individual gesture of the house-bound, man-dominated Victorian woman. Trained from birth to an almost impossible ideal of womanly submission and self-discipline, of obligation to class and devotion to religion, she had need of an emotional as well as of an intellectual outlet. This she found, often late in life, in travel, and though her dignity never wavered, and she seems to have imposed her severe moral standards on the very rough company in which she often found herself, she was able to enjoy a freedom of action unthinkable at home. Fortified by a kind of innocent valour, convinced of the civilizing mission of woman, clothed in long skirts and armed with an umbrella or sunshade according to the climate, the nineteenth-century woman traveller covered thousands of miles – writing, painting, observing, botanizing, missionizing, collecting and, latterly, photographing. (Middleton 1982, p.4)

Adventure was a motivation of the Victorian lady traveller (Enloe 1990). However, it is important to remember that "for most women of means, travel adventures were not on the horizon" (Richter 1994, p.148). The connection between women's travel and freedom is emphasised by the writers. Birkett (1991) explains that the "spinsters abroad" identified more with the lives of their fathers than with the cloistered lives of mothers or sisters but, nonetheless, the desire for self-fulfilment through travel only became reality when their role as dutiful daughter/sister/wife/mother was no longer required.

> Women travellers found in the Dark Continent, the Orient, the Savage Lands, the stage upon which their new experiences as travellers could be realized and a heady sense of freedom which was – like all opiates – addictive and consuming … They felt, many for the first time, irresponsible – the calls and duties of their homes fading away into the greyness with which they depicted the British Isles. (Birkett 1991, p.47)

As one traveller of the time, Rosita Forbes, said, "We breathed more freely" (Birkett, 1991, p.48). The women were "forging an independent identity" (Romero 1992, p.9), escaping a "claustrophobic" home life (Frederick & Hyde 1993, p. xix) and the "soul-destroying monotony of Victorian life" (Russell, M. 1994, p.185). Ingemanson (1993) goes further, to say that, for many Victorian women, "real life – active and mobile – was possible *only* on the road" (p.12). A case study of non-English-speaking European women travellers reveals similar motivations: "Travel was a discovery of the 'Other' but also, and above all, a 'self-discovery'" (Garcia-Ramon & Albet i Mas 2002p.51). They too were escaping a patriarchal Western society.

> … social and personal transgressions were only possible as they took place away from Europe and did not challenge patriarchal constructions back home. And indeed, such transgressions were a substantial part of the joy and pleasure they could find in their traveling. (Garcia-Ramon & Albet i Mas 2002, p.52)

It is claimed that, for many of the Victorian women, health came to them only when travelling. They were not only mentally energised but physically invigorated by the activity of travel (Birkett 1991). The commonality portrayed amongst these women travellers is the nature of their travel: intrepid, stalwart, exotic and out of the ordinary, crossing "the boundaries of convention and traditional feminine restraints" (Robinson 1991, p.ix). For the women travellers of the past, travelling without an escort was considered risky, both physically and morally. However, Frederick and Hyde (1993) claim that "when the journeyer exults in danger and celebrates her survival, she is glorying in the *freedom* to be in danger" (p.xxii). The women sometimes followed their husbands but many travelled alone funded by their families and with the prestige of their nationality. However, M. Russell (1994) points out that few of the women travelled entirely on their own. For the Victorian woman traveller, "alone" meant "unaccompanied by someone of her own social class" (Russell, M. 1994, p.182).

Whether with or without husbands, travelling for pleasure "was generally an option only for the childless" (Dawson cited in Harris 2002, p.71). Love affairs or companionship were not what they sought.

> … they loved their relations and friends but they loved also to escape, to be themselves under foreign skies with no personal demands and obligatory duties – heaven forbid that a devoted sister should join them in the South seas or the affairs of a favourite niece detain them in London! (Middleton 1982, p.10)

At the same time that Victorian women were engaged in intrepid travel, women's independent travel had been made easier, safer and respectable by the development of the railways and steam ships, the travel agent and the guided tour established by Thomas Cook. According to Urry (1990), "women considerably outnumbered men" (p.24) on these tours.

> By the 1850s Britain's more adventurous middle-class women were beginning to earn their own income and to think about travelling for pleasure, if not to West Africa, at least to Germany. They still needed to safeguard their respectability in order to stay marriageable and so were looking for a chaperoned tour led by an honourable man. (Enloe 1990, p.29)

Unlike the reported "elderly, dreary, sad-looking men" of these tour groups, the women were described as "intensely lively, wide-awake, and facetious" (Lever cited in Littlewood 2001, p.62). According to Littlewood (2001) the package tour had set them free from the constraints at home. Their liberating experience contained an element of the erotic as the physical world impacted on their senses. As Littlewood (2001) says, "the male tourist was not the only one making love to Italy. By the end of the nineteenth century there were more women tourists than men in southern Europe" (p.62). However, the literature reveals less about these travellers, often denigrated as "tourists", than it does about the more intrepid, though fewer in number, women travellers. According to Birkett (1991), the "intrepid" women travellers "rejected the title of 'tourist', which held none of the assumptions of racial privilege or masculine power" (p.121). Female tourists or "globetrotters/trotteresses" were commonly

American and referred to by Curzon in *The Times* as "one of the horrors of the latter end of the nineteenth century" (Birkett 1991, p.220).

Going beyond the Victorian years into the twentieth century, Aitken (1987) claims that women travellers continued to travel to escape domesticity, "for all of them, 'abroad' was where they existed most fully" (p.9). In examining women tourists, past and present, K. Butler (1995) concludes that "in spite of technological and social advances, tourism was and remains a significant method for Western women to gain independence from their domestic environments" (p.489). K. Butler compares women to men for whom travel "was only one among several means of gaining self-defining experience away from their homes, spouses, and offspring" (p.488).

Freedom in the natural world has been a theme for past and present women travellers. Gendered physical abilities as well as emotional strengths are highlighted in C. Smith's (1989) analysis of the freedom-seeking women adventurers and mountaineers in western Canada from the end of the nineteenth century until World War 2. C. Smith (1989) quotes Feuz, one of the elite Swiss guides of the Canadian Pacific Railway:

> 'The women climbed as well as the men. … Most ladies were not quite so strong, pound for pound, especially in the arms and shoulders; and most could not handle heavy loads. … But women have better balance than men and, on delicate rock, better ability with their fingers. The real strength of women climbers is in their morale. Men can panic when things go wrong, but women rarely do. I think they have greater survivability. I know they have greater enthusiasm'. (Smith, C. 1989, p.18)

In a collection of biographies of women climbers from the nineteenth century until the present, Birkett and Peascod (1990) claim:

> the thread that links them inexorably together is freedom. It is a freedom which has not been easily won, and which often has been conditional on contemporary social pressures. On many occasions the physical and mental difficulties of the climbing itself have proved secondary to the prejudices and problems imposed by society. (Birkett & Peascod 1990, p.13)

The same has been written about woman canoeists. Niemi and Wieser (1987) conclude from their collection of the writings of women canoeists from 1900 to the present:

> one of the joys of canoeing for women has been getting away from the rules and the selves we're supposed to be in society. Especially when our canoeing companions are other women, we get to make up the rules, new ways to be. (Niemi & Wieser 1987, p.6)

Whether the canoeing story was written by mothers sharing the experience with children, girls establishing camping friendships or older women having fun, the stories demonstrated "women finding joy and strength in each other" (Niemi & Wieser 1987, p.6).

Travel and Personal Exploration

For the women travellers of the past, there were tensions in being a woman in a man's world. As Birkett (1991) says, "Awkward participators in the tradition of white male exploration, they moulded an image of these distant lands from their own particular, feminine perspective within it" (p.142).

To explore, discover and conquer has been the travel of men. It was men's lone travel, not women's, which inspired "expeditions of ever-greater size and complexity" (Middleton 1982, p.3). M. Russell (1994) writes of men "assaulting" mountains and "conquering", of "thrusting" forward and "taking possession" of "virgin" territories. Women listened, assimilated and empathised. They were observers, of people, not places. According to M. Russell (1994), "Used to the minutiae of the household, they observed the trees within the wood, but because of this their observations were often dismissed as being trivial" (p.213). Robinson (1991) explains:

> Throughout the centuries … men have been setting out for the world with some definite purpose in mind, with reputations to forge and patrons to please, and their written accounts have been dedicated to tangible results. Women, whether travelling by choice or default, had for the most part no such responsibilities: they left the facts and figures of foreign travel to the men, and dwelt instead on the personal practicalities of getting from A to B, and on impressions … men's travel accounts are traditionally

> concerned with What and Where, and women's with How and Why. (Robinson 1991, p.ix)

In an anthology of Australian women travel writers, Lucas and Forster (1992) claim that their collection goes "far beyond the nineteenth-century cliché of good-hearted adventure stories by unusual spinsters" (p.vii). Nonetheless, one can recognise similarities. As with the nineteenth-century travellers, Australian women's journeys have differed from the important Australian journeys of men. As Lucas and Forster (1992) say of most of the Australian women journeyers:

> [they] do not travel a straight path of progress to the greater glory of their nation, or even to smaller personal epiphanies; these are voyages with ambiguous outcomes, multiple meanings, uncertain motives. Travel writing comments on the place and space women occupy in society, their own and others'; on the presentation of our private and public 'selves'; and the ways in which we seek to define our identities. (Lucas & Forster 1992, p. viii)

According to Robinson (1995), previous women travellers could "afford to be more discursive, more impressionable, more *ordinary*" (p.xii) since they did not have a patron to please. Robinson quotes Lady Elizabeth Eastlake, who wrote in the middle of the nineteenth century, that women travellers were superior to men in their powers of observation and that due to the "desultory" nature of their education, one of their greatest charms was their purposelessness, which allowed women to observe more indiscriminately than men, "less troubled with preconceived ideas as to what is most important to observe" (Robinson 1995, p.xiii). Or, as Stimpson (1993) says, "women often pay more attention to the process of the journey than men do" (p. x).

Romero (1992) in her analysis of women travellers to Africa from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries, similarly concludes that

> For women travelers accent was on detail; intensity of individual experiences; empathy for some people; criticisms of others. The *personal* nature of their experiences distinguishes the women from their equally adventuresome male colleagues. (Romero 1992, p.10)

Most writers consider that travel has a different contextual meaning for women than for men. According to Mary Morris (1993), men have explored an external world while "for many women, the inner landscape is as important as the outer, the beholder as significant as the beheld … There is a dialogue between what is happening within and without" (p.xvii). Women travellers of the past adopted professional roles which legitimated their travel and involvement in natural history and sketching, and which had a feminine "mask of decorum" (Birkett 1991, p.102). Women's fieldwork differed from men's. The women's fieldwork was inductive or grounded as opposed to the men's deductive work. Birkett (1991) quotes Mary Kingsley:

> 'These white men who make a theory first and then go hunting travellers' tales for facts to support the same may say what they please of the pleasure of the process,' she wrote. 'Give me the pleasure of getting a mass of facts and watching them. It is just like seeing a crystal build itself up. But it *is* slower I own'. (Birkett 1991, p.173)

In the past, the lack of grants for women's travel (as opposed to men's travel) meant that women travellers had to be self-funded, thus providing an explanation for the middle- and upper-class origins of women travellers. Lack of external funding also meant that women's travel routes were not as long as men's, nor were their retinues or equipment as great. However, as Birkett says,

> For many women travellers the important element of their journey was the discovery not of a foreign land but of themselves, the exploration not of an unmapped river but of the avenues to forging new horizons for their own personal experience and self-fulfilment. (Birkett 1991, p.133)

Their reason for travel was not for pleasure but improvement of themselves and others (Middleton 1982; Aitken 1987; Russell, M. 1994).

> The road towards self-knowledge has been travelled by many but it is a route that women in particular seem drawn to. This is understandable, for when the identity of a group has been overlaid by the over-riding demands of society, it is inevitable that some individuals within that group will reach out for an alternative, spiritual home in which to find their true identity. (Russell, M. 1994, p.19)

However, Middleton (1982) bemoans that there is not more of the inner landscape. "If only they would tell us more about the wonder of themselves in the shrubbery and less about the actual trees, their books would be even more enthralling than they are" (p.5).

Despite the freedom experienced by women travellers in the past, there were also constraints which were often gendered and which had to be negotiated. This same theme is evident in studies of modern women's travel. M. Davies and Jansz (1990) in their anthology of contemporary women travellers claim, "for so many women the act of setting off alone, adapting to a new way of life, and coping with the logistics of getting around, amounts to a personal test of ability and independence" (no page). As Niemi and Wieser (1987) say, the theme in women's travelling writings is not *being tough*, but rather, *growth*. M. Bond (2001), a contemporary traveller and travel writer, claims:

> … I realized the single most important way travel has affected me: It's made me deeply comfortable with *myself* ... Now, after years of travel and risk taking, I savor the moments I have to myself. I have learned to listen deeply to myself, and to have confidence in my choices. I am a Gutsy Woman. (Bond 2001 p.128)

According to M. Russell (1994), "Whatever their needs and motivations have been, travelling has over the centuries offered to women a means both of discovering and expressing their own individuality, for the change in their needs has been one only of degree" (p.28).

The relationship between women travellers and others encountered during the journey has been highlighted. Richter (1994) claims that women's travel accounts offer more about family life while men's accounts are more related to political affairs and technology. M. Russell (1994) views women travellers through the ages as those "who dawdle along the road, pausing to stop and stare and ruminate upon the idiosyncracies of life" (p.211). She eloquently describes women as

> those who weave in and out among the lives of people they encounter on the way, picking up, during their odyssey, a stitch here and a pattern there so that they return wearing cloaks embroidered with the rainbow of the world. (Russell 1994, p.211)

According to Dervla Murphy (in Bond, M. 1995):

> The average woman traveller was – and … still is – much more responsive to the individuals met en route, more interested in the minutiae of their daily lives, in local social problems, in the subtle nuances of family life as it has been variously moulded by different religions and economic or climatic conditions. (Murphy 1995, p.xix)

The contemporary traveller M. Bond (1995) provides an example of the above:

> I am reminded of a trek I took in the Himalayas, traveling with a group of men and women. When hiking through local villages, most of the men focused their cameras, snapped their pictures, and, intent on reaching their goal, hiked quickly on. The women, on the other hand, lingered, moved in closer, made eye contact (most often with other women), sometimes cooing over a child or going as far as rocking a baby. (Bond, M. 1995, p.xiii)

Dervla Murphy in her Introduction to the above publication agrees that "women travellers are less prone to disconnectedness than men". She claims that the Himalayan example above "suggests that the shared experience of nurturing creates a particularly strong link between women, however dissimilar their backgrounds may be" (Murphy in Bond, M. 1995, p.xxi).

Whether this is the experience of all women, however, is uncertain. McEwan (1994) claims it was Mary Kingsley's gender which allowed her access to native women. However Dennett in Birkett (1991) comments on how little Mary Kingsley conversed with the African women. In A. Kelly's (1995) collection of Irish women travellers, only a few could be viewed as enjoying weaving in and out of the lives of people encountered. Birkett's (1991) study of Victorian women travellers led her to distinguish solo women travellers from those women travelling with a male companion. Whereas solo women travellers, in their search for empowerment, rarely focussed on other women of foreign societies or even other women travellers, women

travelling with male relatives "when their gender determined their relationships with their travelling companions" (p.165) did focus on the lives of other women.

The Victorian women are seen as more concerned with wildlife than with place (Middleton 1982). The experience of nature is considered to be a gendered experience both for women of the past and for modern-day travellers. Women's relationship to nature is analysed in a collection of contemporary travel stories, *Women in the Wild: True Stories of Adventure and Connection* (McCauley 1998).

> I think most women instinctively recognize in nature a direct connection to their feminine power. Travel into the wilderness takes us away from modern life, and its ceaseless routines, into our own wildness. There we can affirm our self-sufficiency and creative force as we make pilgrimages back to our own instincts … there is a seasonal longing in our natures – as regular as the tides and the phases of the moon, as mysterious as the cycles that all women share with Mother Earth – to foray into the wild both within and without. (McCauley 1998, p.xiii-xiv)

How comfortable women feel with the outdoors, however, is debatable. Cole, Erdman and Rothblum (1994) claim that "women have not been 'at home' in the outdoors" (p.1), whether because of fear of being attacked or because women have not been encouraged to undertake adventurous outdoor pursuits.

For women clothing has also been a gendered issue in travelling. Those writing about women travellers in previous centuries (and the writers themselves) rarely fail to mention clothing (McLeod & Frederick 1993). M. Russell (1994) took Mary Kingsley's quotation as the title of her book, *The Blessings of a Good Thick Skirt*. Women travellers have used clothing to affirm or deny their sexuality. Squire (1995) describes clothing as "a form of social control" (p.8) which the women could escape through travel. While some did dress differently or in disguise (Aitken 1987), respectability and the view that they were ambassadors of the British Empire led some women travellers to maintain the standards of dress that they were used to at home (Ingemanson 1993). Ingemanson (1993) maintains that it is odd that the Victorian women who were escaping their home constraints did not also escape the "inhibitive clothing and etiquette prescribed in Victorian drawing rooms" (p.5) but suggests that

the familiarity of their clothing provided them with "both the freedom and the shelter necessary to overcome the homelessness and alienation endemic to travel" (p.6). Ingemanson stresses that Victorian women had to be more circumspect in their travel than men. The women "took along their home not so they could constantly be in it but, ironically, to be able to go outside; they dressed in formal attire not to be conspicuous but, paradoxically, to appear normal and proper. That elemental façade in place, they were ready to proceed" (Ingemanson 1993, p.19). Wearing conventional clothing also allowed women to "return to their traditional way of life" (O'Brien 1993, p.229).

Women Travellers and Feminism

Women travellers of the past are portrayed as trangressing the proper behaviour of women of their time. As Squire (1995) says of women tourists in the Canadian Rockies from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, "tourism can now be seen as a medium through which conventional understandings of femininity, and accepted codes of female behaviour, were either intentionally or inadvertently re-examined, and hence negotiated" (p.7). However, as claimed by Aitken (1987), women travellers of the past, while enjoying the freedom of travel, did not necessarily see themselves as progressing women's liberation. Many of the women refused the image of "New Woman"; indeed, many were not in favour of women's rights and suffrage. As M. Russell (1994) says of past and present pioneering women travellers, "not all … are what might even loosely be termed feminists" (p.210). Keay (1994), in her review of seven women travellers featured in a BBC radio series, could find no feminist thread uniting the women (neither could she find *any* features in common). Birkett (1991) similarly says:

> The essentially selfish nature of their journeys, undertaken for highly personal and private reasons, did not encourage them to judge their experiences in any collective sense. So although their lives may appear exemplarily feminist, their voices contradict this image and make it impossible to portray them so. (Birkett 1991, p.199)

Birkett (1991) explains that past travellers' lack of sympathy for women's demands must "be seen in the light of their attempts to gain social and later political respect and even power". Their insistence on a conservative facade of femininity "was a sophisticated response to a political environment which encouraged short term self-

censorship in order to gain long term goals and recognition" (Birkett 1991, p.224). For while the women were recognised as lady travellers, they were not recognised in a "genderless" professional role. Despite their intrepidity, when the Victorian women travellers returned home, they were viewed with disdain and their travel insights dismissed as irrelevant by the contemporary press (Richter 1994). The delayed entry of women into the Royal Geographic Society (in Britain) and into the Explorers Club in the United States reflected the lack of status of women's travels when compared to the status accorded men through travel. For the Victorian women travellers, returning home meant being once again defined by gender. Press reports stressed the femininity of the women and at the same time highlighted the uniqueness of the women in order to safeguard common notions of femininity. Poignantly, Birkett (1991) describes the women's disillusionment and conflict with their position in the world.

> With increasing frustration and with what they perceived as others' lack of understanding, sympathy and real interest for their work, many women travellers began to feel the creeping return of the loneliness which had haunted them as young women … On their travels being alone had been a symbol of freedom and independence. But rooted in European society, solitude became again a constant reminder of their exclusion. (Birkett 1991, p. 262)

Other Constructions of Difference

Women's travel and travel writing must be seen within the socio-cultural and historical context. Blunt (1994b) argues for a consideration of gender and *other* discourses. While travel might have enabled women of the past to escape their gendered role of passivity and duty, the women were not always free from their social class role (Birkett 1991; Armitage 1993; Burbick 1993). S. Mills (1991) is critical of most of the writers critiquing women's travel writing who have interpreted the women from a proto-feminist reading, "reading them to trace the features and ideas which would seem to be similar to the ones exhibited by contemporary feminist texts and concerns" (p.29). She claims that "Much feminist work on travel writing has used a largely untheorised model of patriarchy" (p.17). She argues that by simply focussing on the women as escapees from the restrictive conventions of Victorian social life, the critics have failed to recognise other discourses, in particular the colonial discourse. Birkett (1991) also stresses the importance of colonialism and racial status in defining the women's

experiences: "The community of racial status surpassed all other divisions of gender, class and nationality" (p.123). The women travellers used symbols of colonialism

> to stress their difference, based on race, from the local populations – differences on which their status as white rulers rested. For here, they recognized, lay their freedom and prestige; here lay their newfound power. (Birkett 1991, p.116)

In terms of gender, women were the Other but in terms of race the colonised were "Other". From her analysis of Mary Kingsley, Blunt (1994b) claims that it was not just the discourse of gender but the discourse of race and class which constructed Kingsley's subjectivity. According to Blunt (1994b), Kingsley shared in "racial superiority in the context of imperial power and authority" (p.161) during her travels in West Africa. While Kingsley was seen as primarily constructed in terms of gender subordination at home before departure, on the journey and on return home her gendered subjectivity was seen as more ambivalent than fixed. She adopted "masculine and feminine voices and codes of conduct on her travels and in her writings" (Blunt 1994b, p.161). Such women travellers internalised their role as "white men". As Birkett (1991) says, "Sex hadn't simply disappeared – it had been transformed" (p. 117). Comparing Mary Hall's accounts of her travels in Africa in the early twentieth century with those of her male counterparts, Blake (1990) concludes that Mary Hall occupied a split position, superior in race and class but inferior in gender. This position led to an "implicitly anti-imperial relationship to Africa" (p.354). Her position explains her relationship to an African sultan as subject-to-subject as opposed to the subject-to-object relationship of British men to African chiefs. Garcia-Ramon and Albet i Mas (2002) in their case study of European women travelling to regions where English was not the colonial language found a "resistance and complicity towards the colonial project" (p.43) in the first third of the twentieth century.

Blunt (1994b) and S. Mills (1991) argue against the woman traveller/writer being defined biographically. The meaning of the travel writings "cannot be deduced from an analysis of the text itself; the writing has to be considered within the discursive frameworks within which it was produced and received" (Mills, S. 1991, p.199). For the Victorian woman traveller, texts were constructed within the power of patriarchy

and the power of colonialism. As S. Mills (1991) says, "It is the convergence and conflict of these two power systems which determines the style and content of women's travel writing" (p.18). She argues that "The discourses of colonialism demand action and intrepid, fearless behaviour from the narrator, and yet the discourses of femininity demand passivity from the narrator and a concern with relationships" (Mills, S. 1991, p.21). Employing Foucauldian and feminist frameworks, S. Mills has traced the conditions of production, identifying the problems women faced when attempting to "insert themselves into a set of discursive constraints which are largely masculinist" (p.70). As S. Mills says, "Travel writing, like all writing, is produced in the conflict of several discourses, which are both textual conventions and also texts which are circulating within society" (p.72). The discourse of text relates to the conventions of travel writing while texts circulating within society are those of femininity and imperialism. How the travel writing is received will also impact on what is written and how it is read. S. Mills (1991) reports the double-bind situation for women writers. If they wrote within a discourse of femininity they were regarded as trivial but they were doubted if they drew on the "more adventure hero type narratives" (p.118). She stresses the tendency for women's writing to be judged as exaggerated and a falsification of events. Understanding such reception, S. Mills asserts that women travel writers adopted various strategies in their writing. She explains: "Because of these constraints women are led to write their texts within a range of conflicting parameters and this may lead to their texts being produced and read differently to men's travel writing" (Mills, S. 1991, p.122). Kaplan (cited in Spender 1980) explains that for men all forms and writing are open to them but for women certain forms of writing and audiences must be kept in mind.

While the conditions of production and conditions of reception have affected the content of the text for all women travel writers, conditions vary amongst women. For example, women have been positioned differently within a colonising discourse. Not all women travellers have been members of colonising powers. Travel has often had a different meaning for women from the New World as opposed to women from the Old World. For many New World women, travel has been the journey home. Rather than travel being from the centre to the margins, it has been from the margins to the centre. Pesman (1996), in tracing Australian women's travel from the 1870s until recent times, outlines the importance of Europe to Australians from the time of settlement. She

explains that in nineteenth-century Australia, it was women who were responsible for the preservation and transmission of culture and it was in Europe that culture was acquired.

> Refinement, good taste and culture were the virtues of Europe – not only for Australians and other colonials but also for North Americans, for all denizens of new settler societies that lacked the patina of time and tradition and aristocracies to show the way.
>
> The first trips of the women of the elite were often those undertaken as young girls for education, cultural and social finish. (Pesman 1996, p.26)

The next stages for the "better connected, the more ambitious, and those whose home was as much Britain as Australia" (Pesman 1996, p.27) was presentation at Court, which marked their acceptance into British society. Pesman refers to the "finishing" of daughters as "cultural capital, a dowry that women could bring to marriage" (p.28). Travel abroad was also seen as a cure for a broken heart, to test or end a relationship. Status was ascribed to the women who had travelled. Their speech was privileged and authoritative. As Pesman says, "The special knowledge that travel could give women was that on taste and fashion, what music was being played at soirees in London, what hats were being worn in Paris" (1996, p.36). For these women accomplishment was the purpose, rather than a career for which their brothers were being educated. However, by the end of the nineteenth century:

> Women were travelling not only as wives, mothers and daughters, but as independent single women seeking self-fulfilment and social roles beyond those of dependent wife or degraded spinster. The areas they first chose as the means to professional life and travel were those of traditional accomplishment and sanctioned travel patterns – music, art, writing, teaching. (Pesman 1996, p.40)

Women from North America and Europe were similarly engaged. The latter years of the century also saw women travelling overseas for tertiary education and, by the beginning of the twentieth century, sportswomen were travelling overseas to participate in international events.

Olds (1985) distinguishes between the European "traveling ladies" of the nineteenth century and the new breed of women travellers in the first few decades of the twentieth century.

> The new women travelers were largely American. And they were different from most of their predecessors, who had tended to be romantic dreamers, more intrigued by the exotic aspects of travel, the 'spell of the East,' for instance, and with the novelty of independence than driven toward defined goals. The new women explorers, by contrast, were highly goal oriented, single-minded, and stoutly dedicated to specific objectives. They freed themselves from their Victorian upbringing to organize and lead expeditions of their own, with institutional or other backing if possible, but in any case asserting themselves as serious explorers. (Olds 1985, p.2)

M. Bond and Michael (1998) recognise the omission of women as mothers in the travel literature. They claim:

> Most women in travel literature 'leave behind' motherhood, children, and family ties when they travel. Women travellers are generally portrayed as childless, solo adventurers – rootless, tough, fearless, competitive, strong, assertive, and brave. Do women really become men when they travel? Is it necessary for a woman to shed all her uniquely female and maternal attributes in order to venture beyond her doorstep? (p.xvi)

Racial discourse, which is not necessarily the same as colonial discourse, can also shape women's travel experiences and travel writing. Lee (1997), in her edited volume of contemporary black women's stories, expresses her wish that other black women share her own experience of "empowerment, survival, and renewal" through travel. She urges fellow black women to travel to Africa and explore their African roots, claiming, "'It is when you go to Africa that you get part of your soul back'" (Lee 1997, p.14).

The discourse of gender is inseparable from other discourses such as race and class in the destination hosts' perceptions of tourists. M. Davies and Jansz (1990) highlight how travellers are perceived when gender is also combined with the wider inequalities

between the developed and less developed world. A contemporary example is given by Walkerdine (1990a) when she writes of the ambivalence of Mexican men to contemporary white women tourists: "White women, especially with fair hair, are about the most hated, envied and desired of all" (p.303).

ADVICE FOR WOMEN TRAVELLERS

Prior to departure women have been exposed to different travel advice than men. Blunt (1994b) explains that, in the past, books for men reflected the professionalisation of travel, "methods and equipment necessary for scientific observation and the management of indigenous servants" while women's travel books were conduct books, reflecting the personalisation of travel, "the appropriate behavior of the traveler herself" (p.65). *Hints to Lady Travellers at Home and Abroad* written in 1889 by Lillias Campbell Davidson dealt with general travel for women whereas *A Few Words of Advice on Travelling and its Requirements Addressed to Ladies* published by Thomas Cook in 1875 was related to tours (Blunt 1994b). Modern-day guidebooks directed at women support the view that women continue to travel differently from men. Providing the rationale for their own guidebook *Women Travel*, M. Davies and Jansz (1990) explain the difficulties with other guidebooks.

> The problem is not simply that the books and articles are written by men – many are not. But, in following the conventions of "objective" and "authoritative" journalism – where any information of specific relevance to women is considered of marginal interest – women can all too easily write themselves out of the picture. (no page)

As with the increase in women's published travel accounts, there has been an increasing number of guidebooks for women. In addition to the general women's guidebooks (such as Davies, M. & Jansz 1990), there are others directed at the solo woman traveller (White 1997), women campers (Bishop, J. & Jones 2001) and women travelling with children, (Bond, M. 1997a, 2001). In the 1990s travel advice for women was also available via specialist American magazines and on-line websites. Recently there has been a reduction in print media. However, a search on-line of "women travel" produces a plethora of websites of advice for women travellers. One such website is the online magazine *Journeywoman* (Journeywoman Enterprises Inc. 2004) which discontinued in 1998 as a print publication and now publishes only on-

line. Government websites are also a source of travel advice for women such as the Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2004) and the U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Consular Affairs (2002) online sites. Workshops for interested women travellers (*Sydney Morning Herald [Travel]* 16-17 June, p.2) have also been a source of travel information.

Travel advice for women is distinguished from general travel information as it relates to particular difficulties encountered by women such as different cultural attitudes towards women and women travellers (especially if not accompanied by a man), safety and security (Bond, M. 2001; Swan & Laufer 1998) and women's health issues.

CONCLUSION

Knowledge of women travellers from earlier times comes via their writings, both books and letters. However, as A. West (2000) says, "There must be many others who left no writing and whose travels are not remembered" (p.112). This may be more common for women than for men. Although many of today's women travellers are writing about their experiences, these accounts have not been subjected to the scholarly scrutiny which the Victorian women's writings have undergone. Perhaps it is too soon to analyse contemporary travellers. That certain narratives have been told (and heard) and others have not is a reflection of which discourses have been privileged and which have not. A limitation of women's travel writings is their tendency to reflect the exotic and out-of-the-ordinary travel experiences, often solo experiences of adventure in the outdoors. During Victorian times, the women writers' apologies for such "small offerings" (despite the uniqueness of their experiences) suggests that ordinary "holiday taking" would not be the subject of serious travel books. Such tales might be restricted to fiction. While the contemporary anthologies do include what might be called more "touristic" as opposed to "travel" experiences, these experiences are still more likely to be international than domestic and veer more to the unique experience than the everyday, garden-variety holiday experience. As D. Hall and Kinnaird (1994) state, "An essential ingredient of the recent 'marketing' of women travellers is the commoditisation of exoticism: marginal voices in marginal texts succumbing to, for example, the lure of high and mystical places" (p.196).

Due to women's resistance (and other factors) discourses change with time. The experiences of former women travellers are different from those of contemporary women. S. Mills (1991) observes:

> When one reads contemporary accounts of women's travel, one becomes aware of the fact that nineteenth-century women were writing within a different set of discursive constraints. For example, Dervla Murphy, Bettina Selby and Robyn Davidson – contemporary travel writers – share many of the features which I describe in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century women's travel writing, but the discourses of femininity and colonialism have changed beyond recognition and there are other discourses, such as feminism, which inform the texts more. (Mills 1991 p.67)

While today's writers stress the continuity in the themes of women's travel over the centuries, it is important to understand the available discourses of the socio-cultural, historical context in which the writings are read. Societal perceptions in the nineteenth- and early twentieth centuries of women adventure travellers as "eccentric" can be seen as attempts to preserve the discourse of normal femininity of the time.

> As Haug notes, it is difficult to trace the discourses of femininity which have determined the production and reception of texts in a period which is not one's own, but nevertheless it is possible to produce an archaeology of the period, however partial that may be, and however determined by present discursive frameworks it may be. (Mills 1991, p.94)

Nonetheless, despite the discourse of femininity having changed over the past one hundred and fifty years, there is still much in the current discourse of femininity that today's women share with women of previous generations. The travel experience continues to be gendered with themes in women's travel persisting broadly over the centuries: the opportunity for self-development, the emphasis on the personal and concerns for respectability and safety. Travel continues to offer women freedom from the gendered constraints at home, although these constraints are noticeably more binding for women in earlier periods. S. Mills (1991) concedes:

> … there are certain elements within these discourses which have stayed much the same since the nineteenth century. These discursive structures lay out for women a range of behaviour patterns concerning sexuality, morality, their relations with others which are there to be contested (they are, after all, only discourses), but they are also there to be complied with, in as much as that is possible. (Mills 1991, p.94)

Women over the centuries have been escaping the traditional roles expected of them, domesticity and the care of others, with patriarchy evident in the way many travelled and the world to which they returned. Through travel, women have achieved not only freedom and independence but also strength. In tracing Australian women's travel from the nineteenth century until today, Pesman (1996) identifies such themes in Australian women's travel.

While acknowledging a certain continuity in women's travel experiences, a reading of contemporary travel accounts should incorporate multiple discourses and be read with an understanding of possible modern-day gendered constraints on the production and reception of the text.

CHAPTER 3: WOMEN, LEISURE AND TOURISM: ACADEMIC ACCOUNTS

INTRODUCTION

While Chapter 2 reviewed literary accounts and travel advice to women leisure travellers/tourists, Chapter 3 examines the academic literature on women tourists. The discussion in Chapter 3 is based on the premise that all tourism practices are produced from societies which are gendered and tourism practices, in turn, act to reinforce or resist gendered relations. Inherent in gendered relations are issues of power and inequality. Since tourists interact with a variety of tourism elements at different stages of their trip, the present chapter takes a broad approach to include in its review writings which examine different tourism elements from a gendered perspective. Considering the relationship of tourism to leisure and the development of gender as a research area in leisure studies, the chapter commences with a review of the feminist leisure studies literature.

GENDER AND LEISURE

Gender has been recognised for some time as a serious topic of investigation in leisure studies, with attention given to theory (Wearing 1998) and gendered experiences of time, activities, leisure needs, constraints and opportunities for and through leisure (Deem 1986; Wearing & Wearing 1988; Wimbush & Talbot 1988; Woodward, Green & Hebron 1989; Bella 1989; Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw & Freysinger 1989, 1996; Green, Hebron & Woodward 1990, 1995; Shaw, S. 1994, 2001; Samuel 1996b; Roberts 1999).

A body of evidence exists that leisure is beneficial for the health and wellbeing of women and men. However, initial, definitional problems with the meaning of leisure for women have been identified (Wearing & Wearing 1988; Green et al. 1990; Roberts 1999). The notion of leisure as "time left over after work" has been found irrelevant to many women, particularly those who are not in paid work such as full-time mothers. Even amongst those women in paid employment "time left over after 'work'" is often taken up with child care and domestic duties. Time is gendered. Whereas "Man

Time" entails a clear demarcation between work and leisure, in "Woman Time" the boundaries are blurred (Lenskyj 1988). A definition of leisure as "activity" is also not appropriate as many activities that might be leisure for others are, for women, carried out in conjunction with "work". A subjective definition of leisure as "experience" is more suited to women.

McCormack (1998) summarised the work of leisure researchers who have demonstrated this gap between theoretical constructs of leisure and women's lived experience.

> When asked to talk about experiences in their lives which have some leisure meanings, women talked about feelings and the contexts in which they experience these feelings, rather than periods of time or activities.
>
> The feelings of relaxation (rest and recovery from everyday life), enjoyment and pleasure, (particularly the chance to please oneself), and the importance of relationships, are central to most descriptions of leisure given by women …
>
> Leisure for women can be associated with unpleasant feelings such as guilt, selfishness, and of being 'at fault' … It can also be a site of conflicting feelings … (McCormack 1998, p.39)

Neulinger's (1981) definition of leisure which includes the concepts of perceived freedom and intrinsic motivation comes closer to the meaning of leisure for women. Nonetheless, the opportunities to choose freely what to do with one's time are considered to be more limited for women than for men (Jackson, E. & Henderson 1995). A number of contextual or antecedent constraints for women have been identified (Henderson 1991a) which prevent women from enjoying the hedonistic pleasure and freedom associated with leisure. First is a lack of a sense of entitlement to leisure which can occur if women believe that care of others comes before their own pleasure. Those not in the paid workforce might consider that they have not earned leisure or might equate domesticity with leisure and therefore see themselves as not entitled to more. A study by Henderson and Bialeschki (1991) indicated that, contrary to other studies, women, when asked directly, claimed they were entitled to leisure.

Nonetheless their actions belied their attitudes. While social relationships can be an opportunity for leisure, they can also be seen as an antecedent or contextual constraint when women's emotional and economic investment in heterosexual partnerships and family life results in women putting others before themselves (Woodward & Green 1988). Kay and Jackson (1991) found that when time was a constraint to leisure, women were more likely than men to reduce their leisure time whereas men were more likely than women to reduce time spent on household tasks. Other constraints for women include finance, patriarchal ideas of feminine respectability, devaluation of activities done mainly by women, access to transport, women's fears for physical and psychological health and safety and women's body image. Male-dominated leisure organisations and lack of leisure provision for women can also constrain women's leisure activities. Green et al. (1990) refer to a "web of inequalities" (p.ix). As they claim, "A woman's right to freedom in leisure is circumscribed by her employment status and income level, her family situation and, most important, her lack of status as a woman in a patriarchal society" (p.ix). Women's leisure is affected by their male partner's employment (Woodward et al. 1989). Wimbush and Talbot (1988) stress the constraining effects of male power on women's leisure opportunities throughout their lives.

As well as there being constraints *to* leisure, there can also be constraints *through* leisure (Shaw, S. 1994). Leisure itself can be constraining, reproducing gendered, aged (and other dimensional) relations. As S. Shaw (1994) says:

> While women may seek to reduce constraints on their leisure, thus allowing themselves more freedom for participation, such participation may, in turn, reproduce the gendered power relations that initially constrained, and continue to constrain, their lives. (Shaw 1994, p.14)

Leisure (and by implication, tourism) is not an uncontested gender-neutral or age-neutral concept: "women's leisure cannot be adequately understood outside the social and political context within which it is located" (Green et al. 1990, p.2).

> Women's subordinate social position is reinforced and maintained at one level by material inequalities and at another (though necessarily linked) by ideological

> processes. This process is ongoing, with the social control of women as one element within the struggle to maintain male hegemony which sets the limits of appropriate female behaviour. (Green et al. 1990, p.132)

The process of maintaining patriarchal values and male hegemony is complex involving not just the policing of women by men but women restraining other women. As Green et al. (1990) state, women also use "strategies of avoidance" (p.133) which they have developed from an early age. The social embeddedness of many constraints requires change at the societal rather than individual level (Henderson 1997).

The finding by E. Jackson and Henderson (1995) of within-gender differences in constraints points to "the need to think in terms of diversities and pluralities rather than dualisms and universals (Scott, 1988)" (p.47). Their research highlights within-gender differences based on age, income and family structure. These variables can be considered "mediating factors that alter, reinforce, or alleviate constraints for women depending on the nature of the context and on the type of constraint in question" (p.47).

Another and more positive approach to women's leisure considers that if leisure is a freely chosen and self-determined activity there is the possibility for resistance to gendered and other forms of oppression, "resistance *to* imposed leisure constraints, and resistance *through* leisure to societal constraints on women's lives" (Shaw, S. 1994, p.18). S. Shaw (2001) explains: "This conceptualization of leisure as political practice is clearly controversial. It suggests that traditional definitions of leisure as a place of freedom, autonomy, individual choice, self expression and satisfaction, are inadequate" (p.186). Leisure is not "innocent" (Green et al. 1990, p.29). Resistance, whether intentional or not, implies agency and the potential for individual and collective empowerment. Leisure can have specific benefits for women. As Deem (1988) argues, "The meaning of leisure as something chosen and individual may be more important to women than men because women are more likely to find themselves in a wide variety of situations where they lack control and power" (p.13). Researchers studying women and sport and women and adventure recreation have demonstrated how women have resisted the feminine discourse. Studying women and constraints to adventure recreation, Little (2002) identified different techniques employed by women to negotiate participation: prioritisation, compromise, reconstruction of a definition of

adventure and anticipation. However, she concluded that "negotiation was dependent on the women's resources, current priorities and the mix of life circumstances impacting on choice and action" (p.171). Roberts (1999) considers that "It is probably the exception rather than the rule when leisure is used to challenge gender roles and divisions" (p.103). S. Shaw (1994) acknowledges "that not all leisure experiences, or leisure activities engaged in by women can be classified as representing acts of resistance simply because they are freely chosen or self-determined" (p.15). Shaw further explains, "not all leisure is oppressive, constrained, or constraining" (p.16).

An analysis of recreation and leisure literature (Henderson 1993, 1994a, 1994b) portrays the evolution of academic perspectives on women, gender and leisure. Henderson (1994b) has labelled these phases of thinking about women: "invisible (i.e., 'womanless') scholarship, compensatory (i.e., 'add women and stir') scholarship, dichotomous differences (i.e., 'sex differences') scholarship, feminist (i.e., 'woman-centred') scholarship, and gender scholarship" (p.122). Favouring "gender scholarship" and acknowledging that a gender perspective does not prevent a researcher from studying only women, Henderson explains, "Gender scholarship addresses the complexity of expectations, roles, and behaviour associated with being male as well as female" (p.127). Women don't have a monopoly on gender. Meanings of gender result from gendered relations with concomitant hierarchical positions. A gendered perspective also acknowledges differences amongst women (Henderson 1994b).

Leisure behaviour and tourist behaviour have traditionally been studied in isolation. In a number of ways, leisure behaviour away from home, on holiday, is different from that at home. There are temporal and spatial differences as well as the "potential for an enriching experience in short, limited and constrained time periods" (Ryan, C. & Kinder 1996, p.509). Deem (1996b) contrasted holidays to "at home" leisure:

> holidays for heterosexual women often involve going on holiday *with* male companions, or expecting to find new male companions on arrival. This … is not the *norm* in Western women's leisure in general. (Deem 1996b, p.111)

A Dutch study (te Kloetze cited in Roberts 1999) comparing traditional and modern families found that even for the modern families who respected women's and men's independent leisure interests, there were limits to individualisation, with nearly all opposing individual holidays. While recognising differences in leisure and tourist experiences, leisure and tourism scholars have also acknowledged commonalities and a close relationship between the phenomena. The home (work and leisure) environment is the context from which the tourist is "escaping". Discourses which determine leisure at home can determine leisure at the destination. As Carr (2002b) says, "tourists take along the norms and values of their own culture" (p.980). Carr's view that "theories about gendered leisure could be used to understand differences and similarities in the tourism behaviour of men and women" (2002b, p.981) is supported by Swain (1995b), Davidson (1996b) and K. Butler (1995). Leisure studies writings can provide an insight into whether or not women *take* holidays and how they *experience* holidays. The definition of tourism employed in the present study focusses on the leisure purpose of travel; thus it is relevant to a study of tourist behaviour to be familiar with the leisure studies literature and informed about those leisure activities (such as skiing, camping and outdoor recreation) which are also undertaken in a tourism setting. In recent years, feminist writers in the leisure studies field (such as Aitchison 1996; Aitchison & Reeves 1998; Aitchison, MacLeod & Shaw 2000; Davidson 1996a, 1996b; Deem 1996a, 1996b; Jordan 1998) through focussing on tourism and gender can be considered to have contributed to the knowledge base of both leisure and tourism studies.

GENDER AND TOURISM

Compared to leisure studies, interest in gender by tourism academics is recent. Traditionally, tourism has been studied and presented as gender-neutral. Norris and Wall, from their examination in 1994 of the academic tourism literature, concluded:

> where differences in participation between women and men are identified, they tend to be noted rather than explained. Such research is seldom undertaken from a feminist perspective and indirectly may promote the status quo in that it usually ignores the different constraints and opportunities to which women and men are exposed. (Norris & Wall 1994, p.58)

Most commonly, tourism scholars have treated gender (or sex) as a demographic variable, an independent variable at the end of a questionnaire, "ordinal and timeless categories" (Richter 1995, p.71), as opposed to gender as a cultural construct. As evidenced by the literature, "tourism has been one of the last major policy sectors to attract social science scrutiny" (Richter 1995, p.86). While leisure studies literature has examined the gendered nature of constraints and negotiation of leisure participation, it is rare for tourism researchers to examine barriers to participation for *any* group of tourists (Hudson & Gilbert 1999), including women. An exception is the study of constraints faced by women in skiing (Williams & Lattey 1994; Hudson 2000).

Tourism has been viewed as a gender-neutral social process. Only lately have scholars highlighted the masculinity of the travel and tourism literature. To emphasise the biased perspective of the literature, Jokinen and Veijola (1997) have "re-metaphorised" the postmodern tourist in ways which are "not based on *implicitly* sexed bodily and imaginary morphologies" (p.23). They have provided an alternative perspective to those of the "great names" in tourism studies by putting the body back into tourism. While some tourism scholars have evolved in their thinking along similar lines to leisure scholars, most tourism academic thinking and writing (and industry policy and practice) are situated in the earlier evolutionary stages. The invisibility of women is still commonplace in tourism literature. I agree with Henderson (1994b) that there is value in any forms of scholarship which have improved the visibility of women and revealed issues for further study. However, merely identifying differences tells us nothing of how consequential the differences might be, nor does woman-centred research which takes a static approach tell us about differences amongst women or gender power relations. As Henderson (1994b) says, "The world of women is part of a world of men and vice versa" (p.131). Gender (and other dimensions of identity) must be treated as a framework rather than a demographic variable.

However, as women's travel writings have gained in popularity so has gender in academic tourism research. There is greater interest now in gender and tourism than there was in 1979 when V. Smith published "Women the taste-makers in tourism" and Bartos, in 1982, "Women and travel". Although women as travellers were acknowledged in the "Wandering women" series in the journal *Tourism Management* (Clarke, I. 1988a, 1988b, 1988c, 1988d), these articles focussed on the "lady explorers"

of the past rather than contemporary women travellers/tourists, and were more biography than a gendered analysis.

Feminists have attempted to make visible women's gaze and experience of tourism. Testament to a growing interest in gender and tourism are the edited publications in the mid-1990s by Kinnaird and Hall (1994) and Swain (1995a). These publications mapped the knowledge base of gender and tourism at the time: gendered tourism marketing, the gendered presentation of tourist attractions, women as tourists and women's involvement in tourism development: women working in the tourism industry and tourism's impacts on women in the destination. However, it is women's involvement in tourism development which is the focus of tourism writings in the 1990s.

Enthusiasm for the subject was evident in the national symposium on gender and tourism development convened in Indonesia in 1995. Wall (1996) commented: "the lively discussions indicated that there is a great deal of interest in the theme, many topics to be researched and many issues to be resolved (p.722). The 1997 "Gender/Tourism/Fun?" conference in California with a broader agenda also attracted much interest. Burman (2002), reviewing the book *Gender/ Tourism/Fun (?)* (Swain & Momsen 2002) which originated in the conference, says:

> gender as a category or analytical lens was not on the tourism studies radar in any sustained fashion until the early 90s. Since then, many students of tourism have worked to rectify the oversight (to euphemize), rehearsing the steps followed by other areas in the social sciences. This begins with what is known colloquially as the 'add women and stir' approach; followed by the move from 'women' to 'gender'; then the incorporation of the performative body; and, finally, an attempt to factor in the multiplicity of women. (Burman 2002, p.1205)

Evident in the edited conference collection was a stronger focus on the consumer of tourism than had been present in earlier writings. That tourism and gender is an "evolving agenda" (Hall, D., Swain & Kinnaird (2003b, p.7) is apparent in the recent "Gender and tourism", special issue of *Tourism Recreation Research*, edited by Hall, D., Swain & Kinnaird (2003a). Nonetheless, the authors conclude that there are still

many debates to be engaged. Many of the publications in the following literature review have their origin in the above cited collected works.

Writings which have attempted to reconstruct and reinterpret our analysis of tourism from a gendered perspective (Norris & Wall 1994; Kinnaird & Hall 1994, 1996, 2000; Richter 1994, 1995; Swain 1995a, 2001b; Craik, 1997; Sinclair 1997a; Apostolopoulis, Sönmez & Timothy 2001; Swain & Momsen 2002; Hall, D., Swain & Kinnaird 2003a) have highlighted the view that an analysis of gender is relevant. As stated by Kinnaird et al. (1994) "tourism is a process that is constructed out of gendered societies and therefore all aspects of tourism-related development and activity embody gender relations" (p.5). The societies from which tourism is constructed are often unequal and hierarchical; consequently tourism incorporates power and control. As Kinnaird et al. (1994) say, "These power relations can be articulated through race, class or gender" (p.5). Other social identities through which power is articulated are ethnicity, age, sexuality and dis/ability. It is the intersection of the discourses surrounding these dimensions which will reflect how tourism is experienced. This chapter focusses on literature which has given significant attention to gender. Some of the writings have addressed only a gender discourse while others have associated power relations with the intersection of various discourses. As tourism involves the interaction of tourists, hosts, the tourism industry and others external to tourism, gender and other power relationships can be examined from a number of perspectives.

Gender, Space and Tourism

Since tourism involves movement from one physical space to another, a consideration of gender and space is relevant to an understanding of the tourist experience. Leisure studies scholars and feminist and cultural geographers have contributed to an analysis of the tourist experience of the physical environment. As Ardener (1993) says, echoing the earlier view of environmental psychologists, "behaviour and space are mutually dependent" (p.2). Deem (1996b) has argued for a consideration of gender in postmodern approaches to the tourist experience of the physical environment.

> For when gender is introduced [into the tourist experience], it appears to threaten to disrupt some of the taken-for-granted assumptions in malestream theory about de-

> industrialized, post-industrialized and restructured cities, space, place and time, tourist gazes and flâneurs, post-tourism, and risk societies. Places, both familiar and unfamiliar, are indeed part of consumption but they are not consumed in the same way regardless of gender. Nor are time and space ungendered. (Deem 1996b, p.117)

An understanding of the gendered tourist requires knowledge of the socially constructed gendered space in which tourism occurs. Aitchison and Jordan (1998) consider the gendered nature of space within leisure and tourism can be considered as four themes:

> the gendered construction and organisation of public and private leisure space; gendered power and control in leisure and tourism practices and consumption; the use of leisure and tourism spaces, places and practices to reinforce gendered identities or create new identities; and sexual identity and urban space in the form of lesbian space, gay space, queer space. (Aitchison & Jordan 1998, p.v)

As Blunt and Rose (1994) claim, space is fluid, not fixed. Space is not transparent. It is defined not only by gender and sexuality but also by age, race, class and other dimensions of identity with their associated power relations. Spaces may be sites for resistance or sites for the maintenance and reinforcement of existing power relations (Scraton & Watson 1998). A full understanding of women tourists thus requires an understanding of spatial differences along many dimensions. Researchers have examined the gendered representation, production and consumption of tourism landscapes, highlighting the social construction and thus cultural and historical specificity of space (Aitchison et al. 2000; Blunt & Rose 1994). However, a dominant construction or map of the world can silence other constructions:

> Ways of looking are interconnected with the developmental logic of industrialisation, through a fascination with invention, newness, technical achievements, heroism and spectacle. Inter-cultural communication and interaction with locals are secondary aims. Hence, the traditional tourist can be said to be normatively male, seeking pleasures associated with aggrandisement, greatness, uniqueness, exploration and intrepidness. (Craik 1997, p.131)

The male tourist gaze, according to Craik (1997) "is conceived as being structured by voyeurism" (p.130). J. Berger (1972) previously expressed it thus: "the 'ideal' spectator is always assumed to be male and the image of the woman is designed to flatter him" (p.64). Craik (1997) agrees:

> images of women, in particular, but not exclusively, function as the passive object of the gaze from a masculine point of view. The dominant position of spectatorship is thus *as if* through male eyes, irrespective of the actual gender of the spectator. (Craik 1997, p.130)

The orthodox feminist position is summarised by Rojek and Urry (1997): "Travel and tourism can be thought of as a search for difference. From a male perspective, women are the embodiment of difference" (p.17). Pritchard and Morgan (2000) explain the privileging of the male gaze in terms of tourism destination promotion. Landscapes are gendered as masculine adventure, corresponding to the powerful north and west, and as feminine seduction, associated with the less privileged south and east. The tourism discourse remains not only gendered but also colonial and racial.

The embodiment of the "male gaze", and the precursor to the tourist in postmodern feminist discourse, is the nineteenth-century "flâneur" who has "voyeuristic mastery over women" and whose freedom to wander the city at will is "essentially a masculine freedom" (Wilson, Elizabeth 1992, p.98). Wolff (1990) argues that the life of the "flâneur", solitary and independent, was not open to women. There could never be a female "flâneur" as the "flâneuse" was invisible, "rendered impossible by the sexual divisions of the nineteenth century" (p.47). Massey (1994) argues that a woman could never be a "flâneur" "precisely because of the one-way-ness and the directionality of the gaze" (p.234). Men were the "gazers". Massey asserts that women, as objects of the gaze, were (are?) always visible to men. The impossibility of the concept of "flâneuse" is supported by Elizabeth Wilson (1992). However, she argues that there could never be a "flâneuse" because "the *flâneur* himself never really existed" (Wilson, 1992, p.109). It is the "flâneur", not the woman, who is invisible.

> The *flâneur* represented not the triumph of masculine power, but its attenuation. A wanderer, he embodies the Oedipal under threat. The male gaze has failed to

> annihilate the castrate, woman. On the contrary, anonymity annihilates *him*. The *flâneur* represents masculinity as unstable, caught up in the violent dislocations that characterized urbanization. (Wilson, Elizabeth 1992, p.109)

Modern-day tourist experiences of women support the argument for women's visibility, at least the visibility of certain groups. H. Gibson and Jordan (1998) found: "solo women travellers find it very difficult to wander around unobserved. Their very singleness, as well as their gender, serves to draw attention to them rather than rendering them free to roam unnoticed" (p.17). No doubt the degree of attention received by women relates to a number of features including the culture of the visited destination. A different approach is taken by Wearing and Wearing (1996) who "critique the male bias in the conceptualization of the tourist as 'flâneur' and the tourist destination as 'image' for the tourist gaze" (p.229). Viewing the destination as "chora" or interactive space, the tourist then becomes a "choraster". Through the tourist's interactions with the touristic space, "the space becomes imbued with meanings constructed by the actor which become part of the self" (Wearing & Wearing 1996, p.230).

Women have been associated with private/domestic spaces and men with public/economic, political, cultural spaces. Men and women have experienced different types of sociality linked to these spaces. Burden (2001) says, "Confinement to private space limits the extent to which women can take part in the social construction of meaning" (p.14). As discussed in Chapter 2, travel has been associated with men, the home with women. As Enloe (1990) says, "a principal difference between women and men in countless societies has been the licence to travel away from a place thought of as 'home'" (p.21). In fact, "a man is deemed less than manly until he breaks away from home and strikes out on his own" (Enloe 1990, p.21). Traditionally public space has been seen as unsafe for women and, in the past, respectable women did not venture into the public world unchaperoned. Escape from the private realm has been a motive for women travellers of the past (as exemplified in Chapter 2) and their counterparts today (Riley 1988). Much has been made of the division between women/private space and men/public space; however, it is argued that such a separation is not necessarily relevant to groups who are not

white and middle class (Rose, G. 1993). Shifting subject positions do not always place women at the margin. As Ardener (1993) states:

> because individuals of both sexes are constituted in multiple personhoods … worlds may correspond in certain contexts of relevance and differ in others. On the other hand it can be argued, of course, that even if there are elements in two discrepant constructs which look superficially the same they cannot be, because differences in other elements will cause a 'shadow' effect or exert 'pull' and thus will affect their meanings or values … 'objects are affected by the place in space of other objects'. (Ardner 1993, p.20)

Elizabeth Wilson (1992) similarly considers that the demarcation between the private and public worlds is not as extreme as some would imply. She considers that the passivity and victimisation of women has been overemphasised and that women's resistance has been underrated.

Blunt and Rose (1994) argue that

> gendered spaces should be understood less as a geography imposed by patriarchal structures, and more as a social process of symbolic encoding and decoding that produces [quoting Moore 1988] 'a series of homologies between the spatial, symbolic and social orders' … However, since the outcome of the decoding process can never be guaranteed, contestation and renegotiation of the meaning of spaces is also always possible. (Blunt & Rose 1994, p.3)

The gendered consumption of space and time is confirmed by Deem (1996b) in her study of holidaymakers in Lancaster, England. She also found that visitors experienced the city differently than residents who were holidaying "at home"; for example, risk-taking was more prevalent amongst the visitors than the residents. While women's safety (or lack of safety) is a well-documented issue in women's leisure, with some exceptions (Gibson, H. & Jordan 1998; Carr 1998, 2001), most discussion of women's safety as tourists is limited to advice in guide books.

The gendered nature of time in leisure implies that available time for a holiday and the experience of time during a holiday are also gendered.[1] Leisure journeys can be viewed as an activity through which women can take and make time (Elsrud 1998).

Women as Travellers

The essence of the present study is the woman as leisure traveller. However, this is one of the least researched areas in the gender and tourism literature. This section includes literature related to the woman business traveller as well as the leisure traveller. The business traveller is discussed here as it is considered that there is an overlap between the experiences of both groups of women travellers. Surprisingly, the literature makes no (or little) connection.

The Woman Business Traveller

Where research has focussed on the woman consumer, it is more likely to be the woman business traveller who is studied (Lutz & Ryan 1993; McCleary, Weaver & Lan 1994; Foster & Botterill 1995; Sammons, Moreo, Benson & DeMicco 1999; Westwood, Pritchard & Morgan 2000; Harris 2002; Harris & Ateljevic 2003) rather than the woman leisure traveller. Although the number of women business travellers has increased worldwide in the last thirty years (Harris & Ateljevic 2003), there is some dispute as to how numbers of women travellers compare to those of men (Presser & Hermsen 1996; Westwood cited in Harris & Ateljevic 2003). Despite general agreement as to the growth of this sector, there has not been a comparable growth in research. While there are acknowledged disadvantages to travelling for business purposes, there are bonuses in terms of prestige, autonomy and freedom (Presser & Hermsen 1996). The experience of freedom and autonomy may extend beyond the paid employment situation. Harris (2002) found that a number of business women whom she interviewed saw business travel as escape from their roles at home. It was seen as "quiet time" (p.183). She found that women were "strongly in favour of spending leisure time at night to relax, viewing hotel rooms as a haven for them to escape and do their own thing" (p.183). They did not want to "play with the boys" (businessmen) (p.184). Harris (2002) also stresses women's appreciation to escape the

[1] I recall a middle-aged married woman once saying that she avoided arguments with her husband on a Friday because it would ruin the weekend (leisure time). These same constraints may also exist for holiday time.

domesticity of meal preparation: "It is a treat for food to be prepared, served, and cleared away" (p.192). According to Richter (1995), women business travellers "handle the stresses of business travel with more aplomb than their male counterparts" (p.73). It is speculated that "this may be because they are able to get away from their 'second shift' at home when they are on the road, whereas men are forgoing a more relaxing and comforting environment when on the road (Del Rosso 1992)" (Richter 1995, p.73).

Harris and Ateljevic (2003) established that, although business travel was empowering for women, "ideological struggles, multitudinous roles, and traditional dichotomies are found to present tensions for 'her' participation in business travel" (p.28). Women are still considered the gendered 'Other' in business travel. As Harris (2002) says, "Unequal power relations in both production and consumption contribute to domination of the masculine norm in business travel" (p.140). Harris's (2002) study is unique in examining the composite woman business travel experience, rather than focussing, as most studies have done, on business women's accommodation needs. Although the present thesis is concerned with leisure travel, not business travel, it is proposed that there is a relationship between the two. The experience of women's business travel can encourage or discourage leisure travel. Men's business travel can also impact on a woman's leisure travel. Studies which relate the two are needed.

Although Baraban (1986) does not differentiate between women leisure travellers and women business travellers when claiming that the "Women-traveler market spurs changes in hotel design" (p.54), the literature associating demand (women's travel market) and supply (by the tourism industry) is, almost always, referring to the business traveller.[2]

And with the woman business traveller, most of the studies relating to supply are limited to the airline and, more predominantly, accommodation sector – hotel security and amenities. Foster and Botterill (1995) report Brown's argument that women have

[2] An isolated example of the industry providing for the woman leisure traveller is the development by the Base Backpacker Group of a "Sanctuary floor" in their new luxury hostels for female backpackers. This floor is described as an "upmarket girls-only zone featuring luxurious bathrooms with full-length mirrors, hair dryers, Egyptian cotton towels and Aveda toiletry products" (*Sun-Herald [Travel]* 1 August, p.3).

three main areas of dissatisfaction with the hotel sector: "outdated sexist attitudes; lack of security provision; supply of 'irrelevant facilities' designed for men's needs with apparently no thought given to the needs of women" (p.389). Similar to the findings from other studies, Sammons et al. (1999) found that comfort and safety/security were of prime concern to American women business travellers. Sammons et al. claim that the desires of women business travellers are not very different from those of other groups, such as mature travellers. The major difference Lutz and Ryan (1993) found between women and men, was the use of public spaces, with women less inclined to go outside the hotel for a meal or eat in the hotel restaurant. Foster and Botterill (1995) in their supply-side analysis of UK hotel chains found most respondents perceived a difference in the needs of men and women business travellers but "there was no observable relationship with an intention to act" (p.391). They claimed that it made no difference whether decision making in the organisation was centralised or decentralised. They concluded by suggesting that an ideology of domesticity that has influenced women's employment positions within hotels has been transferred to the gender identities of male and female customers. The industry's response in the accommodation sector has been the provision of in-room amenities (such as hair dryers and irons), extra security in the forms of women-only floors and semi-public lounges for business meetings. A study by Lutz and Ryan (1993) found a mixed reaction from women to the provision of women-only floors. Brown (Foster & Botterill 1995) and Lutz and Ryan (1993) established that despite the symbolic value of female services such as the female bedroom, women wanted equal treatment rather than feminine décor. Hotel research suggests that being singled out for special treatment can result in women feeling more visible and vulnerable (Aitchison & Reeves 1998). Current provisions for women are seen as band-aid solutions.

> Whilst such chaperoning and surveillance techniques recognise the threats to women travelling alone they do not address the causes of such threats and represent an ironic juxtaposition to other hotel services such as the availability of twenty-four hour pornography channels. (Aitchison & Reeves 1998, p.55)

One study which included leisure travellers was a review of women-only accommodation in Europe (Aitchison & Reeves 1998). A survey of guests at the one women-only hotel in the UK revealed that a women-only environment with a focus on

safety and proximity to public transport was more important than price and location. The authors concluded:

> Tourism and hospitality management literature emphasising the importance of location and price can be aligned with traditional geographical analyses which adopt theoretical perspectives derived from positivism and spatial determinism. The new cultural geography serves to provide a more adequate theoretical perspective from which to approach the phenomenon of gendered space by emphasising the social and cultural construction of space and place rather than the purely physical or economic objective manifestations of location. (Aitchison & Reeves 1998, p.65)

Despite the attractions of the hotel to the women guests, the hotel closed soon after the study, which the authors saw as an example of the current changes in feminist business.

Women's attitudes to airline facilities and services have also been examined (King 1995; Westwood et al. 2000). In a study of business women and airlines, Westwood et al. (2000) found that only three of fifteen airlines studied "demonstrated an active awareness of, and interest in, the needs of businesswomen". The remaining airlines "considered the airline product to be 'gender neutral'" (p.357). In other words, the product, according to the airlines, did not advantage one gender over the other. Morgan and Pritchard (1998) explain, "In essence gender neutrality is an approach which assumes that women require no services other than those 'normally' provided, but that the norm is a [sic] essentially a *masculine* standard for measurement" (p.121). When the perceptions of the business travellers were studied, it was a different story. While men could be said to agree with the airlines (they were more satisfied with the facilities and service than were the women and also saw the airline experience as not favouring one gender), the women considered the airline experience as masculine. They had specific issues with levels of comfort (proximity of men and women in business class especially on overnight flights, dissatisfaction with care of clothes and unmet hygiene needs), levels of provision (male-dominated executive lounges and male-oriented in-flight food), levels of personal safety (in business lounges at night, on arrival at the destination and the airline safety record) and staff attitudes (male-oriented, patronising and favouring business men in the upgrade process).

Harris's (2002) study of the New Zealand business travel experience from the perspective of women consumers and tourism managers similarly found that "the traditional notions and the masculine norm are challenged in light of women's experiences and opinions" (p.ii). Writers agree that there is a danger in not addressing the needs of business women, a fast growing and lucrative sector of the travel industry. Business women's needs in relation to tourism sectors other than accommodation and the carrier sector (airlines) have generally been ignored by academic researchers (Westwood et al. 2000). Additionally, the industry is not discussing creating destinations and attractions for women (Richter 1995).

While the focus is the business woman, there is generally no mention that the leisure traveller might also have similar needs and benefit from an industry which understands and provides for her needs. Another form of travel, incentive travel, is seen as having a gendered dimension. G. Shaw and Williams (2002) referring to incentive "fantasy packages" consider, "They may be designed for the mostly female spouses of a largely male group of executives and represent a symbolic exchange for long hours spent at work and away from families" (p.39).

Women Leisure Travellers

The centrality of the role of the tourist, the leisure traveller, in tourism and the growth of women tourists as a market (Hwu 1993; Kelley 1993; Gek 1996; Bond, M. 1997b; Marshman 1997; Pennington-Gray & Kerstetter 2001) highlight the need for research on the woman leisure traveller. While there has been a developing interest in the woman tourist from a gendered perspective (Hall, D. & Kinnaird 1994; Anderson, L. & Littrell 1995; Butler, K. 1995; Creighton 1995; McCormack 1995b, 1998; Meisch 1995; Pruitt & Lafont 1995; Davidson 1996a, 1996b; Deem 1986, 1996b; McGehee, Loker-Murphy & Uysal 1996; Apostolopoulos et al. 2001; Wilson, Erica & Little 2003), the dearth of such research is acknowledged (Pennington-Gray & Kerstetter 2001; Harris 2002). Where women have been studied within a gender-aware framework, it has usually been from the side of production (the host) rather than consumption (the tourist). The bulk of the writing has been concerned with the impacts of tourism at the tourist destination. As Harris (2002) says, "The main emphasis in gender and tourism research has been the gender of those working in and around tourism *rather* than the gender of the tourist" (p.68). This may be due to the fact that an

interest in gender has had a longer history amongst those interested in the impacts of tourism (anthropologists and sociologists) than amongst those with a focus on the consumer (such as psychologists). Most women travellers originate from the developed world and this is reflected in the literature. Apostolopoulis et al. (2001) have attempted to address the silence on women travellers from developing countries through a collection of accounts of women as tourism consumers from the South Pacific (Berno & Jones 2001), Middle East (Sönmez 2001) and Africa (Dieke 2001) and cursory discussion of women from Latin America (Casellas & Holcomb 2001), Central and Eastern Europe (Hall, D. 2001) and mountain regions (Walker, Valaoras, Gurung & Godde 2001). A reading of their collection highlights the lack of information about women as tourism consumers from the developing countries. The following assessment partially (or fully) explains the lack of information.

> Socioeconomic constraints as well as societal barriers prevent the majority of women in developing regions from traveling. In fact … for the majority of women in most developing societies, pleasure travel remains a remote possibility and one that leaves little room for self-expression or self-determination, even at the dawn of the twenty-first century. (Apostolopoulis & Sönmez 2001, p.8)

Many of the writings most relevant to the present study have originated from schools other than tourism. Of those contemporary studies which have studied the female tourist, many have looked at the modern-day equivalent of the Victorian tourist – the solo tourist or adventure tourist.

The Contemporary "Intrepid" Woman Traveller

The contemporary solo woman traveller has been studied by Slavik and Shaw (1996), H. Gibson and Jordan (1998), Jordan (1998) and Erica Wilson and Little (2003). A descriptive profile of contemporary women solo travellers staying at commercial accommodation in Queensland (Slavik & Shaw 1996) indicated that "solo women travellers: were younger or older, not middle-aged; had no dependants; were employed or retired; used travel information sources; travelled for holiday purposes; and visited adventure type regions" (p.589). While there were some similarities with men solo travellers, there were also significant differences. H. Gibson and Jordan (1998) moved beyond descriptive data to understand the experiences of solo women travellers from

Britain and the United States. Their findings highlight the constraints confronting solo women tourists: safety, financial issues and psychological discomfort in dining alone. H. Gibson and Jordan (1998) discovered that although solo travel was empowering for the women, they all experienced "patriarchal use of fear, or sexual terrorism to constrain their behaviour" (p.18). The women were required to employ a range of strategies to overcome such constraints. H. Gibson and Jordan (1998) concluded:

> to adapt a phrase used by Henderson et al (1996), the 'freedom to' travel alone, for these women, does not necessarily provide them with 'freedom from' the constraints which act upon their everyday leisure experiences. (Gibson & Jordan 1998, p.19)

In a study of Australian solo women travellers across the age span, Erica Wilson and Little (2003) identified gender constraints experienced by the women prior to departure and during the trip and, similar to H. Gibson and Jordan (1998), recognised a range of strategies and behaviours the women employed to negotiate the constraints and permit them to travel. Employing the term espoused by Wimbush and Talbot (1988), Erica Wilson and Little (2003) and H. Gibson and Jordan (1998) referred to the women's experience as one of "relative freedom", in that "women's abilities to access and enjoy solo travel are relative to gendered structures and contexts which dictate appropriate norms of 'female' behaviour" (Wilson & Little 2003, p.839).

The tourism industry is seen as discouraging women's solo travel. Jordan (1998) claims there has been increasing dissatisfaction amongst British solo women relating to poor service, single room supplements, lack of personal safety and security and inferior room quality. In a study which examined the availability and promotion of holidays for the solo, mid-life woman traveller in the UK, Jordan (1998) confirmed previous findings that the examined brochures were not targeting the solo, mid-life or specifically female leisure travellers. Travel agents were "uninformed and unhelpful" (p.76) and the brochures of the mainstream tour operators were geared to families rather than single mid-life women. "The dominant ideology portrayed by the imagery in these brochures is of 'the family', consisting of two white adults and two children in a family group" (Jordan 1998, p.77). The single woman traveller has no place in the tourism brochures. As Urry (1990) says, groups which fall outside "the family holiday" (nuclear family), the "romantic holiday" (heterosexual couple) and the "fun

holiday" (same-sex group looking for other-sex partners) "are poorly served by the tourism industry" (p.142).

Adventure travel has the potential for women to resist gendered discourses. Jennings (1999), in her ethnographic study of long-term ocean (yacht) cruisers, demonstrated that women when travelling with male partners were not always able to resist gendered discourse. While male partners were more likely to cite challenge and adventure for choosing the cruising lifestyle, women were more likely to stress belongingness needs, a desire to be with their male partner. Jennings also found that women, more than men, needed to maintain connections with home "and the reason was mainly the need to 'belong'" (p.449). On board, cruisers' roles and responsibilities reflected traditional land-based lifestyles with the women more likely to be involved in the domestic role and the men the mechanical maintenance role. Jennings portrayed the patriarchal hegemony of sailing and cruising in which women are often in a subordinate and marginalised position, denied power and authority. Women tend to lack the financial investment in cruising and are often denied the skills and knowledge necessary for them to assume responsibility in the non-domestic domain (thus increasing women's anxiety). It is more likely the men rather than the women who achieve flow and self-actualisation. However, Jennings viewed the cruising women as agentic in achieving connectivity with the space in which they found themselves. Jennings used the term "empowered connectivity" to describe this action of agency. She claimed that empowered connectivity is achieved by the women in a number of ways:

> their decision to cruise with their partner because of affective reasons rather than social reasons, their retreatism to the domestic sphere to an [sic] space where they will acquire a sense of self worth and personal value, their rituals and activities associated with the domestic sphere and the power and authority it affords, their agency in leaving both the boat and the relationship instead of carrying on in circumstances which are untenable, their decision to go along with their partner because of the travel opportunities the voyage will provide them, the sharing of a [sic] joint goals and self actualisation through the pursuit of shared goals. (Jennings 1999, p.436)

Modern-day commercial adventure or wilderness travel is a contemporary version of the intrepid travel of women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The

benefits of adventure and risk-taking activities for women in the outdoors/wilderness have been well documented by those outside the academic tourism field (Miranda & Yerkes 1982; Mitten 1986, 1992a, 1992b; Powch 1994; Arnold 1994). Niemi (1990), in her guidebook for women in the outdoors, claims, "We find ways to become more ourselves" (p.17). As with previous generations of women travellers, contemporary women travellers are associated with a "journey" (experience) as opposed to male travellers' "quest" (challenge) (Simpson 1991). Migdalski (1993) explains that a "journey" suggests "a softer, more understanding and exploratory approach to the outdoor experience" (p.490). In a study of Australian women participants in mixed-sex adventure trips, Davidson and McKercher (1993) found that the commercial trip provided social companionship, convenience and safety. However, there was a significant gap in industry understanding of women's needs (McKercher & Davidson 1993). The operators overestimated the value the women placed on self-development and sharing the experience with other women. The operators also overvalued the specific components of their tours and underestimated the importance of the tour in enabling women to participate in adventure tourism, ease of organisation, safety, the benefits of a guide and provision of travel companions. The conclusion by Davidson and McKercher (1993) was that commercial travel reinforced gender constraints in adventure travel by encouraging dependency rather than future independent travel. While there are certainly benefits in the ability to travel independently, such a conclusion runs the risk of devaluing the benefits the women experienced from the trip and the significant pleasure women experience from social relationships with other travellers and with their tour guide. The attraction of commercial adventure travel for women confirms V. Smith's (1979) observation that "Few women are drawn to being explorers or even elite tourists; most conform to some gradation of the 'tourist establishment' (Cohen 1972)" (p.57).

McKercher and Davidson (1993) found few operators of mixed-sex adventure travel directed their marketing efforts to women despite women constituting a larger proportion of the commercial adventure market than men. In contrast, women *are* the focus in women-only adventure travel. Mitten (1986, 1992a, 1992b), from her experience as director of *Woodswomen* in the United States, outlined the leadership principles for all-women travel and explained the benefits for the participants in travelling in a single sex group: development of self-esteem and empowerment (Mitten

1992a, 1992b). She claimed that "For some women, being on an all-women's trip reminds them and reinforces positive experiences they have had as girls on all-girls trips sponsored by groups such as the Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, YWCA, and girls clubs" (1992b, p.2). Sharing adventurous experiences with other women is seen to contribute to identity development (Kiewa 1995). Fox (1997), in a study of women-only wilderness travel, found that being in a women-only group "enhanced a feeling of sisterhood, womanhood, openness, sharing, empowerment, positive and strong bonding, relatedness (kindred spirits, understanding), support and trust, safety/security, nurturance, gender freedom (out of traditional roles), and group achievement" (p.61). Niemi (1990) also outlined the values and techniques which are common to all-women trips. These are inclusiveness, non-competitiveness, supportive atmosphere, individual choice, shared decision making, creative leadership and playfulness. As she said, "All women trips aren't automatically better than other arrangements, but they do give women a chance to find their own ways to do things" (p.13). M. Russell (1994) noted that when women lead women, there is cooperation rather than competition and democracy rather than autocracy.

Although women share experiences in travel, women differ along various social dimensions. Diversity is recognised in the single woman traveller group (Gibson, H. & Jordan 1998) and women participating in all-women travel groups (Mitten 1986).

While the above studies contribute to an understanding of the gendered tourist experience, they reflect a particular type of tourism or holiday. Indeed, popular understanding would situate solo and adventure travel within a discourse of "travel" (Boorstin 1971) as opposed to "tourism" or "holiday". The present study takes a broad approach to tourism and holidays, allowing for travel and overnight stay for any leisure purpose. A Himalayan trek, an overnight stay in a nearby guesthouse and an interstate visit to one's family all qualify for inclusion in the definition of tourism and holiday employed in the present study. While feminists have demonstrated an interest in "intrepid", adventurous travel, women's less "exotic" holidays have held less interest.

"Ordinary" Women Holidaymakers

Ten years ago, Norris and Wall (1994) recognised that a neglected area of research was gender and relations on the family holiday. In the meantime, a number of studies have

examined the role of the wife/mother on holiday, highlighting gendered constraints. As Aitchison et al. (2000) state, "tourism behaviour often continues and perpetuates the gendered domestic behaviour of families and heterosexual couples where the gendered roles of the home are merely transposed to another location" (p.127). V. Smith (1979) in her study of travellers from a middle-class town in Northern California found that one of the reasons for travel was to get away from children and domestic responsibilities. Whereas men chose destinations for physical activity, women were seeking relaxation. Men were happy with condominiums as accommodation where they didn't have to "dress up"; women on the other hand, did not want self-catering accommodation. Cheap holidays which often involve self-catering replicate the women's home life. In her study of women in Milton Keynes, Deem (1986) found:

> Men's contribution to holiday labour was often said to be limited to fetching bread and milk from the shops and 'cooking' on a barbecue, but on touring caravanning holidays men almost always did the driving . Towing caravans is *not* women's work. The sexual division of labour thus lives on in holiday contexts. Holidays are not necessarily leisure for women unless they go alone or with other women, but may be an extension of their normal domestic and childcare responsibilities; nor are they necessarily a rest from tensions and conflicts within households or families. (Deem 1986, p.63)

Deem (1996a) reports that some of the women in her Milton Keynes study appeared to return from holidays as stressed as they had been prior to the holiday. Comparing the holiday away from home to the holiday at home, Deem (1996b) suggests that the holiday at home which requires no pre- and post-holiday preparations can "provide women with a slowing down of commodified or clock time and accord a greater priority to 'own time'" (p.20). McCormack (1995b, 1998), in a study of Australian women ranging in age from under 30 to over 70 years, found that although the women's holiday memories contained those positive elements usually associated with holidays (such as relaxation, freedom from obligations, social interactions and new experiences), there were also "elements not commonly associated with holiday experiences … obligation, work, social disapproval and responsibility" (1998, p.44). There were contradictions in their experiences. The participants in McCormack's study perceived their holiday as leisure when "these feelings and contexts interacted to

produce the feeling of being away from obligations and the feeling of freedom to choose to do something or nothing and to implement that choice" (1998, p.46). Migdalski (1993) reported filial and motherhood duties as leaving women with little time "for me". Examining emotion and holidays, Crawford et al. (1992) concluded that holiday experiences were less satisfying for women than men. Although there were pleasures in the beauty of nature, the company of others and a feeling of competency, the women as adults felt responsible for the physical and emotional well-being of others, and thus could never "let go" as men appeared capable of doing. It was only in women-only travel that women experienced shared responsibility. Memories of childhood holidays similarly contained elements of pleasure combined with disquiet and anxiety. Inherent in the childhood holiday memories was the work done by women (mothers and aunts) and their role as girls in helping out. Since "letting go" might be considered a major reason for holiday travel, it would appear that what is popularly seen as the short- and long-term benefits of travel were not achieved by these women. Selänniemi (2002) in a study of Finnish couples holidaying at sunlust destinations in Europe came to the same conclusion as Crawford et al. (1992) and Jennings (1999), that men seemed to experience the liminoidity of the holiday more fully than women. Unlike men, women were not free of their everyday lives and "the existence of 'reality' outside the holiday destination" (Selänniemi 2002, p.21).

In a study of Australian women with young children, Davidson (1996b) concluded that the discourse women used around holidays was the holiday as "a 'space' in which women negotiate their position in the various discourses and ideologies" (p.54). Conversely, "'Going away' is not a holiday if a sense of 'space' is not achieved" (p.86). Sharing the holiday with others is a pleasurable experience. Women's concern for the maintenance of relationships also "justifies the holiday and contributes to the meaning of the experience" (p.67). Davidson has added to the findings of Crawford et al. (1992) and McCormack (1995b, 1998) that "work" is a component of women's holiday experiences. However, she found that women varied in their perceptions of these experiences. For some women, the experience was not a holiday unless they were released completely from their work responsibilities. For others, reduced work responsibilities were sufficient for them to consider the experience a holiday. For these women, travelling away from home allowed them to leave behind many of their daily chores. As Davidson (1996a) says:

> So, whilst much of the work goes with women on their holidays, much of it also stays behind. Those jobs of scrubbing bathrooms, tidying cupboards, all the 'little' maintenance jobs in the home can be avoided when women go away. The key factor in women's experience of holidays, then, is a reduction in pressure that is associated with a change in site and family function. (Davidson 1996a, p.95)

Another feature of Davidson's (1996a) findings was the significance of relationships in defining the quality of the holiday experience, "in constructing the experience as a holiday or not" (p.96) and contributing to the woman's sense of self or identity.

> The value that women place on relationships implies that the role they fill within these relationships is important and valuable to themselves. To value being with children, partner, or friends is to value the role as mother, partner and friend respectively. There are different 'selves' able to be nurtured in a holiday and, to a limited extent, the holiday provides choice over which particular self or selves will be engaged – the mother, partner, social or individual self. Some women want to use the holiday to nurture their self as mother, so the holiday involves keeping the nuclear family intact, doing pleasurable activities together, leaving the children only on few occasions. Other women put themselves or their relationship with their partner as a higher priority than the 'family' and their role as mother, and they seek relief from childcare work so that they can put energy into the partnership or themselves ... On the other hand, however, women might be more interested in developing their other roles, and sense of self associated with these, and so define holidays as a period without their family. (Davidson 1996a, p.97)

In earlier writings in which the focus was the *potential* of women as customers for travel, Bartos (1982) identified the negative effect of the child-rearing stage of the life cycle on discretionary travel and the defining feature of career-orientation amongst all women as an indicator of travel potential. However, Davidson (1996b) makes the point that "Such a focus portrays the holiday as an opportunity to be earned from paid work, and reinforces the lack of value and significance of the holiday as an experience for women not in paid employment and with children" (p.18).

The constraints of motherhood can affect women's travel in their pre-motherhood years. Elsrud (1998), in a study of women backpackers, found that travel could be seen

as "a period to gather strength and self-esteem before becoming the caring mother and wife they thought was to be their role in the future" (p.316). As Elsrud (1998) claims, the experience of travel as a "'last' time out" is possibly a gender issue (p.328). Douglass (1994), studying contemporary Australian women's travel narratives of the 1950s, similarly interpreted their travel as a break before settling down. The temporary nature of the holiday meant it was "no threat to the existing constructions of gender roles in the 1950s" (p.232). To understand the women's memories of travel in the 1950s, Douglass portrays the dominant myth of the 1950s woman as the "happy and successful housewife and mother, pictured in her sparkling clean kitchen, her healthy, well-groomed children playing on the neat lawn outside" (p.232). The image of woman was not of a traveller. Consequently, the women lacked "a discursive space which would give social value [or identity] to those experiences" (p.241). Douglass found that women, on looking back, were surprised at what they achieved. She suggested that "Perhaps the women could not reconcile, within their travel narratives, the domestic self of their pre- and post-travel lives, and the voice of the experienced traveller" (p.241). The voice of the experienced traveller contained competing discourses of the exotic, of resilience and of confirmation that one had experienced first hand cultural differences.

Despite Bartos's (1982) declaration that career-orientation amongst women was an indicator of travel potential, the single, middle-aged, female holidaymaker has been neglected in the tourism literature and ignored by the industry (Stone & Nichol 1999). In response to the dissatisfaction of this group of women identified by *Holiday Which*, Stone and Nichol (1999) studied this segment of holidaymakers, identifying their specific needs for social interaction, escape, self-esteem and recreation. The first three of these needs had different meanings for women who had "lost" a partner compared with women who had never had a partner. Stone and Nichol report the findings of a survey by "Single again"(1994) which found that, of individuals who were newly single, "less than 25 per cent of women compared with 40 per cent of men, felt confident about going on holidays alone" for a two weeks' duration (p.9). Despite the growth in the single, middle-aged, female holiday segment, the tourism industry was found to have little knowledge or interest in this segment. Although some of the women's issues also relate to the single male holidaymaker, the authors concluded that the women's concerns were gender-specific.

Studies which have moved beyond descriptive research have portrayed the complexity of the tourist experience. Creighton (1995) in her study of weaving by Japanese women tourists demonstrates the depth of meaning of the experience. At first sight, fulfilment in silk weaving or nostalgia for the past might account for women's participation. However, Creighton explains that the workshops provide "cultural legitimacy" for the women to travel (p.463). They allow women to reclaim and control a female activity which, in the past, has been controlled by men.

Despite the limitations of descriptive studies, they have contributed to tourism studies by increasing the visibility of women tourists. Motivational studies, in examining gender differences, have contributed to an understanding (although findings are not always consistent) that the tourist experience cannot be managed as if it were gender-neutral. In a study of European travellers to Bulgaria, Anastassova (2002) found social and intellectual motives were important for women and competence-mastery and intellectual motives dominant for men. It was also concluded that "there are more similarities in the attitudes and motivations of female tourists from different West European countries than in the attitudes of male and female tourists of the same nationality" (p.70). Gendered differences in motivation have also been found amongst Australian international tourists (McGehee et al. 1996). While the researchers found that both women and men rated culture and heritage as the most important push factor, women placed significantly more importance on the push factors of culture, family/kinship and prestige than did men. Men rated sports and adventure significantly more important than did the women. Although important to both men and women, the pull factors, budget, comfort and relaxation, and heritage and culture, were significantly more important for the women. The authors acknowledge that "certain factors were not significantly affected by gender. Age and income had a greater affect on the push factor of Prestige, demonstrating a strong inverse relationship" (p.55). Employing Maslow's hierarchy of needs, Pearce and Caltabiano (1983) found that when comparing Australian women's and men's accounts of positive holiday experiences, women were more concerned with self-actualisation needs and men with love and belongingness needs. The authors concluded: "This finding, though perhaps initially counter-intuitive, may reflect less on traditional sex roles and areas of female concern with relationships than on the special self-actualizing role travel can play in the lives of women" (p.19). These findings are contrary to those of Jennings (1999) and

Selänniemi (2002) discussed above. Motivational research (Pennington-Gray & Kerstetter 2001) which focussed on the benefits of leisure travel sought by American university-educated women (aged from their twenties to their nineties) concluded that there were three distinct types of women travellers: rest and relaxation seekers, family/social seekers, and action seekers. Surprisingly, the only demographic dimension which significantly differed between the groups was employment status. Age differences were not found. The researchers questioned whether differences would have been found if composition of the household rather than age or generation had been studied. The authors in highlighting the "caretaker" role of women suggested that future research take into account household composition as a woman's caretaking activities might affect the type of benefits desired through leisure travel. Since the research instrument was derived from the literature, it is likely that it was based on a male perspective of benefits.

Other studies have found gender differences in tourist attraction visitation related to personality (Frew & Shaw 1999) and gender differences in destination choice (Ryan, M., Henley & Soutar 1998) related to differences in information processing and importance of attributes.

As cited, a limitation of a number of the above studies is the focus on "registering and cataloguing" gender difference rather than providing a gendered interpretation. Gender has been treated as an independent variable rather than a framework for analysis. The studies have not analysed the social construction of gender or the power relations inherent in gender constructions. The findings have been presented as conclusions, rather than "a starting point" (Jackson, E. & Henderson 1995, p.33) for analysing the meaning of the tourist experience for women.

Of the studies which have analysed the tourist within a "gender-aware framework" (Kinnaird & Hall 1996), most have focussed on a specific aspect of tourist behaviour rather than the composite leisure travel experience.

Women Tourists' Relationship with Host Men

A growing area of interest is women's romantic/sexual relationships with host men at the destination. Thomas (2000) does not differentiate women's sexual relationships

with male tourists and male hosts when claiming that "Many women still do not have the means to make choices regarding sexual intercourse" (p.216). Thomas asserts that the association of holidays and sex might make it more difficult for women to say "No" to a sexual relationship. The power relations, however, become more complicated when money is exchanged between the foreign female tourist and the local (primarily Caribbean and South American) male host (Meisch 1995; Pruitt & Lafont 1995; O' Connell Davidson 1998; Dahles & Bras 1999; Dahles 2002; Phillips 1999; Sánchez Taylor 2000; Herold, Garcia & DeMoya 2001). In these cases relationships are determined not only by gender and social class but also ethnicity.

> For most foreign women ideal(ized) features of masculinity are associated with the Rastaman. Fueled by the discourse of male strength and authenticity as developed by the Rastafarian movement, the Rastaman is constructed as the exotic Other, more passionate, more emotional, more natural, and sexually more tempting than Western men. (Dahles 2002, p.188)

As Phillips (1999) says, "The Barbadian male embodies the primitive, aggressive nature of the black man, having an animal-like quality, which is constructed as opposite to the white man, the gentleman" (p.193). Dahles (2002) sees that "The ambivalence created by their masculine appearance and their feminine way of acting makes them highly attractive to Western women who complain that Western men are either too male centred or too 'soft'" (p.191). On holiday the women could experience a reversal of gendered power relations. The conclusions of Pruitt and Lafont (1995) resonate with the analyses of the Victorian "lady" travellers.

> Dissatisfied with the confines of cultural norms and expectations, people are willing, even eager, to experiment with and rewrite gender scripts. The constraining and sacrificial (Gilmore 1990) nature of gender ideologies invites response and resistance. Tourism creates a social space ripe with possibilities for change through the interplay between conventional scripts and new ideas. (Pruitt & Lafont 1995, p.436)

Phillips (1999) sees the woman as exploring "the traditional feminine role thrown off by the feminist movement". The holiday experience

> allows her to explore these gender contradictions, playing both man and woman, in the center of the Other. She seeks out the quintessential male … and in her new hegemonic role she has the power to do so in paradise – the stuff of romantic novels. (Phillips 1999, p.198)

Investigating women tourists in Jamaica, Sánchez Taylor and O'Connell Davidson (cited in Bindel 2003) concluded that women's stereotypical belief in black men's hypersexuality allows them to see themselves as sexually desirable and outweighs any notion that the men are prostitutes with an economic motive.

In a manner reminiscent of women engaged in imperial tourism, women of today may be replacing patriarchal hegemony with racial and economic hegemony. Pruitt and Lafont (1995) and O'Connell Davidson (1998) have questioned whether female "sex" tourism reflects a change in women's subjective gender identity. O'Connell Davidson (1998) says, "It seems to me that many female sex tourists are not the least interested in realizing a new gender identity but rather seek opportunities to act out very traditional gender scripts" (p.182). While recognising some differences, O'Connell Davidson (1998) sees female sex tourism as being similar in many ways to male sex tourism. The debate continues as to whether such relationships between women tourists and host men fall into the category of "sex" tourism, where women are as exploitative as male sex tourists, or "romance" tourism. Jeffreys (2003) argues that sex tourism is not gender-neutral. She disagrees that women form such relationships with local men "to bolster their privileged race and class status" (p.225). Jeffreys (2003) takes a radical feminist position privileging the oppression of gender over that of race and class to argue that "The differences between the behaviour of male and female sex tourists in terms of its context, meanings and effects are considerable and result from the different positions of men and women under male dominance" (p.232). The notion of power imbalance between the local man and the female tourist, however, is challenged by Meish (1995) and Herold et al. (2001). The female tourist is behoven to the local man to show her around and give her a good time. From the research, it appears that the white woman tourist may be liberated in going "in quest of the sexual Other" but many women have not escaped the traditional female role of "carer" of the poorer local man. Nonetheless, whatever the power relationship between the local man and female tourist, the tourist enjoys a power denied to the local woman.

The relationship between adventure travellers and their guides in South America has been the focus of study of Meisch (2002). Meisch considers these relationships neither sex tourism nor romance tourism as described in the literature as the trekking romances are often serendipitous. Most affairs were observed to be between female trekkers and male guides. Meisch describes these relationships as following "predictable gender stereotypes". As she says, "a subordinate, dependent, lower status, in terms of the trekking hierarchy, female, becomes involved with a superordinate, independent, and higher status male, the leader and guide" (p.176). Although there was opportunity for female guides to have affairs with male trekkers, this did not occur. The women guides felt they would lose respect amongst the Andeans. They claimed: "Our authority is more tenuous than that of male guides not only with Andeans but with trekkers" (Meisch 2002, p. 179).

While the above studies have focussed on "consensual" relationships, Hottola (2002) has investigated women tourists' *unwanted* relationships with host men: the sexed body of the Western woman tourist to India and the responses of the women to unwanted overtures from Indian men. Viewing the stereotype of the amoral Western woman within the context of the gendered Indian society, Hottola (2002) says:

> As long as Indian women cannot safely and independently occupy public space, foreign women visiting India will probably not be respected there either … The local men and women as well as the visiting tourists are 'victims' of this embodied demarcation of space. (Hottola 2002, p.171)

Women Tourists as Decision Makers

Tourism literature on gender differences has focussed primarily on the tourism decision-making process. However, these studies have been limited to decision making within nuclear families and marital heterosexual dyads. One of the first tourism researchers to focus on women was V. Smith (1979) who claimed that American women tend to be the decision makers in tourism. V. Smith's conclusion has been cited often, especially in the recent feminist discussion of tourism, as rationale for the female market to be taken seriously. However, the various studies which have been conducted prior to and since then have produced contradictory evidence. A common finding is that vacation decision making is most likely to be a joint process

and where one partner is dominant, it tends to be the husband (Myers & Moncrief 1978). Nichols and Snepenger (1988) came to the same conclusion but found that in the husband-dominant groups, there was more likely to be an age difference between spouses. Jenkins (1978a) and Ritchie and Filiatrault (1980) concluded that while there was joint decision making in some of the areas to be considered, the husband was perceived to be dominant in the remaining sub-decisions. Husbands tended to dominate decision making more than wives in families (with children) than in couples (Ritchie & Filiatrault 1980). Fodness (1992), on the other hand, found that while the family vacation decision was joint, wives were more likely to be the family information seeker and to make individual decisions in family life-cycle stages with children than in family life-cycle stages in which children were absent. When the different life stages were collapsed into two categories, "earlier" and "later" stages, patterns of information search and vacation decision making, there were no significant differences between life stages. This finding conflicts with the earlier conclusions of Tongren (1980) who established that husbands in later life were far more likely to take the lead in the information search process than were their wives and Cosenza and Davis (1981) who found the dominant decision structure proceeds from joint to husband and in later stages of life tends to be dominated by the wife. Who dominates decision making in later life is related to the education level and employment status of the spouse (Lederhans 1979) and duration of living together; the longer a couple lived together, the more likely that travel decisions are joint decisions (Myers & Moncrief 1978). Environmentrics (1991) concluded, from their focus groups of senior Australians, that planning and organising of the holiday was undertaken by the spouse most motivated to travel. "Most couples in this age group seem to have long established roles, and know who is the 'initiator' and 'planner' for travel" (Environmetrics 1991, p.47). Unfortunately this conclusion is fairly vague as to who is most motivated to travel and whether planning and organising are the same as initiating.

The complexity of travel decision making, often involving multiple decisions prior to travel and at the destination, makes the behaviour difficult to study. The decisions are made within a specific social and historical context, making comparisons between studies problematic. The type of holiday and destination can affect who holds the power in decision making as can the social identities of participants. The behaviour

under study needs to be clarified; information seeking is not the same as decision making. The studies tend towards description of behaviour rather than explanation. The deductive approach gives no opportunity for the participants to express the types of decisions which are important to them in travel decision making. The studies do not explain whose needs are being considered by the decision maker or how involvement in decision making affects satisfaction with the holiday. They do not examine power relations in travel decision making with power relations within the family and the broader social context. Deem (1986), in discussing decisions about leisure, argues that even if decision makers claim that decisions are joint, they are not always made on a basis of equality. Cultural differences are likely to be found in decision making behaviour. Most of the tourism studies have been conducted in the United States. Michie (1986), in a study of Mexican family travel behaviour, identified the role of the adult female in the Mexican family as being autocratic. European women visiting Bulgaria (Anastassova 2002) were similarly found to be the final decision maker for the trip. Twenty years ago, based on findings from Western countries, van Raaij and Francken (1984) claimed, "In modern, comrade-type marriages, one may expect more syncratic or consensus decisions, while in a traditional marriage one may expect husband dominance" (p.108). With changes in women's employment and economic roles since the earlier studies in decision making were conducted one might expect to find that more women have a "comrade-type" marriage. In a recent study, Zalatan (1998) found that women were reasonably involved in selecting the vacation destination, vacation date and collecting information. However, overall, involvement was greater for decisions at the destination than prior to departure. Wives (especially "housewives" as opposed to "employed" wives) had little involvement in financial tasks pre-departure. Wives' high level of involvement in the specific task of "preparing luggage" and, at the destination, "selecting restaurants" and "shopping expenditures" suggests that "traditional women's roles are still apparent" (p.897).

Lesbian Tourists

In addition to the recent academic study of women and travel, there has also been an increasing interest in gay tourism (Holcomb & Luongo 1996; Hughes, 1997; Johnston, L. 1997; Pritchard, Morgan, Sedgely & Jenkins 1998; Clift & Forrest 1999, 2000; Luongo 2000; and the edited collection by Clift, Luongo & Callister 2002). As the writings on women's travels are bringing women from the

marginalised cultural and social periphery to the centre, so too are the writings on gay tourism refusing to see and treat the gay tourist as Other. Nonetheless, it is the rare publication (for example, Miller 2002) which focusses on the lesbian tourist. Either writers subsume lesbians under the term "gay" or the focus is on the gay man. Pritchard et al. (1998) claim, "The term 'gay community' disguises gay men's oppression of lesbians and reinforces notions of a patriarchal society in which the male experience is regarded as the norm, subsuming the female experience within it" (p.34). In the gay world the lesbian becomes Other.

Since the tourist experience involves engagement with the different elements of tourism, which are themselves gendered, the following sections review the literature which has employed a gendered framework to study tourism marketing, tourist attractions, employment in the tourism industry and the effect of tourism on the destination hosts.

Gendered Marketing

Another research area of feminist interest has been the gendered marketing of the tourist experience (Richter 1991, 1994; Norris & Wall 1994; Cohen, C. 1995, 2001; Rao 1995; Marshment 1997; Bishop, R. & Robinson 1998; Jordan 1998; Davies, J. & Bradbery 1999; Hemmati 1999b; Sirakaya & Sonmez 2000; Morgan & Pritchard 1998; Pritchard 2001). Analyses of holiday brochures from state tourism offices in the United States (Sirakaya & Sonmez 2000) and Australia (Davies, J. & Bradbery 1999; Young, G. & Brown 1999) and United Kingdom tour operators (Jordan 1998; Pritchard 2001) reveal the objectification of women as sexual beings and the stereotypical portrayal of women as submissive and subordinate to men. A significant amount of advertising is focussed on attractive, young, white women (Marshment 1997; Jordan 1998; Sirakaya & Sonmez 2000; Pritchard 2001). Men are portrayed in sporting roles (Jordan 1998; Davies, J. & Bradbery 1999; Pritchard 2001) and working roles (Davies, J. & Bradbery 1999). Marshment (1997) claims that the young woman on the cover of travel brochures "is almost always wearing a swimsuit" (p.19). However she disagrees with other writers that the women are portrayed specifically as sexual beings; rather they signify pleasure in general, luxury and idleness.

> That pleasure is associated culturally with women, rather than men, enables women's bodies – specifically, the image of the 'woman in a swimsuit' – to signify the particular pleasures of the beach holiday. And that beauty is associated with the female and not only facilitates this signification of pleasure, but also permits the use of representations of women 'of colour' to aestheticize and tame the 'other' as the object of the tourist gaze. (Marshment 1997, p.31)

The exception to the "woman in a swimsuit" is the older tourist who is seen as a couple "usually fully-clothed and often on a verandah" (Marshment 1997, p.19), a depiction which could also be perceived as ageist. Jordan (1998) in her study of holiday brochures similarly established that

> Where older female tourists are depicted, they are all in heterosexual couples, families or gender-balanced groups … The inference of this imagery is that the socially respectable way for older women to travel is in a group, rather than as a solitary holiday-maker … The male-dominated tourism industry in the UK (Enloe, 1989; Richter, 1994; Jordan, 1996) appears to assume that older female tourists should be surrounded by their family group or accompanied by white male partners, whilst younger woman can be portrayed as sexually available and inviting. (Jordan 1998, p.80)

Pritchard (2001) found that senior men are also "desexualized" in the tourism brochures. The brochures are thus seen to reinforce sexist and ageist stereotypes and, as Pritchard (2001) says, "These underlying messages are insidious and their impact is felt long after the image of the product and its advertised claims have been forgotten by the consumer" (p.89). Richter (1994) criticises the tourism industry for being myopic, sexist and lacking an understanding of women's tourism needs. As Hemmati (1999b) says, the images of women tourists in the brochures "are rarely realistic representations of the actual women travelling" (p.12). The image of the young, tanned, beautiful body, rather than inviting the women to imagine herself as such, "is actually more likely to constrain female holiday participation by undermining women's confidence in their own body image" (Jordan 1998, p.80). A study by King (*Inside Tourism* 9 May 1994, p.3) which examined promotions for the Whitsunday Islands in Queensland found that some women were avoiding the destination as they did not consider they "fit the image" of the "beautiful young bikini clad women" (p.3).

As Morgan and Pritchard (1998) say, "The language of sexuality is closely allied to the language of tourism promotion" (p.193). Richter (1994) claims:

> Theoretically, the appeal of combining sex with tourism should be the same for both sexes, but it is not … an industry providing a sexual ambiance and sexual favours to male clients creates a potentially hostile environment for female clients. Yet, because males control the industry and particularly its marketing and promotion, the expectations of linking sex with tourism are everywhere. (Richter 1994 p.151)

The sexualised language is seen not only in the image of the tourist but also in the destination – the landscape and its peoples. Images of feminised landscapes are found in the promotional material for destinations such as the Caribbean, South Pacific and South-East Asian countries. The images are sensually inviting but depict powerlessness and vulnerability (Morgan and Pritchard 1998) as C. Cohen (1995) illustrated in a study of the British Virgin Islands: tropical islands are likened to women as erotic objects for male consumption. Promotional material for destinations such as Africa and Australia are more masculinised, offering adventure and exploration. The "malestream" image of Australia is of bushmen and lifesavers (Young, G. & Brown 1999). Whether feminised or masculinised images, for the most part they are produced for the heterosexual male gaze.

Despite the sexual and submissive portrayal of both female tourists and female indigenous hosts, a comparison of images of both led Norris and Wall (1994) to conclude differences:

> … the native host woman is portrayed as being submissive and as promising something male tourists can control and dominate … the sexy, yet independent, white female tourist is active rather than passive and promises a potential sexual liaison with other male tourists on more equal grounds. (Norris & Wall 1994, p.70)

Native women are constructed as traditional, untouched by feminism and thus more willing to fulfil the fantasies of male tourists. Ethnicity, gender and sexuality intersect

in the images of the Other. As Morgan and Pritchard (1998) say, quoting Pratt, "imagery reveals more about the observer than the observed" (p.199).

Simmons (2001), in analysing a travelogue in an Australian women's magazine, identified four discourses, privilege, desire, visual discovery and liberation (escape and freedom). However other narratives and discourses are omitted, such as "discourses of self-discovery, experiential or tourist-local relations or a full sensory experience" (p.90). These are the narratives which Simmons (2001) claims are women's narratives of travel. In a previous publication Simmons (1999) reported how the travelogues and travel briefs in two selected Australian women's magazines reinforced women's domestic/ private world and relationship to the natural and how they strengthened the "cultural roots of a cultural elite" (p.166).

Gendered Presentation and Interpretation of Tourist Attractions

As recognised by Aitchison et al. (2000), gender has been ignored in the presentation and consumption of heritage landscapes. The same criticism could be made of tourist attractions in general. One type of tourism which is considered feminised is cultural tourism, a sector which attracts more women than men (Craik 1997). According to Craik (1997), this form of tourism has been "reoriented towards more experiential, reflective and self-improving characteristics" (p.133). However, many scholars who have taken a gendered approach to attractions (Edensor & Kothari 1994; Richter 1991, 1994; Aitchison 1996; Aitchison et al. 2000) have observed that museums, galleries, statues and other attractions reflect "masculinist myth-making" (Aitchison et al. 2000, p.134) rather than women's history or current activities. As Richter (1994) says, "the *impact* of tourism continues to socialize generations to the importance of what men have done while women are ignored or immortalized on postcards, nutcrackers and T-shirts" (p.154). The masculine tourist gaze is stimulated while women are constructed as the Other (Aitchison 1996). As long as there is a his/story and not a her/story this is inevitable. As Aitchison et al. (2000) conclude, "Our engendered heritage has been identified as a complex cultural product that is continually negotiated and contested" (p.135). In contrast to those attractions reflecting "masculinist myth-making", the tourist attraction Hill Top Farm, home of Beatrix Potter and inspiration for her stories, is one studied attraction (Squire 1994) which might be thought to reflect women's myth-making. Squire (1994) concluded from her visitor study that "Beatrix Potter's

illustrated stories have sparked a thriving tourist industry which women to a greater extent than men help to perpetuate and define" (p.198). The meaning of the attraction to women was "tied primarily to associations with childhood and intergenerational sharing, and was sustained by a largely unspoken assumption that women were the primary custodians of both family and cultural traditions" (p.200). The women were more interested in the connotations of childhood and family life (being read to by their mother or other female relative or reading to their own children) than they were in the author herself. Squire asserts that

> In a substantive way … these late Victorian stories and the tourist industry which they help to fuel, have become a basis against which a pattern of social relations, themselves rooted in the Victorian period, are still being played out. (Squire 1994, p.202)

Souvenir purchasing of Beatrix Potter merchandise by women (either for themselves or as gifts) was an important part of the appropriation and transformation of meanings of the attraction "and the marketing and merchandising activities are directed primarily towards women and young children" (p.203). Souvenir purchasing and shopping were seen as feminine activities and Squire found that 92% of the women had made a purchase. Men, on the other hand, were inclined to wait in the car park, pub or tea rooms while the women shopped. These findings reflect those of Littrell, Anderson and Brown (1993) that amongst American tourists most souvenir purchases are made by women. Despite Hill Top Farm being a feminised attraction, in the hierarchy of "important" tourist attractions of Britain, it would not be "up there" with the masculinised cathedrals, palaces, castles and stately homes.

Women Working in the Tourism Industry

Not only has gender been ignored on the consumer side of leisure travel but also on the supply side, an omission which Wan (1992) recognised a decade ago and attempted to correct in a cover story of *PATA Travel News* ("Women in travel") highlighting the achievements of women in the travel industry. On the positive side, the tourism industry has provided employment opportunities for women in both the formal and informal sectors. As Richter (1995) identified, the tourism industry often accommodates child rearing and the possibility of learning on the job. Richter (1995) claims that "the opportunities to get started and own one's own business are perhaps

greater for women in this industry than in almost any other" (p.80). However, on the negative side, there are a number of constraints. Women encounter a "glass ceiling" with the tourism industry "overwhelmingly in white, male control" (Richter 1995, p.85). In summary, "women have the majority of the jobs at the base of the tourism employment hierarchy; men have almost all of the jobs at the middle and top" (Richter 1994, p.149). As Richter (1991) previously said, "Women have very little control over tourism policies" (p.159). Since tourism is labour-intensive requiring much domestic work (cooking, serving, cleaning, washing), tourism organisations can keep their labour costs low by defining the domestic work as women's work, jobs for which women in most societies are presumed to be naturally capable (Enloe 1990; Jordan 1997). Most of this work is seasonal and part-time with little hope for advancement (Jordan 1997; Shaw, G. & Williams 2002) and, as Enloe (1990) says, "This means that they are also likely to be filled by women" (p.35). Service by women is not only physical but emotional which is especially evident in sex tourism. From a study of British tourism policy makers, Jordan (1997) concluded that the culture of tourism sustains and rationalises gendered patterns of employment and, to date, there has been little resistance from female employees. Sinclair (1997b) explains that the segmentation of the tourism labour force is not only gendered but also racial. In less developed countries, women's employment in the tourism industry can raise their status within the household and provide them with "legitimate access to public space" (Sinclair 1997b, p.232). However, as Sinclair says, one must see these benefits within the continuing, traditional household relations which disadvantage women.

Tourism frequently reinforces existing gendered relations but it also "provides an international context in which there is scope for change" (Sinclair 1997 p.233). Whitelaw and Gillet (2003), from their study of employment and educational trends in the hospitality and tourism industries, optimistically suggest that the younger generation of females may be "more dogged and ambitious" than older women in the industry and more capable of "'toughing it out' in the fight for senior management positions" (p.49). It is recognised in a report for the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development that good practice in women's employment and participation in tourism is required for the sustainability of tourism (Hemmati 1999a).

Impacts of Tourism on Women in the Tourist Destination Region

Most of the research on gender and tourism focusses on the impact of tourism on women as hosts in the tourist destination region. Women's involvement in the formal and informal sectors of employment have been examined as have tourism's impacts on women's health, women's economic and social position in the family and community and the broader effects of tourism on family life and the destination culture. Many of the studies examine women's contribution to their country's development. How women as hosts interact with tourism will be culturally and historically specific and will be the consequence of the interaction of the tourist culture with that of the woman host. A variety of destinations have been studied: Venezuala (Monk & Alexander 1986), Peru (Henrici 2002), Costa Rica (Shumaker 1995), Panama (Swain 1977, 1993), Latin America (Swain 1993; Casellas & Holcomb 2001), Barbados (Levy & Lerch 1991), Honduras (Stonich, Sorensen & Hundt 1995), British Virgin Islands (Cohen, C. 2001), Jamaica (Bolles 1997), Caribbean (Momsen 1994), Mexico (Cone 1995; Chant 1997; Pi-Sunyer, Thomas & Daltabuit 2001), United States (Richter 1991; Harvey, Hunt & Harris 1995; Martin, Bridges & Sheppard 2002), Quebec, Canada (Hull & Milne 1998), Greece (Kousis 1989; Leontidou 1994; Iakovidou & Turner 1995; Moore, R. 1995), Spain (Lever 1987; Garcia-Ramon, Canoves & Valdovinos 1995; Canoves & Villarino Pérez 2002), Portugal (Canoves & Villarino Pérez 2002), Yugoslavia (Devedzic 2002), Malta (Boissevain 1979; Robson 2002), Northern Cyprus (Scott, Julie 1995, 1997), Turkey (Van Broeck 2001), Ireland (Breathnach et al. 1994), United Kingdom (Ireland 1993; Hennessy 1994; Purcell 1997; Phillimore 2002), Central and Eastern Europe (Hall, D. 2001), mountain regions (Walker et al. 2001), Middle East (Sönmez 2001), Africa (Dieke 2001), Indonesia (Wilkinson & Pratiwi 1995; Long & Kindon 1997; Forshee 2002), China (Swain 1993, 2001a), Japan (Nozawa 1995), Philippines (Chant 1997), South-East Asia (Kindon 2001; Swain 1993), Western Samoa (Fairbairn-Dunlop 1994), South Pacific (Berno & Jones 2001) and Third World (Scheyvens 2000).

Rao (1995) claims developing countries deal with the commoditisation in tourism activity through men "retain[ing] the marketing functions whilst women remain in the sphere of production (from the working of the souvenir trade to the glamour industry, entertainment and prostitution)" (p.31). It is prostitution and sex tourism which has attracted most attention in the research on women hosts (Cohen, E. 1982, 1988; Hall,

C.M. 1994; Norris & Wall 1994; Richter 1994; Kruhse-Mount Burton 1995; Leheny 1995; O'Connell Davidson 1995, 1998; Ryan, C. & Kinder 1996; Seabrook 1996; Craik 1997; Manderson & Jolly 1997; Muroi & Sasaki 1997; Bishop, R. & Robinson 1998; Kempadoo 1999; Oppermann 1998b, 1999; Clift & Carter 2000; Ryan, C. & Hall 2001). Although not classified as prostitution, there is ample evidence of women's sexual objectification in the tourism industry exemplified by the demands of appearance and behaviour (Sinclair 1997c). Reporting the findings of Adkins and Phillimore of gender stereotyping by men in tourist attractions, B. Griffiths (1999) says, "Women's behaviour and appearance was regulated for the benefit of male staff and visitors and the sexual objectification of women workers was seen as a non-negotiable part of the job" (p.14). The women did not have to be prostitutes to be "sexual servicers". The gendered bodily performance of tour guides in historic museums in China has been described by Ku (2003). Although gender differentiation was not a main concern of museum administrators, the female guides in their interactions with tourists, museum authorities and other tour guides from tourist agencies tended to highlight their femininity (through fashion, make-up and bodily presentation and movement) to present an image which the tour guides considered more attractive to their audience. The feminised, romantic and exotic image of Dai women in China has been studied by Li (2003). The women were conscious of appearance and dress in portraying feminine beauty. However, Li concluded that "Rather than being a passive symbol of beauty and simplicity for consumption, women strategically redefine their Dai-ness through playing upon stereotyped images and fantasies" (p.63). Richter (1995) claims that the environment in which tourism operates is (in the expression of Gutek et al.) "'sexualized'" (p.78). Implicit in tourism is the promise of "escape, adventure and romance" which "weakens constraints on employee-client relationships" (Richter 1995, p.78). In addition, the tourism workplace typically places men in control of women employees, a characteristic setting for sexual harassment.

The literature highlights the opportunities that tourism has provided for women. However, tourism development can also reinforce traditional gender relations. Sinclair (1997b) alerts the reader to the possible disadvantages of alternative tourism for women working in the industry: "it is possible for demands for sustainability and

alternative tourism to provide implicit support for traditional patterns of work and associated differences in status, power and rewards" (p.233).

CONCLUSION

The present chapter sets the context in which gendered tourists experience holidays. The tourist takes to the destination a lifetime of participation in messages about self and relations with others. Included in this understanding is the meaning of holidays/tourism, other places and peoples, produced from a variety of sources, such as the tourism industry through destination marketing. On arrival at the destination the tourist encounters the social relations of the host society, reflected in the presentation of tourism. Inherent in gendered social relations are notions of power and control. The academic literature on contemporary women's tourist experiences reflects the literary accounts of earlier women travellers. The tourist experience can be both a site for the reinforcement of oppressive gender relations and an opportunity for resistance and liberation from constraining gendered relations. The present chapter has focussed on scholarship which has examined gendered social relations in tourism. However, it is necessary to recognise other social dimensions which intersect with gender. Studies of the gendered host have acknowledged race, ethnicity, class and, at times, age as intersecting discourses. The more recent and limited scholarship on the gendered tourist has tended to take a neutral stance on intersecting discourses. Richter (1995) acknowledged that race is a neglected element in the tourist experience but her discussion of gender and race, for the most part, treats them as separate dimensions rather than juxtaposed. More recently, Apostolopoulos et al. (2001) have examined the experiences of women from developing countries (thus also focussing on race, ethnicity and class) as consumers of tourism. Age is another dimension which intersects with gender. The following chapter reviews the literature on different age groups, children, youth, middle-aged and senior tourists, as consumers of tourism. One could say that, as well as being gendered, tourism is also "aged". While some researchers have studied the intersection of gender and age, most of the writings on the tourist experience of different age groups are gender-neutral.

CHAPTER 4 : AGE AND TOURISM

INTRODUCTION

An acknowledgement of multiple subject positions recognises the interaction of age and gender. As Ginn and Arber (1995) state:

> Gender and ageing are inextricably intertwined in social life; each can only be fully understood with reference to the other. As we age, we are influenced by the societal, cultural, economic and political context prevailing at different times in our life course. We are also profoundly influenced by our gender and by shifts in gender relations over the life course. Thus the connectedness of gender and ageing stems both from social change over time and from age-related life course events; social history and personal biography are interwoven over time. (Ginn & Arber 1995, p.1)

As with the study of gender, the study of age has been more thoroughly examined with regard to the consumer of leisure than the consumer of tourism. Once again the tourism literature has lagged behind the leisure studies literature in an examination of constraints, negotiation and resistance of different aged groups to and through tourism. The two fields of study also differ in their rationale for the study of age of consumer, with leisure studies focussing on the benefits for the participant and tourism studies focussing on the benefits for the tourism industry: increased profitability from appropriate age segmentation of the market. A review of the tourism research which has focussed on age highlights the interest in certain age groups: senior tourists and youth tourists and a general lack of interest in children and middle-aged groups. Most of the research is undertaken within a positivist paradigm with the emphasis on description rather than social understanding.

Although not restricted to tourism studies, a limitation of the research, writings and application of the findings on children and senior age groups is that other age groups (those in the employment age range) are reporting and acting for them.

CHILDREN AS TOURISTS

As an age group, girls are invisible in gender studies of tourism. As Jokinen and Veijola (1997) state, "People rarely pay attention to what *girls* do" (p.44). However, it is also the case that children (both boys and girls) are absent from all but a few tourism studies. Little has changed since Graburn's (1983b) observation, over twenty years ago, of the absence of children in the tourism literature. Even prior to that Nettleford (1977) recognised that tourism can impact on the young. Since then, the few writings have mostly been concerned with the impacts of tourism on the child as host in developing countries and the desire to give voice to these children. Crick (1989) and Gamradt (1995) were interested in how children at the destination viewed tourism while others have examined children's role in prostitution (Ryan, C. & Hall 2001; Beddoe 1998; Bishop, R. & Robinson 1998; Hanson 1998; O'Connell Davidson 1998, 2000; Hoose, Clift & Carter 2000; Leung 2003).

Other studies have focussed on the child as tourist. These studies are of most relevance to the present research but are also limited in number. Children as tourists have been of little interest to tourism researchers due to the perceived passivity of the child in decision making and thus low economic value. Research which has included the study of children has usually had an economic motive. Those studies which have included children (Jenkins 1978a, 1978b; Filiatrault & Ritchie 1980; Ritchie & Filiatrault 1980; Fodness 1992) have, for the most part, examined the influence of the presence of children in the family on spousal decision making. The relevance of leisure decision making (such as reported by Darley & Lim 1986) to tourism decision making is yet to be explored. A review of the tourism literature suggests that while children may not be the direct or final decision makers, they can have an influence on certain family touristic decisions. Mayo and Jarvis (1981) suggested that, considering the importance parents place on the value of holidays for children (education, family bonding and sharing important experiences), "children … exert a strong although probably indirect influence over family travel" (p.102). The influence of a child's satisfaction on adult satisfaction is recognised (Ryan, C. 1992; Thornton, Shaw & Williams 1997).

While providing some information on children's role in the holiday experience, the tourism studies tell us nothing about children from non-stereotypical nuclear families,

nor do we hear about decision making from the child's perspective. Seaton and Tagg (1995), recognising the latter deficiency, gave voice to children in their cross-cultural study of European children's holiday behaviour. From their survey of European children, they concluded that:

> A majority of children in all countries [Belgium, France, Italy and the United Kingdom] had played some part in the vacation decision … though UK children were least likely, and Italian children most likely, to have been involved in the vacation decision than others. (Seaton & Tagg, 1995, p.17)

The majority of children in all countries saw the final vacation as a joint decision between parents. Holiday satisfaction was found to be high for children of all four countries. However, UK children were less likely than the others to give the highest rating of satisfaction. From these findings the authors concluded:

> involving children in the vacation decision-making process improves the possibility of an *optimum* outcome, while not doing so increases the chance that the child will be one of a small minority who are unhappy on vacation with the family. (Seaton & Tagg 1995, p.18)

An earlier disaggregation of the UK data (Tagg & Seaton 1994) found marginal differences between Scottish and English family holidays, with Scottish children possibly happier and different on a number of dimensions from English children.

Recognising that decision making continues throughout the holiday Thornton et al. (1997) studied the role of the child in group decision making and group behaviour at the destination, Cornwall, England. Through a space-time budget diary survey over a period of six days, the researchers compared holiday activities of groups with children to groups without (from the perspective of the adults). While they found similarities in the percentage of time spent eating, shopping and visiting fee-paying attractions, there were noticeable differences.

> Parties without children spent more time travelling by car or coach and walking. In contrast tourist parties with children spent more time using the swimming pools and taking part in activities based on the beach. Adult-only tourist parties used their

> extra time principally for relaxing (over 17% of their time budgets on average). (Thornton et al. 1997, p.291)

Those groups with children were found to spend nearly half their time budgets within the immediate vicinity of their accommodation. The influence that children had on the behaviour of the travel group declined with increasing age of the children. Walking and visiting historic sites and heritage attractions were more popular as children got older, whereas time spent in the care of children and visits to attractions such as animal sanctuaries declined with increasing age of the child. They found a high degree of cohesion amongst tourist groups with tourists spending "90% of the surveyed period in each other's company" (p.294). They also confirmed that "children were active in influencing the nature and frequency of holiday activities" – destination choice and repeat visit to the same resort were a response to children's wishes. The authors concluded that:

> The cohesiveness discovered by the Cornwall survey has important implications for the ability of children to influence the activities of parents. In particular, the influence of children can be seen in two forms. The first is an obvious outcome of the caring requirements of children who are both dependent on their parents and inflexible in their time-tabling needs (i.e. meals, etc.) To simplify, these are principally children under the age of 5. The alternative means of influence is through negotiation with parents. While children possess the ability to make suggestions, the ultimate decision appears to remain with the parents. However, the satisfaction of children is rated more highly by parents than their own. (Thornton et al. 1997, p.295)

Salma (2001), examining the Australian National Visitor Survey data, similarly concluded:

> A considerable variation is observed between the travel behaviour of groups with children and those without children. This difference is evident in travel propensities, purpose, expenditure pattern, choice of transport, choice of accommodation, regions visited and activities undertaken. (Salma 2001, p.43)

Just as the presence of children can have an observable influence on the immediate travel group, children can also have an impact on other tourists at a destination. W. Thompson, Pinney and Schibrowsky (1996), in response to a new marketing strategy of Las Vegas casinos to attract the family, detailed the impacts of the presence of children on adult gamblers as well as the possible impacts of gambling on children visiting Las Vegas casinos. Weighing the positive and negative issues, the authors seemed doubtful that the strategy would be successful: gambling and children do not go together.

While Cullingford (1995) acknowledges that children are not the target audience for overseas holidays, he recognises that amongst managers of certain tourist attractions (exhibitions, theme parks and museums) there is a growing recognition of the importance of children as a market segment. The economic importance of children at tourist attractions has been emphasised. C. Ryan (1992), in reviewing the role of children as visitors to environmental conservation areas, heritage attractions and similar sites such as museums, states that:

> The role of children is twofold in generating economic effects. First, they directly swell the numbers of visitors, and respond to the retail opportunities that exist, whilst second, they are a catalyst in generating a family visit to an attraction. (Ryan 1992, p.135)

C. Ryan (1992) claims that both private and public sector operators in the heritage and conservation sector of the tourism industry appreciate the importance of children. Referring to children as a market, Ryan maintains that:

> Within the last two decades, museums, art galleries, historic sites and conservation sites have utilized both high- and low-technology means to generate interest and learning. These techniques seem to be successful in imparting knowledge. (Ryan 1992, p138)

Smith (cited in Ryan, C. 1992) of Heritage Projects, claims: "'Children are a vital consideration in the design of modern museums. In many ways, they are the most

discerning customers, and least prepared to accept exhibitions that are boring and mediocre'" (p.138).

More recently, Swarbrooke and Horner (1999) have argued that children are emerging as a new tourism market. While the authors recognise the parent as the customer (making the final decision and paying the bill) they consider that: "Children are now tourism consumers in their own right. As well as influencing the choice of family holiday destinations, the industry is now offering holidays for children that are for children only, without their parents" (p.227). Examples of such holidays are the American summer camps, "Gites d'Enfants" in France and activity holidays in the UK. In a case study of PGL Travel Limited activity holidays for children in the UK and France, Swarbrooke and Horner (1999) cite the promotional messages of PGL for the different age groups which reflect the company's perception of the age groups' needs. For the 6 to 9-year-olds, the sale message is "get away from home for the first time". For the 8 to13-year-olds, the message is "make new friends with children from all over the country" and for the 12 to18-year olds, the company promotes "non-stop action and enjoyment – day and night!" (p.275). To the parents, the company promotes safety and reliability. Swarbrooke and Horner conclude:

> As children become increasingly targeted as consumers in their own right, with all kinds of interests, it seems likely that this market will grow, and that the young people themselves will play an even greater role in deciding which product their parents should buy. (Swarbrooke & Horner 1999, p.227)

However, the value of researching children goes beyond the commercial incentive. Graburn (1983b), discussing the state of knowledge in tourism studies at the time, indicated a much broader interest in children:

> Most lacking, perhaps, are studies of the effects of tourism on the historical, natural, and geographical awareness of growing children: the trajectory and interrelationship of their touristic and recreational experiences, and the relation of these to their adult life styles and to their subsequent recreational and vocational behaviours. (Graburn 1983b, p.3)

Cullingford (1995) also claims:

> There is a lack of detailed research not only on the influence that children have, but on a deeper level; that is, the ways in which children view holidays, the influence of their experiences on their subsequent choices, and the perceptions they form of other countries and peoples. This lack of empirical work includes their behaviour as consumers of tourism, as well as the formation of prejudice and understanding. (Cullingford 1995, p.121)

There are very few studies which have investigated children's experience of a holiday. Cullingford's (1995) research of British children's attitudes to holidays overseas (incorporated in a larger project) is one such study. In a survey of children aged between 7 and 11 years from a cross-section of society, he found that children had clear ideas of which countries were attractive as holiday destinations. It was the developed world which was most desirable.

> The basis of this discrimination lies in the similarity and familiarity of the images of other countries presented to them. The closer the culture of the country to their own – from language to entertainment, from technology to food – the more it is appreciated. This has nothing to do with distance, but all to do with culture. The one variable that does contrast with perceptions of their own country is the weather. (Cullingford 1995, p.123)

The author found that for most of the children in the study, travel meant beaches, good weather and eating out rather than cultural sightseeing. He explained that "for the most part, children are confined to their clearly demarcated 'holiday'" (p.125). However, it was discovered that:

> Whilst children accept the context of being packaged with their parents near a beach for one or two weeks and enjoy the entertainment it affords, especially as there are other children involved, they are not unaware of the differences entailed in being 'abroad'. (Cullingford 1995, p.125)

Children holidaying abroad were rarely taken to the 'sights' but when they were, they showed a great deal of interest. Children's understanding of the holiday experience was a combination of the general received wisdom and their own individual experiences and an attempt to discriminate the two. Children's formulation of their experience involved both the need to categorise the normal, the familiar and the need to categorise differences. Cullingford (1995) concluded:

> There are two levels at which children's attitudes are significant. The first is what advertisers would most wish for: children seem to be aware of packaged holidays and all they stand for – beaches and good weather, hotels and many fellow travellers. One could argue that their views reflect the ways in which holiday brochures are presented.
>
> However, the second level of children's thinking is more subtle. It reveals the ways in which they analyse their experiences: both of the ways in which holiday destinations are presented to them – and of the holidays themselves. It is interesting to note how easily they imbibe stereotypes of countries, and prejudices towards certain kinds of people and places. But it is also interesting to note the way in which their curiosity leads them to look beyond the obvious entertainment. There are differences in food and accommodation, in language and habit, of which they are completely aware. This is the side of their experience that has remained unexploited. (Cullingford 1995, p.127)

A different approach to the study of childhood holidays was taken by Crawford et al. (1992) through analysing their own adult memories of holidays as children (discussed in Chapter 3). They examined the social production of their memories, concluding that their holidays as girls contained memories of work, of care and anxieties. Negative emotions were not part of men's memories of childhood holidays. As Crawford et al. (1992) said:

> The boys' description of their holidays sounds more like what we expect a holiday to be – full of fun, some excitement, a freedom from care. It was not what we experienced as girls or as women. Indeed the freedom from care, the release from workday worries, was designed by the women for the men and boys. (Crawford et al. 1992, p.143)

There are many arguments for tourism researchers to focus on children as consumers of the tourist experience. Most investigations have been economically motivated; however, the non-economic analysis can offer broader social understanding. If one accepts that the tourist experience has many benefits for the individual, those benefits should be shared equally amongst children. As holidays are seen as the extra ordinary events in life, understanding children's behaviour of the extra ordinary also helps explain their experiences of the ordinary.

YOUTH TOURISTS

Over the centuries leisure travel has been an acceptable and popular activity and lifestyle for young people, especially men. Today the popularity of leisure travel for youth is reflected in its annual world growth rate which is nearly double the total tourist growth rate (World Tourism Organization cited in Murphy, L. & Moscardo 1996). The economic significance of youth travel, especially long-term travel is well documented (Loker-Murphy & Pearce 1995). The World Tourism Organization's (WTO) International Conference on Youth Tourism in New Delhi in 1991 was recognition of the importance of this age group as tourists (Abdel-Ghaffar, Jafari, Kreul & Stivala 1992). While many writers (such as Clarke, J. 1992; Murphy, L. & Moscardo 1996; and Carr 1999) consider the definition of "youth" in terms of leisure travel/ tourism to be debatable, Bywater (1993) takes the view that the definition is "fairly universally accepted, ie anyone under 26" (p.35). For statistical purposes, the WTO defines youth as 15-25 years (Loker-Murphy & Pearce 1995). J. Clarke (1992) identified three major dimensions of the term "youth": "first, age; second, as a process of transition from childhood to adulthood; and third, as an image, both as young people see themselves and as others see them" (p.321). While acknowledging that chronological age is a distinguishing factor, Loker-Murphy and Pearce (1995), also asserted that "psychological and sociological characteristics of youth, and their status in society and economic capacity are also important considerations in such a definition" (p.826).

Youth appear in the literature in a number of roles. They are the hosts at the destination impacted upon by tourism, as observed through the demonstration effect (Pfaffenberger 1983; Kousis 1989). They are the consumers of tourism and studied

in their own right within a framework of age. Or, due to the accessibility of university students for academic researchers (e.g. the American college student), they have been studied as the "universal" tourist, their experiences generalised to other tourists.

Segmentation of Youth Tourists

Aramberri (Loker-Murphy & Pearce 1995) situated the youth tourist in a typography of tourists, while others have segmented the youth market.

> Schonhammer (1992) identifies three forms of juvenile tourism; travels with family, organized youth tourism, and unorganized youth tourism … Similarly, Pastor (1991) categorizes youth travels into educational, teenaged holiday centers with varied activities; sports, outdoor and nature activities; theme holidays with a humanitarian, social or scientific objective; language learning holidays with a discovery and leisure dimension, national and international excursions; and trekking, individual adventure or expeditions (roughing it) … Theuns (1991) defines youth tourism as the young and young adults aged between 15 and 25 traveling alone or in a group composed of representatives of the same or a similar age cohort. He further distinguishes youth tourists into conventional youth touring, exchange programs, and modern youth tourism. (Loker-Murphy & Pearce 1995, p.828)

Another typography of youth tourists, discussed by Loker-Murphy and Pearce (1995), was developed by Hartmann and consists of moratorium travellers, ascetic travellers, adventurers, goal-directed travellers, party travellers, alternative travellers and Peter Pan travellers. Griffith and Albanese (1996), on the other hand, propose Plog's psychographic segmentation model as a basis for segmenting youth tourists.

The motivation for youth travel is more likely to be personal development and social interaction than relaxation (Pastor in Murphy, L. & Moscardo 1996). The WTO (in Murphy, L. & Moscardo 1996) assert that youth tourists travel to discover new places and peoples.

Much of the research focuses on university student travel. The university student is today studied in their own right as youth travellers. The potential of this sector of

the youth market is highlighted (Kale, McIntyre & Weir 1987; Bywater 1993; Hsu & Sung 1997; Field 1999; Mattila, Apostolopoulos, Sonmez, Yu & Sasidharan 2001). International students enrolled in universities in the United States have specifically been identified as a lucrative market (Chen & Kerstetter 1999; Michael, Armstrong & King 2003). In a study of international students enrolled at higher education institutions in Melbourne, Australia, Michael et al. (2003) found that 64.4 per cent travelled within Australia during the period of their studies.

The situational factors are favourable for university student holiday travel. This market has the time, affluence and lack of responsibilities and commitments of older age groups. However, the representativeness of this sample to the general youth market has been questioned. Chadee and Cutler (1996) described the student travel market as "quite distinct from the rest of the travel and tourism industry in that it has a well organized network of specialists to cater specifically to student travelers" (p.75). The focus on American students raises further questions of cultural generalisability. Not all of the studies of university student travel focus on pure leisure travel. Some are concerned with study travel (Dukes, Brickner, Meyer, Mullins, Perry, Rooney & Whigham 1988; Laarman & Perdue 1989; Thibadoux & Helms 1989; Markwell 1997). Nonetheless, these studies may raise questions for empirical research into the nature of youth leisure travel and, more specifically, gendered differences in travel. Interesting findings from study tours are the continued personal growth experienced by females beyond the end of the travel/study experience (Dukes et al. 1988). Gender differences in photographic behaviour of students on a nature study tour (Markwell 1997) also suggest the different gendered meaning of the trip for men and women (female students were more likely than men to photograph other members of the group, while men were more likely than women to photograph nature).

Although various segments of youth travel have been identified, most of the literature focuses on the "party traveller" and the "backpacker"

Party Traveller

The North American college ritual of Spring Break vacation travel has been a topic of interest in the last ten years (Hobson & Josiam 1992; Josiam, Clements & Hobson

1994; Mewhinney, Herold & Maticka-Tyndale 1995; Josiam, Hobson, Dietrich & Smeaton 1998; Mattila et al. 2001). The tradition which began at Fort Lauderdale in 1938 has reportedly changed over the years and today it is the reputation of the holiday for risk-taking behaviour which has been the focus of research.

> Much of the initial attraction of spring break was about getting away from college and the 'winter-blues' for a week. However, in more recent times spring break has become known for more extreme behaviour such as binge drinking, drug taking and sexual promiscuity. (Josiam et al. 1998, p.502)

Amongst United States students at Panama City Beach, Josiam et al. (1998) found the most important motivations for selecting the destination were "good party reputation" (44.10%) and "friends going" (27%). The focus of much of the research on youth travel is the health consequences of college students' risky behaviour in terms of drinking, drug taking and casual sexual. In a study of the sexual scripts and risk-taking behaviour of Canadian university students on Spring Break in Florida, Mewhinney et al. (1995) found:

> At the cultural level, the scripts reflect the more permissive norms for behaviour when one is on vacation or having "time-out". At the interpersonal level, the scripts of interaction make it easier to become involved in sexual behaviour, as illustrated by the rapid physical intimacy of the dance (grinding). An example of intrapsychic scripting, where the individual links desires to social meaning, is seen by the finding that despite the greater acceptance of casual sex, a fair proportion of women indicated that they would feel guilty if they engaged in casual sex. Thus, cultural and interpersonal scripts that accept casual sexual activity may not be congruent at the intrapsychic level. (Mewhinney et al. 1995, p.284)

Although Spring Break has been considered a "uniquely North American tourism phenomenon" (Josiam et al. 1998, p.501), the holiday bears a resemblance to Schoolies Week, the Australian tourism ritual for Australian Year 12 high school leavers. While the Australian students are slightly younger than their American Spring Break counterparts, the legal age for drinking in Australia is 18 years (the age of many of the school students) thus enabling the students to engage in similar behaviours to the American university students (drinking, drugs and promiscuous

sexual behaviour). The Schoolies Week tourist, despite being acknowledged as a lucrative market (Raybould & Scott 2001), has received less attention from the academic researchers than the American Spring Break tourist. Most of the information about Schoolies Week tourists comes via newspaper articles (such as Tom 1992; Wood 2001; Thompson, M. 2002; O'Neill 2003) and television news items and as with the Spring Break tourists (Josiam et al. 1998) the phenomenon has been "immortalised" in a film titled *Blurred*. The American and Australian holiday each has its own web sites. For Schoolies Week tourists, the beach (usually Gold Coast, Queensland) is the preferred location, although destinations further afield are becoming popular.

Similar motivations for travel have been found amongst youth in Britain. Carr (1998, 1999) similarly concluded from his study of youth (domestic and international) holidaying at Torquay in England that the two most important reasons for taking a vacation were "to relax" and "to enjoy themselves". "Visiting new places" and "sport/physical activity" were not important for men or women. Carr's (1999) finding that "sport/physical activity" was not important for UK youth "contrasts with the suggestion by Furtwangler (1991) that one of the main constituents of a young person's vacation is sport" (p.227). Carr (1999) concluded that his findings support those of Ford that "young people on beach-oriented vacations tend to relax in their accommodation and on the beach during the day before going to the pubs and nightclubs at night" (p.226). It is suggested that the main reason for a beach holiday is the nightlife activities rather than the day activities. Young people fill in time during the day in anticipation of the drinking and dancing at night. According to past Schoolies Week tourists (UTS undergraduate students 2004, pers. comm., 28 May), the beach is where one sleeps and rests, recovering from the previous night and preparing for the next.

However, when Carr (2002a) compared tourists who holidayed at home (Torquay) to those who holidayed abroad (Mallorca), he found that those holidaying domestically were more active and more likely to walk around the resort and venture outside to places of interest than those in Mallorca who were more passive and hedonistic, more likely to visit pubs, nightclubs and the beach, and to do so more frequently. Carr explains these findings in terms of residual (home) culture and

tourist culture. In the Spanish destination there was little to trigger the residual culture so the tourist culture dominated, whereas for the domestic tourist the residual culture was stimulated preventing them from behaving in a passive, hedonistic fashion. An additional or alternative explanation to Carr's interpretation for greater beach use of the international tourists and less "visiting places of interest" might be the climatic differences between the two destinations.

The party aspect of travel is also popular with the British youth consumer of the mass inclusive tour (mainly aged 18-23 years) (Clarke, J. 1992). Although variations in the market by destination were found, J. Clarke identified a fun time, company of other young people and nightlife as the major holiday benefits for this market segment. In discussing the brochures for this market, Sellars (1998) claims, "All of the main packaged youth tour brochures are predominantly Dance Music oriented" (p.614).

> Brochures do not depict the scenic and cultural values of the resort, but show packed night-clubs with beautiful people in skimpy outfits, mouths and eyes agape with not a care in the world apart from 'is my make-up running'? What we see depicted in these brochures is the epitome of the 90s Youth Culture – fun with like-minded people within a custom-made heaven without the monotony and drudgery of weekday life. The country is not a real issue, but what is happening in the resort is paramount. (Sellars 1998, p.613)

The brochures are filled with "young people having lots of 'fun in the sun' and then fun on the dance floor" (p.614). The writer claims that "Today's youth are very much oriented towards having fun" (p.612) and she sees the Dance Music scene as more relaxed and fun than that of the dance halls of the 1950s. Buswell (1996) describes the behaviour of European youth abroad:

> The apocryphal stories of British (German, Dutch, French, it matters not) teenagers not actually realizing they are on holiday on an island is only too believable in the case of the Balearics. They bring their geographies with them; the Balearics merely add sunshine and a different currency. (Buswell 1996, p.317)

The observations of the holiday behaviour of European youth are repeated in C. Johnston's (1998) report of Australian youth tourists to Kuta Beach, Bali.

Sightseeing Youth

Not all young people have party travel as a primary motivation for holidaying. In fact, studies investigating the Spring Break market in the United States (Hobson & Josiam 1992; Josiam et al. 1994) concluded that less than half the students surveyed were tourists over the Spring Break. Work-related commitments and lack of money were barriers to travel. Of those who did travel, the majority visited metropolitan cities rather than the renowned Spring Break resorts, thus dispelling the stereotype of a homogeneous student market travelling to a destination for its "party reputation". Although New Zealand and British university students were found to be similar in their increased drinking behaviour on holiday (Ryan, C., Robertson, Page & Kearsley 1996), a psychographic segmentation of the British student sample found that only a few segments accounted for most of the drinking, drug taking and sexual behaviour.

While party travel has been a motive for international travel (Clarke, J. 1992; Buswell 1996; Sellars 1998; Carr 2002a) other motives are also proposed. J. Clarke (1992) acknowledged that the British youth consumer of the mass inclusive tour "is significantly different from the youth market for independent travel and specialist niche products" (p.321). Amongst British tourists holidaying abroad Clark and Clift (1994) found that risk taking was not widespread. They concluded that the students had a variety of reasons for holidaying abroad including personal development. A number of studies which have focussed on student travel abroad confirm student interest in touring and sightseeing. Comparisons have been made in the travel behaviour of domestic and international students. Investigating students at a United States university, Field (1999) found that, in addition to a greater frequency of travel amongst domestic students, their preference for beach holidays contrasted with the preference amongst international students for sightseeing. Differences were also found amongst international students with Australians and New Zealanders travelling the most. Hsu and Sung (1997) in a study of the travel behaviours of international (mainly Asian) students enrolled at a university in the United States similarly found that international students when travelling in the United States

preferred touring holidays (sightseeing, touring a city and visiting a museum). Tours were independent rather than package tours. Sports-related activities were seldom undertaken, with the exception being the young single male subgroup. The finding by Kale et al. (1987) that American college students (most aged between 21 and 24) consider scenic beauty to be significantly more important than activities in international travel further confirms that not all student travellers are party-motivated. Being exposed to a different or exotic culture (experiencing local customs and cuisine) appealed to the students. The students wanted to have the time "to do whatever I want whenever I want", shop and relax. Sports, nightlife and entertainment were not preferred attractions; however, neither were museums, city tours, concerts and exhibitions. The authors made the point that the findings conflicted with the messages of the tour brochures directed at this age group which stress "activities and a full daily program" (Kale et al. 1987, p.22). In a study of New Zealand university students, Chadee and Cutler (1996) found that ninety percent intended to travel overseas after graduation, confirming the custom of overseas travel for New Zealand (and Australian) youth, and the reasons for travel were primarily to experience the culture and adventure.

Although a number of studies have examined sexual risk-taking behaviour, the finding that only seven percent of a sample of over five thousand British youth had sexual intercourse with a new partner when travelling abroad in the previous two years (Bloor, Thomas, Abeni, Goujon, Hausser, Hubert, Kleiber & Nieto 2000) suggests that the sexual risk-taking image of youth has been exaggerated. That youth have a range of motives in travel is evident in the study by Jackowski and Smith (1992) who report an increasing number of young Catholic foreign tourists involved in foot pilgrimage in Poland. A similar phenomenon can be seen in the increasing number of young Australians visiting Anzac Cove at Gallipoli to pay their respects to the war dead (Scates 1998).

No doubt, youth holidays can combine elements of "party" and "serious" travel. An international study of university student leisure travel behaviour (Pizam, Jeong, Reichel, Van Boemmel, Lusson, Steynberg, State-Costache, Volo, Kroesbacher, Kucerova & Montmany 2004) identified the most popular type of holiday as an active, inexpensive, medium-paced, slightly spontaneous, less comfortable, rural

vacation. The students preferred to travel with several friends and engage in the leisure activities of shopping, visiting friends and relatives, visiting bars, eating local foods and sunbaking at the beach. Although the "rural vacation" is not confirmed by Josiam et al. (1994), it appears that students in a number of countries combine a form of party travel and social interaction with an active holiday. The "backpacker" is one tourist type who appears to combine social interaction with sightseeing.

The Backpacker

Travel and tourism have long been an activity of certain youth segments. The most studied segment of modern youth tourism is the backpacker (Riley 1988; Pearce, 1990; Loker 1993; Ross 1993a, 1993b; Australian Tourist Commission 1995; Loker-Murphy & Pearce 1995; Loker-Murphy 1996; Buchanan & Rossetto 1997; Buchanan 1998; Murphy, L. 1998, 2001; Sørensen 2003). Nonetheless, the focus is on the "backpacker" rather than "youth".

A precursor to modern day backpacking is the Grand Tour of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for the purpose of education and self-development for the affluent youth (albeit, males). As Richter (1994) said of the Grand Tour, "It augmented a man's prestige but it diminished a woman's reputation" (p.147). Compulsory travel while learning a trade (tramping) also offered an opportunity for education, sightseeing and adventure (Adler 1985). Originally, these travellers were not the affluent and privileged; however, in the nineteenth century the middle class adopted "tramping" as a form of tourism. As in the Grand Tour, the participants were male. However, writing in 1985, Adler said, "'the road' today is less exclusively male than in the past" (p.352). The youth movement and establishment of hostels also set the stage for modern tourism. E. Cohen (1972) in his typology of tourists referred to "drifter" tourism as youth tourism, as does Vogt (1976) in discussing "wanderer" tourism. The drifter like the wanderer is often a student or graduate from a middle-class background travelling on a budget. Riley (1988) used the term "long term budget travelers" to describe young, middle-class single tourists travelling for at least one year. These travellers were not associated with the counter-culture of the drifter and combined hedonism with self-development.

> They are escaping from the dullness and monotony of their everyday routine, from their jobs, from making decisions about careers, and desire to delay or postpone work, marriage, and other responsibilities … These people are at one of life's junctures. (Riley 1988, p.317)

Loker-Murphy and Pearce (1995) quote Schonhammer: "Youth tourism is seen to have a unique value in that it is somewhat part of the transition to adulthood" (p.27).

Pearce and others use the term "backpacker" to refer to Riley's market segment. This segment is distinguished from mainstream tourism by its adventurous, educational and cultural elements. Based on the literature and their empirical research, Loker-Murphy and Pearce (1995) propose a social definition of the backpacker:

> Backpackers are travelers who exhibit a preference for budget accommodation; an emphasis on meeting other people (locals and travelers); an independently organized and flexible travel schedule; longer rather than brief holidays; and an emphasis on informal and participatory recreation activities. (Loker-Murphy & Pearce 1995, p.830)

However, the backpacker market is not homogeneous. Ross (1993a), in a study of budget travellers in the wet tropics region of Northern Australia, found those under the age of 25 preferred active and exciting leisure activities, while those 25 years and older preferred relaxed and quiet activities. A gender difference was also established with females more likely to be interested in relaxed and quiet activities and males attracted by active and exciting activities. Loker-Murphy (1996) identified segments of the market in Australia, "Social/excitement seekers", "Escapers/relaxers", "Achievers" and "Self-developers" with "Self-developers" accounting for the majority of backpackers. A comparison of segments across demographic characteristics and travel style indicated that the most pronounced difference across segments was nationality. Other differences were expenditure patterns, accommodation, activity structure preferences, destinations visited and likelihood of recommending Australia as a destination. L. Murphy and Moscardo (1996) were able, more specifically, to segment the young independent, longer term

traveller to Queensland. A later in-depth study by L. Murphy (2001) explored the social interactions of backpackers (the role and elements of social interaction) confirming that "social interaction is an integral part of the backpacking experience" (p.61).

Sørensen (2003) prefers to view the phenomenon "backpacker" as a social construct rather than a definition, thus allowing for self-perception and peer recognition. As a socially constructed phenomenon, the "backpacker" is a fluid concept and the backpacker is active in producing the backpacker culture. Sørensen's (2003) ethnographic study identified various phenomena as constituting the culture today: the importance of road status, the increased diversity of the backpacker environment which prevents a sense of a unified community, the institutionalisation of the Internet and the strong growth of the short-term backpacker market.

Backpacking today differs from E. Cohen's (1972) non-institutionalised drifter. (Indeed Bolin (2001) highlights how backpacking has changed in Australia even in a short period, from 1995/96 to 1999.) The development of tourism infrastructure for this market, such as transport, tours and accommodation, and the focussed promotion and selective distribution strategies lead to the question of whether backpacking can still be considered alternative tourism. Spreitzhofer (1998), in studying backpacking tourism in South-East Asia, came to the conclusion that backpacking tourism in the region is not "alternative" tourism. Backpacking tourism is "still no more than a variant of mass tourism on a low-budget level" (p.981). In fact, the influence on Third World societies of backpacking tourism "proves to be often more lasting and shaping than organized, spatially selective package tourism" (Spreitzhofer 1998, p.981). Despite the heterogeneity and fluidity of the phenomenon, Sørensen (2003) claims:

> with varying degree and intensity, these individuals connect to a shared frame of reference whether this is a matter of identity, philosophy, sense of belonging, or sentiments of shared values, and their partitioned and fractioned interaction produces meaning, which influences norms, values, conduct, and other elements of the social being. (Sørensen 2003, p.848)

The First Independent Holiday

Schmierer and Jackson (1998) noted that "From a theoretical perspective, research into youth tourism has focussed on two concepts: seeking an independent identity and risk taking" (p.123). If the first independent holiday is seen as a milestone in a child's development of autonomy (as Schmierer and Jackson suggest), it is surprising that this special holiday has not received research attention. Acknowledging the significance of the first independent holiday, Schmierer and Jackson examined the transition from last family holiday to first independent experience comparing the positive and negative features of each. Significant differences were found in the style of travel. Compared to the last trip with the family, a higher percentage of holidays were intrastate, staying in private houses or camping/caravanning with transport being car or bus/train. Travel companions were usually same-age friends. The young person, either alone or with friends, chose the destination and planned the trip. The young people were categorised similarly in terms of tourist behaviour and activities, whether they were travelling with family or independently. The emphasis was on "high involvement in commercial activities (theme parks, sightseeing, travelling) and a low involvement in culture, heritage and nature tourism" (Schmierer & Jackson 1998, p.133). The destinations and activities chosen for the first independent trip (mean age was 18.3 years) reflected mainstream tourism as opposed to backpacker tourism. It was concluded that there were clear interpersonal differences in travelling with family and travelling independently.

> In the last trip with their families, adolescents reported positive emotions associated with freedom and negative emotions associated with boredom. Further analysis showed that adolescents appreciated parents granting them a high degree of autonomy during their last family trip. They reacted negatively (experiencing boredom) if they were required to complete all family tourist activities. In contrast, the psychological state of adolescents who had completed their first independent tourist experience reported overwhelming positive cognitions (independence, control, ability to plan) and emotions (freedom, enjoyment, relaxation). The emphasis on independence/freedom signifies that adolescents having their first tourist experience without their families conceptualised it as the final step in gaining complete psychological autonomy from their parents/families. (Schmierer & Jackson 1998, p.134)

Having experienced freedom on an independent holiday, returning home to the family could be problematic (Schmierer & Jackson 1998).

Gender and Youth Tourists

With some exceptions (for example, Carr 1999, 2001) gender and youth remains an unexplored subject in the study of tourist behaviour. Where gender differences have been noted has usually been in relation to risk-taking behaviours. Female students on Spring Break holiday have been found less likely than male students to engage in casual sex (Mewhinney et al. 1995; Josiam et al. 1998; Mattila et al. 2001), drinking (Josiam et al. 1998; Mattila et al. 2001) and drug taking (Mattila et al. 2001). Religious beliefs have also been found to affect American students' attitudes toward "party-related behaviours" (Mattila et al. 2001). The gender differences in risk-taking behaviour are not confined to North American youth. Pizam et al. (2004), in an international study of university students, found risk taking to be higher amongst men than women and higher amongst certain nationalities. British youth also exhibit gender differences with single males more likely to get drunk than women (Conway et al. cited in Clark & Clift 1994) and having more sexual contact in newly formed relationships than females (Conway et al. cited in Clark & Clift 1994; Eiser & Ford 1995; Bloor et al. 2000).

Not all studies view women as averse to risk-taking. Mewhinney et al. (1995) proposed that Spring Break may provide a "structuring of opportunity" for women as well as men. Mewhinney et al. (1995) found some evidence that women viewed casual sex as more permissible in the setting of Spring Break than they did at home. Josiam et al. (1998) concluded that in terms of drinking there may be gender differences but "levels of alcohol abuse among women on spring break are still at harmful levels" (p.508). Other types of holiday may also provide the opportunity for women to engage in risk-taking behaviour. Similarities in holiday activities of young men and women in the English coastal town of Torquay were found by Carr (1999). With the exception of shopping behaviour, men and women were similarly engaged in taking photos, sporting activities, sunbathing/relaxing, visiting places of interest, walking around the resort, visiting theatre/ cinema, eating local food and walking around the area surrounding the resort. Carr (1999) questioned whether these behavioural similarities were a consequence of life stage or whether these

gender similarities in tourist behaviour will continue as this age group moves into older aged cohorts. He proposed that the findings "may provide support for the claim that young men and women are becoming indistinguishable, in terms of their behaviour" (p.227). In another study of young tourists' perception of danger within London, Carr (2001) found that women perceived London at night as more dangerous than did men, but that there were still a number of young women out by themselves at night who perceived low levels of danger. He claimed that one explanation "could be related to the increasingly hedonistic and risk oriented behaviour linked to young people irrespective of gender (Wilkinson, 1994)" (Carr 2001, p.569). Carr (2001) also proposed that "a rising determination amongst women not to be controlled by men or their perceived fears" could be an explanation for women going out in single-sex groups, as opposed to mixed-sex groups (p.569).

The lack of research on the youth market is acknowledged with writers specifying particular gaps: international student travel (Chadee & Cutler 1996); the "Sun, sea, sand and sex" market (Clarke, J. 1992); the needs of backpackers (Loker-Murphy & Pearce 1995). There are other youth segments which have been neglected. One example is the Australian Schoolies Week tourist who has surprisingly inspired little academic interest. While women are gaining visibility as youth tourists, much of the research has been limited to the documentation of gender differences. A gender framework for the study of youth tourists is yet to be applied.

MIDDLE-AGED TOURISTS

While children, youth and senior tourists have been identified and empirically studied (albeit variably) as market segments, the middle-aged tourist has been ignored. Middle-aged tourists have certainly been the participants in tourism studies but the focus has not been on their age. Where middle age is mentioned in the literature it is as merely one category of the independent variable "age". Middle age is most frequently assumed in discussions of family travel, such as parents' decision making within the family (reviewed in Chapter 3), but there is little research on the parents in terms of their age. Even in leisure studies where a gender framework has been employed, the leisure of youth and older women has been studied but the leisure of middle-aged women is often "subsumed under research

relating to families and the issues of parenting" (Jordan 1998, p.74). There is even less recognition of the middle-aged tourist who is single or without children. Jordan (1998) claims that the tourism industry has provided for the under 30s and the 50+ age groups but "There are … very few mainstream branded holidays for those in mid-life (defined … as 30-50 year olds) … there are no holidays offered by mainstream tourism providers specifically for women who wish to travel alone" (p.71). Stone and Nichol (1999) (reviewed in Chapter 2) also refer to the 30-50-year-old gap and the marginalisation of the single middle-aged woman by the tourism industry. In some studies the middle-aged group has been employed for comparison purposes with the senior cohort (Anderson, B. & Langmeyer 1982). In a study of the future of tourist attractions, Martin and Mason (1993) referred to "the rise of the middle-aged", the baby-boomers, and reported a study in 1990 which identified the middle-aged as more likely to visit historic houses, gardens and museums than younger adults and as more adventurous and more affluent than senior tourists. However, this study was conducted over ten years ago and this cohort are now ten years older and approaching their senior years. Whether these differences are related to age or cohort is uncertain.

More recently, tourism research (Davidson 1996a, 1996b; McCormack 1995b, 1998) which has taken a gendered perspective has focussed on the life stage of motherhood, mothers' experiences of holiday. These gendered studies are reviewed in Chapter 2.

SENIOR TOURISTS

> They are healthier, richer, more adventurous and more willing to spend their money enjoying their senior years than a generation ago. They are the mature travellers of the 21st century. (Bayes 2001, p.18)

In Australia the number of older people is rapidly increasing as is the proportion of older people in the population. Similar growth forecasts are evident in other developed countries. Taking 65 years as the onset of old age,

> about 12.1% of Australia's population (or 1.85 million people) currently fall into this category, with most rapid growth in the group aged 80 and over (McLennan, 1998a). Recent population projections estimate that by 2031 nearly a quarter of Australia's population will be aged over 65. (Gething, Gridley, Browning, Helmes, Luszcz, Turner, Ward & Wells 2003, p.1)
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> .

Defining seniors as 55 years and over, Hossain, Bailey and Lubulwa (2003) report that in 2002 Australian seniors "represented 22 per cent of all domestic overnight travellers" (p.3). Although holiday and visiting friends and relatives (VFR) accounted for most of the travel, it is important to note that this figure (22 per cent) includes travel for all purposes. As with other age groups, older people have been studied as hosts at the destination (in Australia, Ross 1991; Tomljenovic & Faulkner 2000). However, it is the perceived economic value of senior tourists as consumers which has resulted in the recent interest in this age cohort (Hossain et al. 2003). There is a strong view among tourism researchers that the senior group has the leisure time for touristic travel and the finances to do so (LaForge 1984; Capella & Greco 1987; McGuire, Uysal & McDonald 1988; Romsa & Blenman 1989; Ananth, DeMicco, Moreo & Howey 1992; Blazey 1992; Javalgi, Thomas & Rao 1992; Lieux, Weaver & McCleary 1994; Brewer, Poffley & Pederson 1995; Zimmer, Brayley & Searle 1995: Faranda & Schmidt 1999; Golik 1999; Smith, M. & Mackay 2001; Huang & Tsai 2003; Kim, Wei & Ruys 2003). As Blazey (1992) says, "Having shed the responsibilities of raising families and financing homes, this wealthy and active postretirement generation is loaded with leisure time" (p.771). The majority of this cohort has also "grown up with travel as an essential part of their lifestyle" (*PATA Travel News* May 1993, p.23).

The senior market has been referred to as a "a new love" (Capella & Greco 1987, p.148), a "demographic 'discovery'" (Javalgi et al. 1992, p.14), "a market delighting providers of goods and services" (Blazey 1992, p.771), "'where the action is'" (Whitford cited in Shoemaker 2000, p.11), "the most radical change ever to face the travel industry" (Faranda & Schmidt 1999, p.5) and "a formidable market segment" (Hossain 2003, p.1). PATA (1993) refers to the female sector of the senior travel market as "a potential goldmine for the industry" (p.23). The senior market is attractive as it can smooth out seasonal differences in the travel industry

(Waldrop 1990; Golik 1999). A developing research interest in senior tourism is apparent in the number of individual publications, a special issue of *Tourism Recreation Research* edited by Pearce (1999a) and a third Senior Tourism Conference co-sponsored by the World Tourism Organization held in Lisbon in 1999. However, a number of researchers (Tongren 1980; Capella & Greco 1987; Forbes 1987; Romsa & Blenman, 1989; Blazey 1992; Ruys & Wei 1998a; Hsu & Lee, 2002) consider the economic potential of this segment is not reflected in the research output, nor have the impacts of "large temporary populations of elderly people on the host population" been examined (Grabowski 1999, p.81). Propositions offered by Forbes in 1987, "in the spirit of stimulating much-needed academic research that will benefit the travel industry" (p.567), have yet to be investigated. Travel businesses are also seen to operate in ignorance of the senior age group (Wuest, Tas & Emenheiser 1996; Oh, Parks & DeMicco 2002).

Profiles and Segmentation of Senior Tourists

Seniors and Non-seniors

Only twenty years ago B. Anderson and Langmeyer (1982) claimed that their study of United States travellers, to the best of their knowledge, was the first to empirically investigate similarities and differences between younger (under 50 years) and older (over 50 years) travellers. While there were similarities in the profiles of the two groups, there were enough differences to lead to the conclusion that age could be used to segment tourists. The United States senior (aged 55 and over) and non-senior (aged under 55 years) markets have also been compared by Javalgi et al. (1992). In a comparison of Australian senior and non-senior travellers, Hossain (2003) reports differences in travel (including non-leisure travel) behaviour and demographic characteristics. Other researchers have used retirement status rather than chronological age to segment the United States senior market (Badinelli, Davis & Gustin 1991; Blazey 1992). In a study which compared travel plans pre-retirement to actual travel after retirement, Tongren (1980) found that United States retirees travelled less than they had anticipated prior to retirement and for those who did travel there was a change in plans as to the mode of travel. Tongren concluded, "Perhaps the most bizarre or exertive forms of travel lost their attraction in the light of reality" (p.9). In discussing Australian seniors, Golik (1999) speculates that with the abolition of compulsory retirement at age 65 those seniors who continue to work

could be seen as having the same lifestyle, income and travel patterns as those aged 40 to 60 years. If so, then perhaps chronological age is not a useful defining criterion of "senior".

The Senior Tourist Market in Different Regions

Profile and segmentation studies of senior tourists have been conducted in a number of countries. In the United States, Hawes (1988) investigated the travel behaviour of older women, McGuire et al. (1988) studied the types of trip taken by the elderly and their sources of information, Shoemaker (1989, 2000) and Lieux et al. (1994) identified segments of the senior market based on motivation for leisure travel, Brewer et al. (1995) described the travel patterns of continuing care retirement community residents and Badinelli et al. (1991) studied the travel preferences and habits of Americans aged 55 years and over. In Britain, You and O'Leary (1999) used travel push and pull factors to segment the market. C. Ryan (1995) studied the British senior market to Majorca. Researchers have investigated the leisure travel patterns of senior Germans (Romsa & Blenman 1989) and senior Taiwanese (Huang & Tsai 2003), tourism constraints among senior Israelis (Fleischer & Pizam 2002) and tourist behaviour of Mauritian seniors (Pochun, 1999). The conclusion from studies on senior tourism is that the senior market is not homogeneous. According to Neugarten (cited in Shoemaker 1989):

> 'The stereotype has it that as people age they become more and more like one another (in terms of likes, wants and needs toward travel). In truth, they become less and less alike. If you look at people's lives, they're like the spreading of a fan. The longer people live, the greater the differences (in terms of these same wants and needs) between them (Hall 1980, p.72)'. (Shoemaker 1989, p.14)

Australian Senior Tourists

Studies of the Australian senior market confirm the motivational heterogeneity of the market. A profile of the needs and expectations of Australian tourists aged over 55 years (Environmetrics 1991) revealed five major groups of motivation: a desire for exploration (to experience things while one is still able); recuperation (rest, peace and quiet); circulation (companionship, food and drink, sensual indulgence and comfort); reduction (to see the big things of the world before one dies or becomes

infirm); and reunion (to come into contact with one's roots and heritage). Constraints to travel were ill health, lack of a travel companion and lack of money – Golik (1999) added "home responsibilities". The reasons for a holiday appeared to be different upon retirement. Prior to retirement a holiday might be for relaxation; after retirement a holiday was often taken to alleviate the monotony of home life. For older travellers, a holiday was also seen as a reward for a lifetime of hard work. Short break holidays were perceived as playing an important role in structuring the lives of older people: "The breaks become one mechanism by which the continuation of their life is assured – if there is nothing to look forward to there is nothing to live for" (Environmetrics 1991, p.34). The study found that seniors use a broad range of accommodation and transportation (with a majority preference for coach tours). Accommodation requirements are ensuite facilities, comfort and flexibility in food options. Very few respondents who were part of a couple travelled independently or expressed any interest in doing so: "Having been together for so many years, many couples draw very closely together so that their interests are shared" (Environmetrics 1991 p.39). Companionship was found to be a major issue for single people. The researchers concluded:

> There is also a perception that the *quality* of a holiday improves if one goes with a partner/companion. For women in particular, there is an opinion that holidays 'are set up for couples'. To be on one's own, or with a female companion, is embarrassing and difficult". (Environmetrics 1991 p.40)

Single travellers were found to adopt various measures to cope with their situation.

Concerned that the tourism industry is providing a homogenous product for senior tourists with few options based on seniors' motivations for travel, Cleaver, Muller, Ruys and Wei (1999) investigated the segments of the senior market in southeast Queensland, based on motives and values. In the Cleaver et al. (1999) study, four groups were identified as representing most of the senior market. "Nostalgics" travel "for the sake of renewing memories and gaining satisfaction from the opportunity to relive fond memories, achieve family togetherness, and make 'pilgrimages' to places that are imbued with pleasant aspects of their past" (p.9). The primary value is warm relationships with others. "Friendlies" travel "in order to

meet new people and make new friends, and to be together with people who share their interests and values" (p.9). "Learners" aim "to collect new experiences, discover the world around them, learn new things and satisfy their thirst for knowledge and adventure" (p.9). Fun and enjoyment in life and self-respect are the two most popular values. "Escapists" travel "to get away from the demands of daily life and responsibilities" (p.10). Their values are the same as those of the "Learners". The researchers concluded that motives and values were a useful means of segmentation. Demographic characteristics and destination preference did not distinguish groups.

Recognition of the lack of Australian-based data on senior tourism led the National Seniors Card Tourism Scheme to commission major studies into senior tourism, resulting in the report *Not over the Hill: Just Enjoying the View* (Golik 1999). The report confirmed a variety of reasons for leisure travel: nostalgic motivation, friendly/social motivation, desire to learn, yearn to escape, need for mental stimulation, seeking status, and undertaking physical activity (Queensland Office of Ageing cited in Golik 1999). Using travel motivation as the basis for segmentation four segments of Australian seniors were identified: "Vacationers", "Livewires", "Explorers" and "Home Bodies". The "Explorers" were differentiated from the other groups in terms of type of accommodation and leisure activities (Wei & Ruys cited in Golik 1999).

> The most popular leisure experiences for all seniors involve historical sites, countryside, natural wilderness, beaches, lakes and rivers, shopping and guided tours. Only younger seniors are interested in attractions involving big cities, nightlife and entertainment, sports and recreation, indigenous cultures and other cultures. (Wei & Ruys in Golik 1999, p.97)

Golik (1999) concluded that seniors seek mentally stimulating educational experiences and companionship and appreciate carrying out leisure activities at their own pace. Ruys and Wei (1997) in a previous study of Australian seniors' motivation for leisure travel identified three dimensions of travel motivation: discovery, socialising and activity, and visiting friends and relatives. When examining the profile of Australian senior overnight travellers, Hossain (2003)

reported demographic differences in gender, income, employment and travel companion between younger and older senior travellers. However, one must be aware that, once again, a broad definition of "traveller" was used.

A further segmentation study which focussed on West Australian senior tourists (Kim et al. 2003) identified four groups of seniors, of which two were dominated by women, "active learner" and "relaxed family body", and two by men, "careful participant" (motivated in observing new experiences and concern for health and well-being) and "elementary vacationer" (motivated in embracing new experiences and concern for the basic needs).

The Senior Market by Tourist Type

Nature Tourists

A segmentation of United States senior nature-based travellers (Backman, Backman & Silverberg 1999) found senior nature-based travellers were more likely to be married men with at least some college education. They were most likely to travel with family members and to visit family and friends. When "Younger Seniors" aged 55–64 were compared to "Older Seniors" aged over 65 years, differences were identified. The researchers found that:

> younger senior travellers were less interested in educational/nature benefits than the older senior travellers. In contrast, older senior travellers were less interested in camping benefits than were younger senior travellers. Younger senior travellers were also more interested in relaxation benefits than older senior travellers. (Backman et al. 1999, p.19)

Interested in the "new senior" tourist, the ageing baby boomer, who is bringing "their more active lifestyles and interest in nature with them into their 'sunset years'", Moisey and Bichis (1999, p.71) surveyed users of the Katy Trail in Missouri. Defining seniors as 50 years and over and non-senior as 18 to 49 years, the authors concluded that there were differences in benefits gained from the trip. The seniors were more likely than the non-seniors to be seeking health benefits, personal enrichment and an understanding of nature. The non-seniors were significantly more likely than the senior group to consider having "fun" as a benefit

of the experience. Seniors were also more likely to be walking than engaging in more strenuous activities such as jogging and biking.

The Recreation Vehicle Tourist

An area of the market dominated by senior tourists and included in the writings on senior tourism is, in the North American context, the Recreation Vehicle (RV) sector or what has been termed the "Snowbird" sector. Jobes (1984) classified committed RV users into those who were full-timers, seasonal travellers and vacation travellers, the distinction being how much time they spent in their rigs (see also Murphy, P. 1985 and Jobes 1985). Those spending a large percentage of time on the road were often "snowbirds", a group who seasonally migrates from colder regions to warmer climes in the winter and, for the full-timers, from warmer regions to cooler regions in the summer. In North America, Americans and Canadians migrate to the US Sunbelt (such as Florida and Arizona) for the winter with a large percentage using the RV parks/resorts. In regard to those migrating to Texas for the winter, the term "Winter Texans" has been used (Vincent & de los Santos, 1990). According to Mings (1997) "The three defining qualities of life in snowbird communities are very high levels of recreation activity, social interaction and geographic mobility" (p.168). Studying snowbirds in Texas, Vincent & de los Santos 1990 identified the most important attractions when choosing "a winter home" as climate, friendliness of the people and family/friends. Culture/activities, geographic beauty and proximity to a foreign country (Mexico) were less important. Crompton (1992) reported that while curiosity and climate were motives for potential or first-time Winter Texans, social integration was a key motive for repeat visitors. A demographic profile of North American snowbirds signifies that this sector is overwhelmingly white, middle-class couples, moderately educated and aged from mid to late 60s (Mings 1997). In a study of Canadian snowbirds in Arizona (McHugh & Mings 1992), it was found that the RV lifestyle "is more attractive to small town and rural people than big city dwellers" (p.265). McHugh and Mings (1992, p.265) found that most RVers were repeat visitors, with the mean number of visits for Americans being 6.0 and 4.8 for Canadians. The average length of visit in Phoenix was 4.5 months for Americans and 3.7 months for Canadians. Interested in the relationship of place and behaviour, Mings and McHugh (1995) studied RV couples in Phoenix, finding that at the winter residence there was a very high level

of participation in leisure activities which was not sustained on return to their summer home.

The snowbird tourist is associated with North American seniors. Mings (1997), a United States researcher, investigated the existence of the phenomenon in Australia through a study of Australian retirees staying in caravan parks in Far North Queensland. From a comparison of demographic characteristics and behavioural patterns, Mings (1997) concluded, "we can recognise a snowbird phenomenon in Australia" (p.169) – although, according to McClelland (2000), Australians tend to favour the term "sunseekers". Demographically, Mings (1997) found the groups to be similar. However, behaviourally there were differences. Similar to the North American snowbirds, the climate was the most favoured feature of the destination. The two groups participated in a wide variety of recreational activities, of which many were outdoor. However, the recreational activities differentiated the two groups. Without relocating their caravan, the Australian caravanners travelled locally in Queensland 323 km on average per week compared to only 217 km per week for the North Americans. The author expressed surprise at the amount of sightseeing undertaken by the Australian caravanners:

> Remarkably, sightseeing in some form is mentioned by 95 per cent of the couples interviewed. Examples range quite widely, from the very popular (i.e., drive along the coast, visit the Atherton Tableland, walk in the rainforest, snorkel on the reef, shop at Port Douglas or Cairns, etc.) to the less mentioned (i.e., 4WD on Cape York Peninsular, explore Aboriginal settlements, fossick for gems, visit local churches, watch birds etc.). (Mings 1997, p.175)

Other popular activities were walking (cited by 54 per cent of respondents), reading (51 per cent), swimming (41.5 per cent), socialising (33 per cent), fishing (31 per cent) and relaxing (30 per cent). Shopping, crafts, dining out, golfing and playing bowls were other activities mentioned. Mings (1997) found that while many RV parks in the North American Sunbelt catered exclusively for snowbirds, the Queensland parks did not. None of the Queensland parks had the recreational facilities and group programmes for the snowbirds that were available in North

America. Mings (1997) interpreted the greater driving of Australians as deriving "at least in part, from this shortage of in-park recreation opportunities" (p.176).

> Limited recreation opportunities in their van parks force Queensland snowbirds to seek recreation elsewhere …
>
> Particular types of recreational pursuits also differ. Respondents reveal scant or no mention of group activities such as dancing, classes (in crafts, Bible study, aerobics etc), sporting teams and tournaments, theatre type productions, etc. (Mings 1997, p.176)

Mings (1997) claimed that a consequence of limited recreational opportunities in Australian parks was less opportunity for social interaction. The social interaction that occurred was more likely to be informal. Mings found that 76 per cent of the Australian couples interviewed had no friends or acquaintances within the park. He commented: "Virtually none of the North Americans were so 'friendless'" (p.177). Over the full sample of Australians, the mean number of friends was four, compared to the North Americans' mean number of seventy-one friends (McHugh & Mings cited in Mings 1997). (In their 1992 study, McHugh and Mings found the average number of friends for Americans was seventy-five!) Mings (1997) reported that the average length of stay of the Australian snowbirds was 35 days (with a mode of 7 days and median of 18 days) compared to an average of 4.4 months for the North American sample. The author asked, "do North Americans stay so much longer in their RV parks because they provide so much?" (p.177). Repeat visitation for Australians in Far North Queensland was also lower than for the North Americans in Phoenix with Australians visiting their van parks on average 2.2 times compared to Americans' average return rate of 5.9 visits. However, 95 per cent of the Australians reported that there was a possibility of returning "somewhere north" next winter. While the Australian travellers are not spending the same length of time in their caravan park as North Americans are in their RV park, it seems that, with a mean trip length of 128 days, Australians are spending a similar time away from the region of their domicile. The difference is that a great deal of their time is spent "on the road".

> More than two thirds indicate that they have travelled around the full continent at least once, or completed a major segment of this arduous task. Given the geographic size and attendant rigours of such travelling, these are people with a powerful desire and stamina for travel. Perhaps even more revealing is that the 44 per cent who have made at least one such huge trip indicate that they are interested in going again. No comparable tradition exists in North America. (Mings 1997, p.179)

Mings (1997) offered another explanation for Australians' mobility and shorter stay in caravan parks:

> because Australians are 'less travelled', they may have more motivation to sightsee, locally and elsewhere, than North Americans.
>
> The greater mobility among Australians, is a reflection of amount of travel completed over the life course. Longer winter stays coupled with more frequent annual returns, may have served to quench the North American sightseeing appetites, somewhat. (Mings 1997, p181)

The conclusion from Mings' comparison of Australian and North American snowbird travel was that "Lower levels of social interaction and greater mobility, in combination, weaken the snowbird communities of Queensland" (Mings 1997, p.181). It is possible that Mings is correct that Australian caravanners would spend more time in the one park if the parks in Queensland provided more recreational facilities. Perhaps the park owners have not recognised the latent demand for such social opportunities. On the other hand, it appears to *this* Australian reviewer that Mings (1997), in his interpretation of his findings, has misunderstood the Australian psyche, viewing Australians through North American eyes. While it is interesting to compare Australian and North American retiree travel to warmer climates, awareness of cultural differences in motivation and values is required. As Jana Pearce, editor of *New Choices for Retirement*, (2003, pers. comm., 18 May) said, "Australian seniors love their travel". Part of this travel for Australians is exploration through touring. It is questionable that Australians are "less travelled" than Americans and that their sightseeing behaviour is a consequence of the novelty of travel, as Mings (1997) states. For both groups the caravan or RV is home for an extended period of time but for the North American, the RV park becomes the

region of domicile and thus, by the definition of "tourist" employed in this study, these snowbirds are not "tourists".

A more relevant study for understanding the Australian senior self-drive travel market is reported by Pearce (1999b). He describes this sector of the senior market as one which "dominates the roads and visitor numbers of major portions of the northern half of Australia" (p.37). Pearce, in a summary of previous Australian findings, emphasises that long-distance touring is an engaging and purposeful activity which is relatively easy for seniors to pursue and which can be maintained for many years of a senior's life. It is an activity that couples can share. It also allows the more social seniors to maximise their social interaction, whereas those who wish minimal contact with others can do so. Pearce highlights a characteristic of the Australian senior self-drive market which seems to differentiate it from the North American snowbird sector – the desire to have contact and exposure to other landscapes, people and ways of life. To experience this is mentally stimulating. Self-drive touring offers seniors the opportunity for reflection.

> It is a common perspective in aging research that one of the later life stages involves the contemplation and review of how an individual's life has been lived. The leisurely experience of self-drive touring can help prompt this kind of reflection, not just about personal issues but also about the management of the country and its heritage (Rolls,1993). (Pearce, 1999b, p.41)

The term currently used to describe the Australian long-term domestic retiree traveller is "grey nomad" and it is the nomadic quality which differentiates this traveller from the snowbird. According to McKinnon (2003), the annual growth rate for caravans (18 to 20 per cent) and motorhomes (20 per cent) over the past five years is evidence of the "rapid expansion of the grey nomad population" (p.4). Queensland is a favoured destination for grey nomads who primarily originate from New South Wales and Victoria. Destinations visited include "Cairns, Longreach, Kakadu, Alice Springs, Uluru, Fitzroy Crossing and Broome" (McKinnon 2003, p.4). Despite the fact that Australians do not experience the intense social interaction of North American RV parks, it is acknowledged that many grey nomads enjoy meeting other people and a caravan park allows for easier social interaction than a

motel or resort. A contrast with the North American snowbird is evident in this observation:

> Those who have no time constraints will also explore out-of-the-way areas in great detail. They'll find a remote campsite somewhere on the coast and stay there for weeks, just taking it easy, catching a feed each day and wondering about the poor people who have to work. (McKinnon 2003, p.4)

McKinnon (2003) claims that "The grey nomad phenomenon shows no signs of abating as more and more people retire early and spend the kids' inheritance on the 'big trip' in Australia, rather than extended overseas travel" (p.5). He cites Wakeling, Sales Manager for Winnebago:

> 'Today's retirees are a different breed to their parents, who lived through hard times and were most concerned with leaving a nest egg for the kids … Now, the kids are usually well established, and retirees want to get out and use their money to enjoy the rest of their lives'. (McKinnon 2003, p.5)

The organisation, See Australia, set up by the Federal Government and the tourism industry has identified this group of seniors as "The Wanderers", a potential market of 2.6 million Australians (Meacham 2002).

A study of Australian grey nomads by McClelland (2000) identifies their travel motives as fitting within Maslow's hierarchy of needs: the need to visit family and meet people (Belongingness), the need for challenge and independence (Esteem), the need to see Australia and how others live (Cognitive Level) and the need for self-fulfilment such as painting (Self-actualisation). McClelland examined the support networks which enabled the grey nomads to leave home for long periods of time. He also investigated adversities encountered in grey nomad travel. The psychological adversities included lack of family support and loneliness for those travelling alone, although it was felt that this was less of a problem for women than men. Other problems were fear, especially if freecamping along roadsides. Missing family and concern for elderly parents at home were also cited as psychological problems. Other problems were disappointments and the downside of a flexible

itinerary, having to make decisions. Crowding, lack of friendliness of other travellers, preferential treatment for return clientele and theft were social adversities, while fuel prices, interest rates, entry fees to National Parks and limited pension were cited as economic difficulties. Health problems, long-distance driving, misinformation about road conditions, mechanical problems, lack of mobile phone coverage and what to do with pets were physical adversities encountered. Women travelling alone spoke of the challenge of preparing and maintaining their vehicles. Personal safety was an issue. Being prepared and "on the ready" was found to be a priority. According to McClelland (2000), this

> equates to the findings of Powell (1993, p.64) who stated that [in the USA] the only safe way for a woman to be on the road alone is in a motorhome that allows for 'fast getaways'. (McClelland 2000, p.96)

Counts and Counts (cited in McClelland 2000) found in the United States that solo women RVers "exhibited an expertise when it came to driving and maintaining their rigs" (McClelland 2000, p.17). Women who learned the technical skills of RVing could be independent and travel safely. They warned against a gender division of roles whereby the woman was not able to drive or maintain the vehicle. However, a gender division is apparent in McClelland's Australian findings. "Of the 10 couples interviewed … 9 female partners had a driver's licence and yet none of them shared the driving" (McClelland 2000, p.80). It appears that gender division in driving is not uncommon.

> Research in Queensland shows that long distance travel is associated with gender role-playing. The male role hinges on driving, maintaining the vehicle and setting up the camp while the partner does the budgeting, scheduling, food buying and preparation, laundry and correspondence (Australian Senior 1999). Moeller and Moeller (1986) found the same sex-based division of labour existed in the USA. (McClelland 2000, p.17)

Accommodation Needs of Senior Tourists

Ananth et al. (1992) remarked that despite the recognition of the potential of the senior market, few studies have examined this sector's needs and behaviour in

relation to accommodation. In a study of younger and older (59 years or older) Americans, the authors found a number of accommodation attributes which were considered important and not significantly different between the two age groups, such as value for money, security, convenience of location and room amenities (in room temperature control, soundproof rooms, firm mattresses). Other attributes were more important to the senior tourist than to the younger tourists. These included grab bars and supports in the bathroom, night lights in the bathroom, legible visible signs, legible printing on menus and information, extra blankets, small portions of food, dietary menus, early dining hours, easily maneuvered door handles, low pile carpets, medical facilities, non-smoking rooms and wide doorways. In the National American Senior-Traveler Survey (Teaff & Turpin 1996) those aged over 55 were similarly found to value cleanliness, convenience of location, room price and security. When customer service was studied, Wuest et al. (1996) found that American seniors considered assurance and reliability the most important factors of hotel/motel service, followed by responsiveness and empathy. The important features for Australian seniors: safety, convenience, security, service, comfort and recreation (Ruys & Wei 1998a); cleanliness, friendliness of staff, security, comfortable room furnishings and layout, and room condition and maintenance (Wei & Ruys cited in Golik 1999) are similar to the American findings but the Australians do not include price as an important consideration. Ruys and Wei (1998a) could find no significant differences in accommodation needs of the mature traveller based on travel patterns (frequency of travel and preferred hotel class and location) or demographic factors such as gender, age (50-64 or 65 and above) or family situation (single or couple). On the other hand, other writers have stressed the issue of accommodation costs encountered by singles. As Golik (1999) says, "One of the most emotionally charged issues among travelling seniors is the imposition of a single room supplement, or 'singles surcharge'" (p.82). The cost of accommodation can be a constraint for singles who are often widowed women. Recognising the "somewhat limited and descriptive" approaches in tourism studies to the developing literature on senior and female travellers, Oh et al. (2002, p.2) cross-examined senior versus younger segments and female versus male segments simultaneously rather than separately. In a study which examined American hotel customers' expectations, perceptions, subjective disconfirmation, satisfaction and behavioural intention, gender and age differences were found. Although having the

same level of expectations and perceptions, senior customers were found to experience greater satisfaction and behavioural intentions than younger customers, while female customers had higher expectations and perceptions than men but ended up with the same level of satisfaction and behavioural intention. Explanations are not apparent. On the other hand, there were no differences based on age or gender in customers' decision-making processes.

The possibility of cultural differences in the needs of the Australian mature market was recognised by Ruys and Wei (1998a). In a study of travellers to Hong Kong, Wong and Hui (1997) identified that, in the choice of a hotel, the non-Asian group rated human factors more highly than physical environment and the Asian group emphasised the physical environment.

Senior Tourists and Transportation

Many studies have reported the type of transport favoured by senior tourists. According to Golik (1999) private vehicle and plane are the most used forms of transport for Australian seniors. Couples comprise the majority of self-drive travellers and when driving becomes more difficult guided tours are taken. Golik (1999) reported the finding by Wei and Ruys that travel agents lack knowledge of the transport modes of seniors.

Senior travellers make up much of the motorcoach tour market. In a study of United States seniors (aged 55 years and over), Baloglu and Shoemaker (2001) found the factors seniors take into account when choosing a coach tour are price, activities (such as viewing beautiful scenery, historic sights, shopping facilities and facilities for physical exercise), meeting other passengers, shorter trips, different destinations and good reputation of the motor coach company. More specific segmentation studies have been undertaken. Hsu and Lee (2002) segmented senior (aged 55 years and over) motorcoach travellers (customers of Kansas motor coach companies) on motorcoach tour operator and tour package selection attributes. The majority of respondents were female. The findings revealed three segments based on their tour selection attributes, "Dependents", "Sociables" and "Independents". However, for all groups, safety precautions and empathy for health concerns were the top two

most important attributes. A guide to tour designing for seniors is presented by Viant (1997) and Gay (1999) although the basis for their advice is not evident.

Senior Tourists and Information Sources

Information sources have been investigated in various studies of senior leisure travel. As for other groups of tourists, word of mouth is a highly valued information source for senior travellers. Cappella and Greco (1987) in a study of information sources for vacation destinations of the over 60 age group found that family and friends were the primary source with men relying more on these sources and women relying more on newspapers. With the exception of information about cruises, McGuire et al. (1988) found that in a study of US pleasure travellers aged over 65 years the most commonly used information source for pleasure trips was friends. Golik (1999) claims that seniors do not seek information on where to travel as they have a "pent-up 'wish list'" (p.110). However, they do seek information on when and how to travel and experiences that might add value to their trip. The valued information sources amongst Australians (Wei & Ruys cited in Golik 1999) also included word of mouth and newspapers.

Senior *Non*-Tourists

Even more neglected than the senior tourist is the senior *non*-tourist. Studies by Blazey (1987, 1992) highlighted constraints experienced by US seniors. Blazey (1992) identified constraints to travel experienced by pre-retirees and retirees. While a constraint for the pre-retirees was little time for travel, constraints for retirees were health conditions, physical energy, perception of age, disability, fear of certain modes of travel and lack of transportation to and from point of departure. An earlier study (Blazey 1987) investigated participants and non-participants in a travel program, finding that the major constraints to participation were lack of money, health or disability problems, lack of a travelling companion and preference for not driving during darkness. However, non-participation in a particular travel programme did not necessarily mean non-participation in all leisure travel. Zimmer et al. (1995) in a study of Canadians 65 years and older found that age was the best predictor of whether or not one was a pleasure traveller. Two other strong predictors were education and number of mobility problems. The researchers also found that "Several other distinguishing variables, in order of importance, were self-assessed

health status, income level, ability to handle money, number of chronic health conditions, and interest in spending money on recreation" (Zimmer et al. 1995, p.6). The importance of income was highlighted in a study of travel expenditure patterns of elderly households in the United States (Hong, Kim and Lee 1999):

> Current income is the only variable that significantly affects both the likelihood of travel and the actual amount of money spent on trips … This study also indicates that young-old (those aged 55 to 64) are more likely to spend more on trips than the other two age groups of elderly people. (Hong et al. 1999, p.51)

Despite the focus in the literature on the potential of the senior market, Moscardo and Green (1999) highlight research findings which indicate that seniors may not have the freedom or finances to travel that most writers on senior tourism presume. A reference to the gerontology literature confirms the lack of income for many in this age category. Older women in particular may be living on limited incomes (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1998 report cited in Poole & Feldman 1999). Ruys and Wei (1998b), in a study of frequent and non-frequent Australian mature travellers, acknowledged that "While mature people are travelling more than before, the distribution of travel frequency is far from even" (p.138). Documenting a decline in tourist activities with age in the Great Barrier Reef region of Australia, Moscardo and Green (1999) warn tourism businesses "to be cautious in their judgements of the profitability of senior markets" (p.67). However, they also add, "the enthusiasm of tourism writers for promoting Senior travel may be a socially responsible behaviour to be encouraged" (p.67). In a study of Australian senior tourism, the importance of travel for maintaining good health and wellbeing was acknowledged by 76% of Australian seniors (AC Nielson cited in Golik 1999).

Gender and Senior Tourists

A consideration of gender in studies of senior tourists is missing. Older women have not attracted the theoretical attention that younger women have received. Indeed, feminism has, in general, neglected older women (Feldman & Poole 1999) and gerontology has not shown much interest in leisure (McGuire, Boyd & Tedrick 1999). The majority of the senior market is women so it is even more remarkable that feminist tourism scholars have not investigated the older market. However, as

Sarton (1983) says, "The trouble is that old age is not interesting until one gets there, a foreign country with an unknown language to the young, and even the middle-aged" (p.23). Although women usually constitute the majority of participants in those studies which have investigated the senior market, researchers have failed to address gender issues. One of the few studies to recognise the significance of the older woman tourist was conducted by Hawes in 1988; however it was a profile description, rather than an explanatory exposition of older women tourists. Since then, there has been a deafening silence on this tourist sector. The finding by Lieux et al. (1994) in a segmentation study of older tourists that the segment "reluctant tourist" was more likely to comprise men further supports the rationale for studying women as tourists. While past marginalisation of women in the tourism literature could be attributed to sexism, the marginalisation of older tourists could be considered a function of ageism. As stated, it is not only in tourism studies that feminists have neglected older women. However, tourism is lagging behind other disciplines and fields of study (including leisure studies) in recognising ageing as a feminist issue and in making visible older women.

Limitations of Studies of Senior Tourists

To draw conclusions from the findings is difficult. There appears to be some consensus that senior tourists are motivated to spend time with family, escape routine and to visit new places and experience new things. However, it is difficult to look for patterns in the data or to compare findings since there is wide variability in the research methodologies. Firstly, there is a lack of consensus regarding a definition of a "senior". Some researchers take retirement as the defining feature of seniors, others use chronological age and, for those using the latter, "senior" may commence anywhere between 50 and 65 years of age. Some researchers refer to "young" seniors and "old" seniors. Once again there is no consensus as to when each of these stages commences. Secondly, research tools have varied; different questions have been asked. Some studies are a case analysis or a descriptive statistical profile while others are segmentation studies. Thirdly, although Shoemaker (2000) claimed stability of the mature Pennsylvanian market over a ten-year period, social change in other populations over the past decades may weaken the relevance of earlier findings. Researchers need to be aware of cohort effects (Moscardo & Green 1999).

There are other criticisms of the senior tourism research. Most studies, even those which distinguish between young and old seniors, employ such a large age range that they fail to identify differences within the range. The insensitivity of many researchers to the different age groups (and their different experiences) within the senior category demonstrates the marginality of seniors in society. (This is even more evident in research that segments tourists in five- or ten-year age intervals up to the age of 65 and then lumps everyone 65+ into one category.) Nearly thirty years ago Weiss (1974) said that statistics should extend beyond age 80. Today, this is even more relevant with people living longer. The 85 and over age group is the fastest growing segment of the population in many developed countries (Leitner, 1999a). Although this age group has the greatest prevalence of impairments, social improvements in health and changing social attitudes have meant that tourism remains an option for many. The tourism literature and the industry, however, show little interest in this age group.

Since many studies have been situation-specific, it is difficult to generalise the findings (Faranda & Schmidt 1999). Those studies with large samples representative of the population are more useful in understanding the different tourism market segments. A further limitation of the research on senior tourism is that most studies are survey-based and quantitative with questions based on what the researcher considers important to senior tourists. The research is descriptive rather than explanatory. In the tourism literature, constraints on travel for seniors are recognised and are accepted as residing with the traveller. These are commonly listed as poor health, disability, lack of income or travel partner. Recommendations could be made to the tourism industry to make life easier for the senior tourist. However, the social nature of constraints is not addressed. There is a need for grounded research in the field. The research, for the most part, has been atheoretical. Tourism researchers could benefit from the existing knowledge and theoretical approaches in other disciplines, such as social gerontology and disability studies. The older tourist is often a tourist with a disability. In fact a large percentage of those with a disability are aged 65 and over (Burnett & Baker 2001). The older tourist may experience tourism similarly to a younger tourist with a

disability and require similar facilities and services (Murray & Sproats 1990; Darcy 1998; Burnett & Baker 2001).

TOURISM OVER THE LIFE-COURSE

Although leisure has been studied across the life-course, there are few studies which have looked specifically at tourism from a temporal perspective despite the recognition that tourist behaviour is considered to change with life-cycle stage (Crompton 1981). The above review has reported research which has focussed on different age groups of tourists rather than life-cycle stage or cohort effects. The few studies of tourists' life cycles have focussed on the *travel* life cycle (Pearce 1993), the *family* life cycle, in terms of decision making (Cosenza & Davis 1981; Fodness 1992) and tourist expenditure, and travel behaviour (Lawson 1991) and the *age-related* life cycle (Oppermann 1995; Gibson, H. 1996; Gibson, H. & Yiannakis 1999, 2002; Collins & Tisdell 2000, 2002a, 2002b).

Examining the frequency of travel across the life cycle, Collins and Tisdell (2002a) in a study of the Australian 1998 outbound holiday market found the frequency of outbound holiday travel was bimodal with an increase to age 34, a decline for the 35-44 age group (coinciding with the child-rearing stage and mortgage commitments), an increase from age 45 to 54 years and then a sudden drop. When gender was studied (Collins & Tisdell 2002b) the travel pattern was found to be the same for men and women although outbound travel for women declined at a faster rate after the age of 54 years. The visiting friends and relatives (VFR) travel pattern was also similar for men and women but was unimodal and skewed to the left. In both types of travel women were dominant.

The findings of Collins and Tisdell (2002a) that the pattern of holiday travel is bimodal confirmed those of Becker (Collins & Tisdell 2002a) and Oppermann (1995) in their studies of German tourists. Lawson (1991) previously, in a study of inbound tourists to New Zealand, identified a decrease in expenditure and a difference in holiday activities of those in the child-rearing age group. Collins and Tisdell (2000, 2002a) concluded that the bimodal pattern was not evident when all purposes of travel were grouped or when other purposes were investigated individually.

The finding by Collins and Tisdell (2002a) that travel decreases in later age is confirmed by the most recent Australian data. When Australian outbound holiday and VFR travel for 2000–2003 (Australian Bureau of Statistics unpublished data) is analysed, the seniors market is found to be small relative to other age markets. These findings may be exaggerated for Australian seniors due to Australia's geographic isolation. Outbound travel is likely to be more costly and perceived as more risky for Australian seniors than for seniors from most other Western countries. However, when Australian domestic tourism for 2000–2003 (Bureau of Tourism Research unpublished data) is examined the same trends are apparent. The number of overnight trips for the purpose of holidays/leisure or VFR generally declines after the age of 50-59 and in all cases has declined by age 60-69 with further decline in the 70+ age group. Even when number of visitor nights is examined the older age groups report fewer nights away for holidays/leisure than the younger age groups. In the older age groups only the VFR market equals or exceeds younger age groups in terms of nights away from home. Perhaps, as Moscardo and Green (1999) warn, the senior market (at least the Australian market) is not as lucrative as researchers and the industry might have us believe.

Taking a life-cycle approach, H. Gibson and Yiannakis (1999, 2002) looked specifically at tourist roles over the life-course, their stability and change. In studies of US residents from New England, the authors concluded that different roles were important at different ages. From their earlier study, H. Gibson and Yiannakis (1999) focussed on four of the fourteen roles investigated, concluding that the "Sun Lover" and "Action Seeker" roles were preferred by young adults (18-25 years) while preference in other roles, "Anthropologist" and "Organized Mass Tourist", increased with age. These trends were confirmed in a later study (Gibson, H. & Yiannakis 2002) and reported more fully than in the previous study. H. Gibson (1996) closely examined one of the roles, the "Thrill Seeker" role, reporting an inverse relationship with this role and age with a slight resurgence for those aged 50 to 55 years. She also found thrill-seeking holidays tended to be more popular with men than women. Gender differences were also apparent in other tourist role preferences (Gibson, H. & Yiannakis 2002) with women engaging in certain roles at somewhat different stages from men. The authors concluded:

> These patterns suggest that cultural constraints associated with being female, such as those imposed by motherhood, and the subordination of occupational goals and aspirations to those of their spouse, frequently delay and push back the fulfillment of women's dreams. (Gibson & Yiannakis 2002, p.377)

The relationship between childhood experience and adult tourist behaviour was found in a study of American university-educated men and women (Gitelson & Kerstetter 1992) with adults returning at different life stages to destinations visited as children. No gender differences were found with the exception of the late-adulthood stage in which men were more likely than women to return to a childhood holiday destination.

Most of the studies focussing on age differences in tourist behaviour have been cross- sectional and as such have not taken into account cohort effects. Although much is written in the popular press about cohorts, for example, Baby Boomers and Generation X, cohort analysis has been "virtually ignored" in tourism studies (Pennington-Gray, Fridgen & Stynes 2003). Oppermann (1995, 1998a) has argued for the need for longitudinal studies of tourist behaviour. While recognising that cross-sectional studies provide evidence of life-cycle differences in tourist behaviour, he claims that "they are based on the untested assumption that differences between cohorts (e.g., people born in the same period) are non-existent or negligible as compared to differences between lifecycle stages" (Oppermann 1998a, p.73). He argues that tourists' "travel event history" should be studied rather than "a single travel event"; in other words, the focus should be the "travel life cycle", employing a "life-long tourist paradigm" (Oppermann 1998a, p.79). Adopting such a perspective, he was able to demonstrate cohort differences amongst German tourists in their frequency of travel and destination. He concluded that:

> the travel frequency of those who were between 19 and 33 years old in 1992 is considerably different from the one of earlier generations. Thus, the younger generation has more travel experience at younger stages of their life course than their older counterparts and may, therefore, choose completely different sets of destinations in later stages of their life-span than their predecessors. (Oppermann 1995, p.546)

Pennington-Gray et al. (2003) confirmed the need for cohort analysis in their findings that some travel preferences (for national and provincial parks, first-class accommodation, shopping and museums and art galleries) are related to cohorts. The authors recommend that cohort analysis of travel behaviour should "develop 'travel' epochal events rather than world epochal events to define the generations" (p.359).

CONCLUSION

Different age groups have received disproportionate research attention. Youth and senior tourism have been privileged as foci of study, while children and middle-aged groups have been neglected. Despite the imbalance in attention to youth and senior tourism, these markets have rarely been examined within a gendered framework. A common limitation across the age groups is the lack of definitional agreement on "age" making generalisations within "youth", "middle-age and "seniors" difficult. Most research across all age groups is descriptive, not explanatory and thus tells us little about constraints faced or resistance enacted through tourism by the different groups. Cohort differences tend not to be addressed. Despite limitations, a recurring theme when age and tourist behaviour are examined is the lack of homogeneity between and, to a lesser extent, within age groups. The published literature most relevant to the present study is that which has focussed on Australian tourists. However, this might be more relevant for some age groups than others. It is likely that, due to an increasingly homogeneous international culture, younger Australians today share more cultural similarities with their foreign peers than their elders do with their overseas contemporaries.

The data that emanate from the present study will be discussed in relation to the published knowledge about gender and tourism (as reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3) and the literature which addresses different age groups of tourists (as discussed in the present chapter).

CHAPTER 5: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

I have come to this research from a critical psychology perspective, a perspective which questions and refutes the taken-for-granted assumptions regarding ontology (the nature of reality), epistemology (how the world is known, the relationship between the enquirer and the known) and methodology (how knowledge is gained about the world). The approach supports the assertion of von Foerster: "'Objectivity is the delusion that observations could be made without an observer'" (cited in von Glasersfeld 1995, p.v). The approach is critical of traditional psychology for its taken-for-granted assumptions which are seen to perpetuate oppression. As Austin and Prilleltensky (2001) report, critical psychology is "psychology for not about individuals" (p.79). This chapter examines ontology and epistemology and challenges a positivist perspective on the subject of knowledge and the production of knowledge. It introduces feminist social constructionism and the issues related to the paradigm: the nature of reality, how reality is known and who is privileged with this knowledge, the role of language in social constructionism, the meaning of subjectivity and experience, individuals' agency and the place of the body within the paradigm. Since social constructionism assumes the historical specificity of knowledge, a life-course perspective is incorporated. To illustrate the theory a basic model of tourist behaviour is presented, followed by a brief summary of the application of the paradigm to tourism studies. The chapter concludes with the rationale for the study and the research questions to be investigated.

FEMINIST SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

The paradigm which guides and informs the present research is feminist social constructionism. The premises accepted in this study and which guide the method, interpretation and implication of the findings are oppositional to a positivist paradigm. With social constructionism,[1] the distinction between ontology, epistemology and methodology, as found in positivism, no longer exists. What there

[1] Throughout the thesis I refer to alternative approaches to positivism: critical psychology, poststructuralism, deconstruction and discourse analysis. I take the view of Burr (1995) that underpinning these approaches (to a greater or lesser extent) is the theory of social constructionism.

is to be known and how it is known is a social construction. In the research process, how the researcher knows what there is to be known is through a process in which the researcher and the "object of investigation are assumed to be interactively linked so that the 'findings' are literally created as the investigation proceeds" (Guba & Lincoln 1994, p.111).

What is Reality?

The assumption taken in this study is that time and space exist beyond our knowing; there is a "natural", material, physical world independent of the individual. Such a perspective is commonly identified as "naïve realism". In making such a statement, I am already negating a basic premise of many social constructionists that nothing exists beyond social construction. However, I accept that it is only through social construction that the material world acquires meaning. The relationship of the social and the "natural" are discussed in the later section of this chapter which deals with "the body". What is real are the various meanings we construct within our physical and social world. Our knowledge of this world is not the "objective discovery of empirical reality nor a neutral representation of empirical facts" (Coombes & Morgan 2001, p.10) as positivism would contend. Human knowledge and meaning of the world can only ever be a construction or, as Bar-Tal and Bar-Tal (1988) assert, "factual evidence is created by the theories we hold" (p.87). Popper calls these theories "'human inventions – nets designed by us to catch the world'" (cited in Bar-Tal & Bar Tal 1988, p.88). As a mental, human invention there is no stability or tangibility to "reality"/"truth" and, thus, there are multiple "realities"/"truths". What we take to be reality is a consequence of our life experiences and therefore realities will differ. Since ontology is relativist, "there is no transcendent standpoint from which the 'real' can be apprehended" (Gill 1998, p.20). Walkerdine (1990b) explains that since "There can be no truth which stands outside the condition of its production" (p.57), it is the production which needs to be explored. Increments in knowledge do not bring us closer to the truth, but to a truth. Constructions can never be evaluated in terms of "truth" but rather in terms of how well informed, sophisticated, accepted or useful they are; consequently, this judgement will vary depending upon who is making the judgement. The worth of a construction/ knowledge is considered relative to the context. Truths are convincing only in their own culture and time period. Or, as Reimer (1995) says, "constructions are neither

correct nor faulty: they are 'only' more or less fruitful" (p.131). The validity of knowledge can be defended, not through proof but through the "marshaling of 'good reasons' on its behalf" (Bar-Tal & Bar-Tal, 1988, p.89).

Knowledge is not only socially constructed but is also socially constructing (Aitchison 1996). For feminists who are social constructionists, gender is not a given but a construction, "a 'work in progress'" (FitzPatrick, Friend & Costley 2002, p.140). However, although our femininity is a fiction we live it as if it were a fact, "as though it were a universal truth of the psyche" (Walkerdine 1990b, p.xiii). As Walkerdine suggests, "femininity and masculinity are fictions linked to fantasies deeply embedded in the social world which can take on the status of fact when inscribed in the powerful practices … through which we are regulated" (p.xiii). If reality is constructed, then the tourist experience is a construction. If gender is a construction, men and women will experience tourism from a gendered position. The way in which women and men construct themselves reflects their gendered positions but, as Onyx and Benton (1993) explain, "in an interactive and not a deterministic way" (p.2). The aim of this thesis is to understand how women and girls have constructed their tourist experiences.

How the World is Known and Who are the Knowers

A social constructionist approach considers that knowledge is constructed through the social discourses of the historical time. It is through intersubjectivity that we "know" our world. As Gergen (1988) says, knowledge is not a "possession of individual minds" but is "an artifact of social communities" (p.45). He replaces Descartes' dictum *Cogito ergo sum* with "*Communicamus ergo sum* – We relate, therefore I am!" (Gergen 1999, p.221). It is through intersubjectivity that subjectivity emerges. As Stephenson (2001c) says,

> We come to reflect on ourselves *as we think others understand us*. This is why social- constructionist psychology posits a fundamentally intersubjective notion of the self, or subject. Intersubjectivity and communication are synonymous. (Stephenson 2001c, p.22).

As Crawford et al. (1992) assert, "Consciousness does not precede interaction, it arises in it" (p.115). It is through the self's negotiation with others that reality is

constructed. If the subject is a process, not an entity, then it is the social practices rather than the individual mind that psychologists should be studying if they wish to understand the subject (Stephenson 2001c). There is a common sense in how we understand our lives, a commonality, a shared meaning. This common sense varies between cultural groups and time. Crawford et al. (1992) perceive intersubjectivity to be layered:

> The base layer we believe consists of a common set of understandings and meanings to which all human beings subscribe by virtue of our common experience as humans. Building on that basic common human layer of subjectivity, there are many different social realities constructed out of the different experiences of people in different cultures, located within different historical contexts. At any given time and place, people are differently positioned within the social matrix, by virtue of class, gender and religious affiliation, to name but a few of the parameters that define the social reality.
>
> Nor is it simply a question of difference. At any given point in place and time there exists a matrix of common understandings that is none the less patterned by the prevailing hegemony. (Crawford et al. 1992, p. 191)

Since knowledge is constructed intersubjectively, everyone within a society is a knower, an expert of their own lived experience. However, *some* knowers are more privileged than others. The politics of knowledge involve domination and subjugation which are also constructed but very "real" in their consequences. In the language of poststructuralists, there are binary oppositions (such as man/woman) in which the leading term is dominant, prior and at the centre and the "Other" is weaker and at the periphery. Humm (1995) quotes Derrida's argument that "presence or identity is constructed only by an absence; women are women only because they are not men and presence is therefore illusory" (p.22). Nonetheless the two components of the binary are interdependent.

As Walkerdine (1990b) says,

> The desire of the Other, the fears and fantasies inscribed in and projected on to that Other, help to fix what 'woman' and 'man' are taken to be, not the essentiality of

> their nature. In addition, actual men and women strive and struggle to be 'man' and 'woman' within specific regimes of representation". (Walkerdine 1990b, p.189)

Feminists claim the need to uncover and change the symbolic binarism of discourses (Kamler, Maclean, Reid & Simpson 1994). Within tourism studies, the Other has usually been the exotic host at the tourist destination (MacCannell 1976; Urry 1990) for whom the tourist goes in search. The "Other" becomes the object of the gaze. G. Bond and Gilliam (1994) highlight Foucault's contribution to an exposition on knowledge:

> By identifying two types of subjugated knowledges – the one, buried and disguised, and the other, disqualified and marginalized – Foucault (1980, pp.78-109) has been central in revitalizing scholarly interests in reclaiming subjugated forms of knowledge and understanding the pervasive nature of domination. Buried knowledge consists of the clusters of knowledge buried and disguised within dominant regimes of formally systematized thought. (Bond & Gilliam 1994, p.8)

Later, G. Bond and Gilliam explain:

> Foucault's second type of subjugated knowledge refers to a whole set of knowledges that 'have been disqualified as inadequate for their task or insufficiently elaborated'. However, it is through 'the reappearance of this knowledge, of these local popular knowledges … that criticism performs its work' (Foucault, 1980, p.82)". (Bond & Gilliam 1994, p.9)

From a radical feminist perspective the relevant "subjugated knowledges" have been those of women. The feminist argument is that in a patriarchal society the knowers have been men and it is their reality/realities which have been acknowledged as "truth". As Grosz (1993) says, "The masculinity or maleness of knowledges remains unrecognized as such because there is no *other knowledge* with which it can be contrasted" (p.204). A dichotomy of objectivity/subjectivity is considered by many feminists "a masculine ideology" (Spender 1980, p.62). Feminists, in arguing that women and their accounts have been ignored, have focussed on acknowledging women as knowers and treating gender as an "analytic category in its own right" (Schwandt 1994, p.128) rather than as "Other" in relation to men.

From a poststructural feminist perspective, Foucault's subjugated knowledges are multiple. There is no *one* women's knowledge. Poststructural feminists have acknowledged that earlier feminists, in hearing the voices of white, middle-class, heterosexual women, have allocated other women to the silent margin (Taylor, Gilligan & Sullivan 1995; hooks 2000). Gender has been privileged over other facets of identity. Many feminists consider that it is no longer (and never was) appropriate to talk of women's "reality". As Reinharz (1992) says, "Rather than there being a 'women's way of knowing' ... there are women's *ways* of knowing" (p.4). Within different sociocultural groups there will be different realities as there will be at different historical points of time. Societies are dynamic and within any one society meanings and knowledge shift over time; consequently, meaning and knowledge will be historically specific. H. Moore (1994) asks:

> When has gender ever been pure, untainted by other forms of difference, other relations of inequality? Lives are shaped by a multiplicity of differences; differences which may be perceived categorically but are lived relationally … there is no discourse on gender outside the discourses of race and class and ethnicity and sexuality and so on. (Moore 1994, p.88)

Just as there is no single feminist reality or "gaze", there is no single feminist subjectivity (Gamman & Marshment 1989). Gender is thus seen in relational rather than essentialist terms.

The present study aims to hear the voices of women of different ages who have passed through girlhood and adulthood and different family life stages at different historical times. As feminist research, the goal is empowerment of all women and especially those women within the category of women who are more marginalised than others in terms of age. I refer here to older aged women ("senior" tourists) and children. It might be argued that girls are located more centrally than older women. The marginalisation of older people, especially older women, is well documented by social scientists, in particular, critical gerontologists. I am aligned with the political goal of critical gerontologists to understand the production of ageing and the resistance of constraints by older people. Giving voice to the young and the old moves these groups from the margins to the centre. Gender, age and family

structure, however, are not the only processes through which women experience knowledge and power relations. Race/ethnicity, class, sexuality and dis(ability) also intersect with gender, age, family structure and each other. As Friedlander said at the 1995 NGO International Forum on Women in Beijing (in conjunction with the United Nations Conference on Women and Development), "'As differentiation and inequality bring benefits to some while marginalising others, the question of how to create unity while accommodating difference becomes a central problem for the women's movement'" (cited in Sizoo 1997a, p.5).

The present study attempts to empower different aged groups of women by shifting them from the margins of the tourist experience to the centre.

Language and Discourse

According to poststructuralists, it is through language that meaning and knowledge are communicated and the person is constructed. In other words, "The way that language is structured … determines the way that experience and consciousness are structured" (Burr 1995, p.35). Language *constructs* rather than reflects reality (Gill 1998). It is a social practice, a discourse, of which the text is a product. As Fairclough (1989) says, "Discourse … involves social conditions, which can be specified as *social conditions of production,* and *social conditions of interpretation*" (p.25). The relationship 'between' society and language is internal and dialectical: "Language is a part of society; linguistic phenomena *are* social phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena *are* (in part) linguistic phenomena" (Fairclough 1989, p.23). As Fairclough (1989) claims, "language is centrally involved in power, and struggles for power, and … it is so involved through its ideological properties" (p.17). A distinction is made between power *in* discourse and power *behind* discourse. Fairclough (1989) explains power *in* discourse as "powerful participants *controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants*" (p.46). This form of power is "the site of power struggles" (p.74). Power *behind* discourse means that "the whole social order of discourse is put together and held together as a hidden effect of power" (p.55). Power behind discourse refers to the "stake in power struggles". To have control over discourse is to be in a powerful position. Fairclough identifies three overlapping types of constraints which can be thought of "either in relatively immediate and concrete terms … as a matter of power in

discourse, or … in a relatively 'structural' and long-term way as a matter of power behind discourse" (p.74). These constraints are: "*contents*, on what is said and done; *relations*, the social relations people enter into in discourse; *subjects*, or the 'subject positions' people can occupy" (p.46).

Language is gendered. Wearing (1996) explains that the feminist poststructural "shift from the concept of 'patriarchy' to that of 'phallocentrism'" indicates a "more general process of cultural representation". She adds that "The related term 'logocentrism' is used to denote the dominance of the word in a conception of knowledge that involves a univocal male, rational 'truth'" (p.44). It is through language, discourse and theory that the male "truth" is conveyed.

Experience

Critics see a study of experience as a study of "facts". The question of whether experience is a source of knowledge and can be studied as such is debated. Csordas provides one view: "'You cannot really study experience, because all experience is mediated by language – therefore one can only study language or discourse, i.e. representation'" (cited in Ramazanoğlu & Holland 2002, p.124). However, another view claims that it is through experience that subjects are constituted and, as such, a study of experience allows us to see the process of social construction, how knowledge is produced, with the emphasis on becoming. Alcoff (1994) uses de Lauretis's conception of experience in her concept of the subject: "Lauretis wants to argue that language is not the sole source and locus of meaning, that habits and practices are crucial in the construction of meaning, and that through self-analyzing practices we can rearticulate female subjectivity" (p.431). The feminist debate concerning the privileging of theory or women's experience is discussed by Weedon (1997). She argues that we need theory but this is to account for "the relationship between experience, social power and resistance" (p.8). Theory "should not deny subjective experience, since the ways in which people make sense of their lives is a necessary starting point for understanding how power relations structure society" (p.8). It is at the level of experience, not simply linguistic deconstruction, that change must occur (Scraton 1994). As Ramazanoğlu and Holland (2002) state,

> Gendered social relations and decentred subjects may be discursively constituted, but this does not mean that they do not exist. Embodiment, violence, institutionalized dominance, material resources, for example, produce experiences that are more than discourse or performativity. (Ramazanoğlu & Holland 2002, p.126)

The social constitution of experience is explained by Ramazanoğlu and Holland (2002):

> Questions about what an experience is like, and why it happens as it does, are not independent of how this experience is constituted in theory, politics, conceptions of injustice, and through the emotions of having, or not having, particular experiences. But these questions are not independent of something that happens. Accounts of experience are already interpreted in the ideas in which the people who have them express them, but these ideas do not come from nowhere. All experiences have social and cultural contexts (Skeggs 1995b). (Ramazanoğlu & Holland 2002, p.128)

Haug's (1987) understanding of experience as "lived practice in the memory of a self-constructed identity" (p.42) is adopted in the present study. It is listening to what women say about their meaning of tourist experiences which is the focus of this study. Everyday life is not a figment of our imagination. Although experience is considered to be a social construction and thus has "no inherent essential meaning" (Weedon 1997, p.33), it is, equally, entirely real to us. Experience *seems* authentic. As P. Berger and Luckman (1967) explain,

> The reality of everyday life is taken for granted as reality. It does not require additional verification over and beyond its simple presence. It is simply there, as self evident and compelling facticity. I know that it is real. While I am capable of engaging in doubt about its reality, I am obliged to suspend such doubt as I routinely exist in everyday life. (Berger & Luckman 1967, p.37)

I would presume that even the most extreme postmodernist lives as if there were a real world outside discourse. I take the position that although we may be discursively constructed we live in a real body (independent of how we know it) with real relationships in a real world and that discourse has real effects (although

there will be different meanings of these effects). As Bradley and Selby (2001) warn (echoing Stenner and Ecleston), "Discourse is the focus of analysis, not the world as viewed by the research participants" (p.85). Conferring with Beck, Bradley and Selby add: "individuals are no less real for being socially produced … arguments against individualism would not need to impugn the psyche" (p.86). The problem with ignoring experience is that we can forget "the core of the social" (Lesko 1988, p.ix). Denying women's experience returns us to pre-feminist times since a denial of experience is a denial of womanhood. Women remain invisible.

The Subject/Selfhood /Identity

Reimer (1995) explains the instability and fragmented nature of the "self":

> in social analysis the idea of a whole, unified individual with a biologically anchored identity has become increasingly problematic. It would seem more fruitful to view people as contradictory creatures, within whom there is a constant struggle between different 'identities' (sexual, class etc.). (Reimer 1995, p.129)

As S. Young (1989) says, "no subject is ever the original construction of one specific discourse; we are all always already subjects in discourse" (p.182). The multiple sites in which the subject is positioned or produced "may work with or against each other" (Walkerdine 1990b, p.193). Walkerdine (1990b) explains that we are positioned in "specific relational dynamics" (p.44) but it is not the actual position we inhabit that matters but the effects of the position, how it relates to our life chances. Anxiety can result from the contradictions experienced at the intersection of incoherent discourses. Power resides in the discourse of a social practice, not in the individual. Where we are positioned explains our relationship to power. We construct ourselves within a range of power nexuses. It is the convergence and conflict of these power systems which determine our subjectivity (Mills, S. 1991): "What should be analysed are the 'various positions of subjectivity'" (p.104). Alcoff (1994) sees identity and subjectivity as constructed from a woman's position, her situation within the external context:

> The external situation determines the person's relative position, just as the position of a pawn on a chessboard is considered safe or dangerous, powerful or weak,

> according to its relation to the other chess pieces … If it is possible to identify women by their position within this network of relations, then it becomes possible to ground a feminist argument for women, not on a claim that their innate capacities are being stunted, but that their position within the network lacks power and mobility and requires radical change … Through social critique and analysis we can identify women via their position relative to an existing cultural and social network. (Alcoff 1994, p.433)

Individuals, however, see themselves as unique subjects, rather than discursive processes, as poststructuralism would have us believe.

Walkerdine (1990b) considers that "the regulative features of practices themselves, in providing multiple sites for the creation of subject positions, also create a complex machinery of desire" (p.32). Anxieties, fantasies and psychic states can only be understood through relation to the historically specific practices and relations of power and oppression in which the person is inscribed. In arguing that equality is not the antithesis of difference, Joan Scott (1990) calls on the need

> to refuse to oppose equality to difference and insist continually on differences – differences as the condition of individual and collective identities, differences as the constant challenge to the fixing of those identities, history as the repeated illustration of the play of differences, differences as the very meaning of equality itself. (Scott 1990, p.144)

If subjectivity is constructed, then there is the possibility for change.

> If our experience of ourselves and of our lives is only given structure and meaning by language, and if these meanings are not fixed but constantly changing, sought after and struggled for, then our experience is potentially open to an infinite number of possible meanings or constructions. What it means to be 'a woman', to be 'a child' or to be 'black' could be transformed, reconstructed, and for poststructuralists language is the key to such transformations. (Burr 1995, p.43)

There is the feminist criticism that postmodernism/poststructualism is androcentric and politically unaware (Fraser & Nicholson 1990; Brodribb 1992). By

individualising women's voices, an approach can become so pluralised and fragmented that gender (and other social dimensions) disappears altogether and a political position is thus precluded since no "truth" is recognised as more valid than another. A shared morality does not exist. As Alcoff (1994) asks, "What can we demand in the name of women if 'women' do not exist …?"(p.420). Soper (1991) similarly cautions, "if we are obedient *only* to the logic of difference, we remove the grounds for any claims that different identities come with equal entitlements to the same forms of recognition" (p.100).

> If feminism gets too fixated on not recognizing a feminine difference, it could end up not making any difference: it could end up by overlooking what are still very offensive and oppressive dimensions of reality. For there are still many conditions of existence which are differentially experienced depending on which sex you happen to be, and in many ways these are peculiarly constraining on women. (Soper 1991, p.105)

The literature reviewed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 is testimony that underlying tourism and the tourist experience are gendered inequality and age inequality. Weedon (1997) relates feminist issues of power with Foucault's notion of power:

> Several key feminist concerns figure centrally in Foucault's work: the body as a site of power which is central to the constitution of subjectivity; the dispersed, discursive nature of power; and the link between power and knowledge. For Foucault, power is not reducible to any one source, it is a relationship which inheres in material discursive practices. Discourses create forms of subjectivity which are implicated in power relations. Yet power also creates resistance. (Weedon 1997, p.174)

According to Foucault (1991), power may be ubiquitous and fluid but this does not mean that there are no differences in power and advantage. Power operates through the social, economic and cultural forms of hegemony. In defending social constructionism, Gergen (1999) claims, "There is nothing about constructionism that argues against having values". Values are "goods within a tradition" (p.233). Feminist values are such an example. As Gergen (1999) asserts, "the constructionist invitation is not to 'give up and do nothing', but rather, to open oneself to the

enormous potentials of human relationship" (p.235). A feminist approach calls for action. One needs to move from "denunciation" to "annunciation": from "disillusionment and cynicism concerning the status quo" to an articulation of an alternative to the status quo (Austin & Prilleltensky 2001, p.77). Feminist poststructuralists argue that it is our multiplicity of subject positions which allows us to question and resist the status quo. According to Flax (cited in Di Stefano 1990), contemporary feminism and postmodern theory share "'a profound skepticism regarding universal (or universalizing) claims about the existence, nature and powers of reason, progress, science, language and the 'subject/self'" (p.75).

The position taken in this thesis is that an either/or essentialist/totally fragmented approach which allows for no position in between is not useful in the study of individuals' experiences, in the case of this thesis, tourists' experiences. If construction is a social process and if we are all implicated in this process, shared world views would be expected. The approach adopted here is that, although there are multiple female subjectivities, gender relations remain important. While recognising no *one* women's identity or experience, groups of women who are *similarly* discursively positioned along the various life dimensions will share common experiences of tourism. Within a subgroup (such as the one investigated in the present study: a white, Anglo-Australian, middle-class, able-bodied, heterosexual group of girls and women of certain ages living in a particular geographic and cultural area of Sydney, at a specific moment in history) one would expect to find a shared meaning of experiences, referred to phenomenologically by Gurwitsch as "the cultural world of a sociohistorical group" (cited in Bar-Tal & Bar-Tal 1988, p.92). One needs to be cautious in always dismissing the notion of *women's* ways of knowing. Gender is fluid but "we can say 'feminine subjectivity is construed here and now in such and such a way' without this ever entailing a universalizable maxim about the 'feminine'" (Alcoff 1994, p.31). While individuals differ by culture and epoch, appropriating and negotiating social structures personally, commonalities, in most cases, overwhelm the individual differences. As Haug (1987) argues,

> Since it is as individuals that we interpret and suffer our lives, our experiences appear unique and thus of no value for scientific analysis. The mass character of

> social processes is obliterated within the concept of individuality. Yet we believe that the notion of the uniqueness of experience and of the various ways in which it is consciously assessed is a fiction. The number of possibilities for action open to us is radically limited. We live according to a whole series of imperatives: social pressures, natural limitations, the imperative of economic survival, the given conditions of history and culture. Human beings produce their lives collectively. It is within the domain of collective production that individual experience becomes possible. If therefore a given experience is possible, it is also subject to universalization. What we perceive as 'personal' ways of adapting to the social are also potentially generalizable modes of appropriation. (Haug 1987, p. 43)

Agency and Resistance

Viewing individuals as the interstice of discursive struggle does not have to mean that the individual lacks agency. As Alcoff (1994) asserts, 'Woman' is not a passive recipient of these discursive forces but an active contributor "to the context within which her position can be delineated" (p.434). Alcoff (1994) agrees with Lauretis that "the identity of a woman is the product of her own interpretation and reconstruction of her history, as mediated through the cultural discursive context to which she has access" (p.434). As Foucault (1991) argues, "in the relations of power, there is necessarily the possibility of resistance, for if there were no possibility of resistance … there would be no relations of power" (p.12). Our position is not static. Relations of power are "changeable, reversible and unstable" (Foucault 1991, p.12).

Fairclough (1989) explains subjects, as agents, as active and creative:

> discourse (and practice generally) *draws upon* discourse types rather than mechanically implementing them … discourses typically draw upon a combination of types. Discourse types are a resource for subjects, but the activity of combining them in ways that meet the ever-changing demands and contradictions of real social situations is a creative one … Through being drawn upon, these structures are constantly being created anew in discourse and practice generally. Discourse, and practice in general, in this sense are both the products of structures and the producers of structures. (Fairclough 1989, p.39)

Weedon (1997) acknowledges that while some poststructualists have shown no interest in lived subjectivity or agency, feminist appropriations of Foucault, Derrida and Kristeva have proposed "a theory of identity which sees it as discursively produced, necessary but always contingent and strategic" (p.176). In arguing for women's agency, Sizoo (1997b) says, "Patriarchal systems could not operate without the collusion of women" (p.239). Onyx and Benton (1993) explain that, although knowledge and meaning are constructed through the social realm, "it is the individual as moral agent who engages with the social" (p.2). They accept Shotter's argument for human agency which is based on the ability of humans to reflect. Harré's contention that "human agents are also social beings" whose "agency depends upon them being social beings" is also accepted in a social constructionist perspective (cited in Crawford et al. 1992, p.53). The contradiction in this position, however, is highlighted by Stephenson (2001c):

> There is a tension in social-constructionist psychology. Reflection and communication are seen as intersubjective practices through which the subject is constituted, and yet the capability to exercise agency is cast as an individual capacity. (Stephenson 2001c, p.23)

Stephenson continues, "Where social constructionism sees agency as an individual's resolution of conflict, Butler holds that agency is produced by ambivalence" (p.25). J. Butler's (1997) poststructuralist interpretation considers that "the agency of the subject is not a property of the subject, an inherent will or freedom, but an effect of power, it is constrained but not determined in advance" (p.139). B. Davies, Dormer, Gannon, Laws, Rocco, Taguchi and McCann (2001) also say, "choice stems not so much from the individual, but from the conditions of possibility" (p.172). A marrying of the social constructionist and poststructuralist positions on agency, however, seems possible. The individual has a capacity for agency, as she has a capacity for breathing or sleeping, but resistance or submission results from the power of the social practices.

The Body and Embodiment

In a move away from Cartesianism which has privileged the (masculine) mind and rationalism, the body (and emotion) have come to the fore in the social sciences

(Featherstone, Hepworth & Turner 1991; Grosz 1994; Turner, B. 1996; Shilling 2003). The reasons for the growing interest are, as B. Turner (1996) states, a result of "profound and long term transformation of Western industrial societies" (p.2). Shilling (2003) explains:

> Four major social factors … have formed the context for the relatively recent rise of the body in sociology. These are the growth of 'second wave' feminism; demographic changes which have focused attention on the needs of the elderly in western societies; the rise of consumer culture linked to the changing structure of modern capitalism; and a growing crisis in our knowledge of what the body is. (Shilling 2003, p.35)

Feminists who have questioned biological determinism of sexual difference have often steered clear of the body for fear of being accused of essentialism, biologism and naturalism. However, others (such as Irigaray 1981; Haug et al. 1987; Bordo 1989; Grosz 1993, 1994) incorporate the body into a theory of socially constructed gender by seeing the body as a site of inscription of social meaning. As Grosz (1993) says,

> if subjects are produced, in analogy with the production of commodities, then the only thing capable of acting as raw materials for the production analogy are human (biological) bodies. As pliable flesh, the body is the unspecified raw matter of social inscription, producing subjects as subjects of a particular kind. (Grosz 1993, p.195)

The "raw matter" and the "process" of inscription are distinguished by B. Turner (1996):

> The concept of the 'body' suggests a reified object of analysis, whereas 'embodiment' more adequately captures the notions of making and doing the work of bodies – of becoming a body in social space. (Turner 1996, p.xiii)

The gendered body is explained by Grosz (1993):

> Feminist conceptions of the body are unlike those of their male counterparts (Nietzsche, Freud, Lacan, and Foucault, among others) insofar as the bodies and pleasures of individuals and groups are always *sexually specific* and may well entail different regimes of power and their associated knowledges. (Grosz 1993, p.196)

The body is central to the construction of self, how women come to be women (Haug et al. 1987). Female sexualisation "produces the insertion of women into, and their subordination within, determinate social practices" (Haug 1987, p.33). Chernin claims that "'women suffer more from living in the body than do men'" (cited in Shilling 2003, p.58). However, pluralities of women's bodily experiences will exist in terms of social class, sexuality, age, disability and race/ethnicity.

A theory of the body is demanded in a field of study such as tourism with its emphasis on corporeal movement, rest and relaxation, physical activities and hedonism. The ubiquitous "body beautiful" in tourism promotional material cannot be ignored.

In forming my own views on epistemology, I profess to be one of those who are described by Gergen (2001) as having "joined in the critique of traditional science – often employing constructionist arguments – but who wish to hold to remnants of an unconstructed world" (p.10). According to Gergen (2001), the two areas that his colleagues are most fearful of relinquishing are "power" and "the body". From a social constructionist position the body is inscribed with meaning, with extremists denying the body outside discourse. I believe, however, that neither Gergen's argument of the advantages of constructionism in opening up new dialogue of the body nor the argument that if we allow the *body* to be real where will we stop, are sufficient reasons to deny the material body in its most basic physiological state as a living organism which breathes, sleeps, eats, defecates and so on. There are biological processes (including mental processes) which regulate the living organism. The "raw material" to a certain extent has a life of its own. An acknowledgement of a material body does not preclude a belief in its inscription. The debate of the reality of a body outside discourse continues. One might argue that I am anxious about letting go of the world I know. On the other hand, throwing out the material body just does not make sense. I take courage and proclaim that I

believe the material body predates its social construction but this does not mean that the natural or pre-social qualities determine social practice (Connell 1987). The social "*deals with* the natural qualities of its objects, including the biological characteristics of bodies … The connection between social and natural structures is one of *practical relevance*, not of causation" (Connell 1987, p.78). A transforming practice occurs; we do not end up with that with which we started. As Connell (1987) concludes,

> the practical transformation of the body in the social structure of gender is not only accomplished at the level of symbolism. It has physical effects on the body; the incorporation is a material one. The forms and consequences of this incorporation change in time, and change as a result of social purposes and social struggle. (Connell 1987, p.87)

The biological processes are inextricably woven with the social and historic context (Dewey in Achenbaum 1997). As Jefferys (1997), at age 80, said, "I endorse the proposition that 'ageing' is a social construct. At the same time, I am very much aware of the self – my self – as an embodied entity experiencing diminishing physical capability and mental agility" (p.78). The body is real; we experience physical sensations, independent of discourse. However, the meanings are constructed and historically and culturally contingent rather than biologically fixed.

LIFE-COURSE PERSPECTIVE

If knowledge is historically grounded it makes sense to examine knowledge over the life-course. While the life-course perspective, as outlined here, is not identified within a social constructionist paradigm, a focus on life-course embraces social and temporal dimensions. While referring to social "norms" as opposed to "discourse", Elder (1978) stresses the embeddeness, invisibility and instability of social norms. As with discourse, these features contribute to their strength. Gender relations will shift over the life-course as women experience physiological changes, socio-cultural changes and life transitions. A life-course approach is dynamic, not static. Constraints, opportunities and how we negotiate our lives change over the life-course. Before describing a life-course approach it is useful to differentiate it from a life *span* or life *cycle* approach. A life span approach (such as Erikson 1963;

Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson & McKee 1978) presumes invariable stages of psychological development from birth to older age. A life cycle approach examines the social careers (such as family, work, leisure) of individuals. Roberts (1999) provides an example of the Rappoports' family life cycle in which life cycle was assumed to remain the same over different cohorts and only differed by dimensions such as social class and gender.

> The members of any age group could look ahead, see what had happened to the cohorts who had been in their own situations some years previously, and thereby see how their own lives were most likely to unfold in employment, the family and leisure". (Roberts 1999, p.113)

Roberts explains the acceptance of such a perspective when the Rappoports' views were published in 1975. "At that time family relationships usually lasted for life, and there were clear and firm links between age and most other social positions". Since that time "life seems to have stopped going round and round in cycles" (Roberts 1999, p.113). In postmodern times the life-course has come to be seen as destandardised. A difficulty with the life cycle approach is that there is the "tendency to conflate biological and social life-events" (Wimbush & Talbot 1988, p.33). A problem for life span or life cycle theory is that as the duration of life lengthens, there will/may be stages that have not been experienced by previous generations. Perhaps life never did go around in cycles; however, the many social changes in the past century in terms of the women's movement, family structure, employment, health, leisure, technology and the variation within cohorts highlight the need to examine cohorts historically. Such socio-cultural changes over time have had a profound effect on the possibility for tourism and the experience of the phenomenon. Where tourism research has focussed on the different age groups, it has generally taken an *age-related* life cycle approach (Oppermann 1995; Gibson, H. 1996; Gibson, H. & Yiannakis 1999, 2002; Collins & Tisdell 2000, 2002a, 2002b), as discussed in Chapter 4. Without an appreciation of age-related cohorts, tourist behaviour cannot be located within a historical time.

The essence of the life-course perspective as espoused by Hareven (1978a, 1978b, 1982a, 1982b) is the "interaction between 'individual time', 'family time' and

'historical time'" (Hareven 1982b, p.5). The life-course perspective, rather than focussing on *a priori* life *stages*, examines *transitions* of individuals in relation to the collective under different historical conditions.

> The life course framework offers a comprehensive, integrative approach, which allows us to interpret individual and family transitions as part of a continuous, interactive process of historical change. It helps us to view an individual life transition … as part of a cluster of concurrent transitions and a sequence of transitions that affect each other. It views a cohort not only as belonging to its specific time period but also as located in earlier times, its experience shaped, therefore, by different historical forces. (Hareven 1982b, p.2)

To expand, Hareven's main interest relates to the family and family life transitions. However, she also includes non-familial transitions. Hareven (1978b) outlines three essential features of life-course analysis. First is the individual's timing and synchronization of transitions, "the synchronization of individual with familial moves, and of familial with nonfamilial transitions" (p.6). Second is "the impact of historical processes on the timing of individual or family transitions" (p.6). It is recognised that within a cohort the impact can vary according to class, ethnicity, "community" background and gender (Elder 1978; Hareven 1978a, 1982b; Arber & Evandrou 1993). The third feature of life-course analysis is "the cumulative impact of earlier transitions on subsequent ones" (p.8). Hareven (1978b) explains:

> A life-course approach views a cohort not merely as an aggregation of individuals, but as an age group moving through history. The social experience of each cohort is influenced not only by contemporary conditions, but also by the cumulative experiences of earlier life-course transitions. These transitions are affected, in turn, by a set of historical circumstances specific to their own time. (Hareven 1978b, p.8)

When examining social change in the life-course, Elder (1978) stresses the "analytic importance of the conceptual distinctions between generation and cohort" (eg, the parent generation may not share historical location) and "the strategic advantages of employing both perspectives" (p.42). Life-course research has traditionally included a variety of research techniques (each with varying constraints): cross-sectional and longitudinal methods, pseudo-cohort analysis and qualitative life history approach.

While not adopting a full life-course analysis, I was sensitive to generational and cohort differences, aware that women and girls of different cohorts would age differently and thus experience holidays differently. I also appreciated that the ageing of the population might eventuate in additional life stages at the end of life and that in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, life stages are becoming blurred.

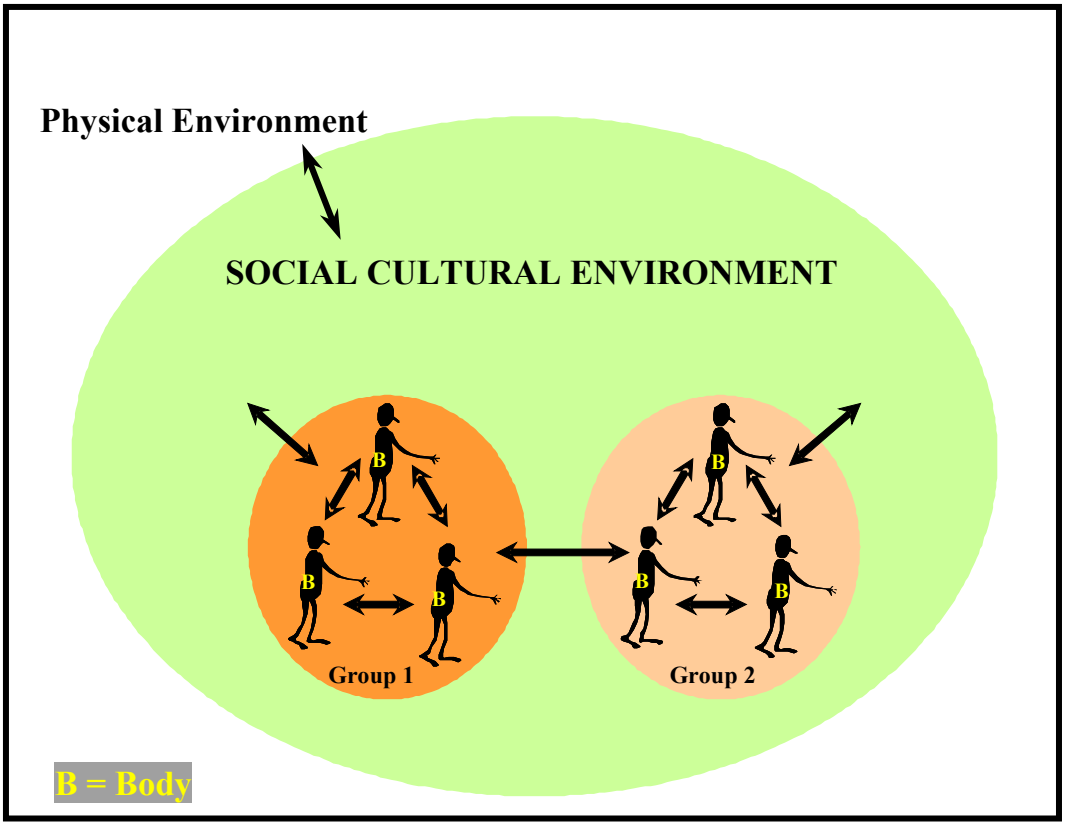
A "SIMPLE" MODEL OF TOURIST BEHAVIOUR

The paradigm guiding the present research is expressed in the model below (Figure 1). In this thesis the assumption of multiple realities refers to multiple meanings and understandings of experience in the world. That there is an external physical environment is accepted. If no human beings existed there would still be a natural world. Human beings can physically move throughout space from one physical point to another. In this thesis, those human beings who move away from the region of their home for at least one night for the purposes of leisure and pleasure are called tourists. This movement and the experience at the destination are real for such people. It is accepted that tourists (at least adults) are agentic in their subjectivity and decision to become tourists and the activities in which they engage at the tourist destination. The paradigm guiding the present research is not a foundationalist or essentialist approach, viewing human nature as homogenous, but it does not dismiss the body (B) as part of the human experience. The model recognises that there is a physical container, the biological body, through which the intersection of shifting discourses is experienced and acted upon.

While the model allows for an external world and a body (including its internal workings), it is through the all-encompassing, socio-cultural-historical world that meaning of the material world and the body is produced. The model, while not taking an essentialist perspective, considers that groups of people who share certain discursive positions (on gender, age, race/ethnicity, sexuality, dis/ability, class and cohort etc.) will share meaning of tourist experiences. In the model, Group 1 comprises individuals who share one set of discursive positions and Group 2 comprises individuals sharing another set of discursive positions. In tourism practice, Group 1 might comprise the hosts and Group 2 the tourists or, Groups 1 and 2 might both be tourists. For simplicity's sake, Group 1 might be male tourists

and Group 2 female tourists. It is within the group (or collective) that we make sense of our experiences through language and other social practices. Knowledge is relational and each group understands its own meanings in relation to the meanings of other groups. It is through inter-subjectivity that meaning is negotiated. The model assumes that the individual is active in the construction of knowledge. We are *not* socialised or influenced by the socio-cultural environment. A better explanation is that we are "implicated in the construction and maintenance of the social world through the very act of recognising it and through learning its discursive practices" (Davies, B. 1989, p.5). The individual can reinforce or resist certain discourses. The model incorporates in the socio-cultural environment those environments (economic, political, legal, technological and demographic) which tourism scholars (Leiper 2004; Stear 2004) have traditionally treated as separate and of equal standing with the social and cultural environments. Time is not apparent in the model but it is important to note that the behaviour portrayed in the model is not static. Discourses are fluid, contingent on historical time and intersect differently at different times. A life-course perspective can be overlaid on the model below.

Figure 1: A "Simple" Model of Tourist Behaviour



A Social Constructionist Approach Applied to the Tourist

While a social constructionist approach is not uncommon in leisure studies, within tourism studies positivism continues to dominate. Market segmentation studies account for most studies of tourist behaviour and these remain descriptive rather than providing a critical analysis. Gender, age, nationality etc. are treated as independent demographic variables rather as a framework within which to study behaviour. Chapters 2 and 3 discussed the literature, past and present, which focusses on tourists by gender while Chapter 4 has reviewed the literature on tourists of different ages. The literature on gender has frequently taken a feminist social constructionist approach; however, the intersection of gender with other discourses has not been prominent in these studies. The literature on age is located more often than not within a positivist paradigm and, as with the gender literature, has neglected other social dimensions. As the field matures, hopefully researchers will examine the broader context from which tourists experience the world.

Perhaps the most widely cited writer within tourism studies who has taken a social constructionist approach is Urry (1990) who adopts Foucault's "gaze" as the explanation for tourist behaviour. Urry explains that the tourist moves from one physical place to another to gaze on that which is different. Urry (1990) acknowledges that "There is no single tourist gaze as such. It varies by society, by social group and by historical period" (p.1). However, he says little about these multiple gazes. While, Urry (2002) in the second edition of *The Tourist Gaze* "develops the gaze", his response is to extend the gaze beyond the visual, rather than expand on the relationship between the gazer and the gaze. While acknowledging that each gaze "depends upon a variety of social discourses and practices" (p.145), Urry, once again, does not explain these social discourses. In his listing of different types of gazes there is little mention of the gaze being age-related or gendered. He does not identify a female gaze as Gamman and Marshment (1989) do in their discussion of popular culture and in the book of the same name, *The Female Gaze*.

ASSUMPTIONS AND RATIONALE FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

The invisibility of age and gender as separate and intersecting constructs in the study of the tourist experience has prompted the current investigation. As C. Russell

(1999) says, "ageing is a gendered phenomenon which has special meanings for women" (p.37). Although her comment was related to older age, the same could be said for all age groups. The lack of recognition of the historical specificity of knowledge has led me to a study which takes time into account and situates knowledge within the context of an age cohort. Such an approach acknowledges the fluidity of knowledge. The desire to understand knowledge of the *process* of construction as opposed to *the* construction requires that the dimension of time is incorporated. By moving women from the periphery to the centre, power is shifted.

The assumption from a social constructionist paradigm is that women's and girls' tourist experiences are produced and acquire meaning within a socio-cultural and historical context. By looking at experiences from different age vantage points I hoped to gain an understanding of how the holiday experience has been constructed over the years. I wanted to know how women and girls work themselves into social structures, the process of subjectification, of becoming tourists. Since tourism is a process which is constructed out of gendered societies one would expect that holiday experiences would reflect gender relations. Since tourism is built of human relations one would anticipate evidence of power and control in holiday experiences. As Poole and Feldman (1999) state, "Ageing must be viewed as a continuation of, not as a separation from, the earlier phases of life" (p.13).

My purpose was not simply to look at what makes a holiday good or bad (or not so good) but to try to understand how girls and women came to this knowledge. Women's and girls' experiences of holidays do not exist in isolation. The way they experience holidays will be a result of their knowledge of the world, how the whole self is constructed. In turn, tourist experiences will contribute to women's and girls production of knowledge of the world and the construction of self. A study of holidays can inform us of more than the holiday. Urry (1990) in his discussion of the tourist gaze, says:

> Such gazes are constructed through difference … the gaze in any historical period is constructed in relationship to its opposite, to non-tourist forms of social experience and consciousness.
>
> …

> Such practices involve the notion of 'departure', of a limited breaking with established routines and practices of everyday life and allowing one's senses to engage with a set of stimuli that contrast with the everyday and the mundane. By considering the typical objects of the tourist gaze one can use these to make sense of elements of the wider society with which they are contrasted. In other words, to consider how social groups construct their tourist gaze is a good way of getting at just what is happening in the 'normal society'. (Urry 1990, p.1)

Crawford et al. (1992) similarly explain in their study of holidays, "the topic of holidays potentially provided an ideal situation for exploring the everyday – the kind of exception that throws the rules into high relief" (p.127). If women and girls escape their normal lifestyle at home to seek an alternative/difference elsewhere, an examination of fulfilled needs and thwarted needs on holiday should highlight the women's and girls' day-to-day lived experience. Given an interest in "non-exceptional" women and girls, it was the everyday experience as a basis of knowledge which was the focus of study.

Although women tourists have been marginalised in the tourism literature, in Australia they are at the centre in terms of the number of Australians travelling for leisure purposes (holiday and visiting friends and relatives) both within Australia and overseas. The statistical data (Australian Bureau of Statistics unpublished data; Bureau of Tourism Research unpublished data) further supports the argument for the study of women as tourists.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Kinnaird et al. (1994) asked, "How does tourism articulate gender relations and how do gender relations inform and articulate the form of different tourism processes?" (p.7). The present study investigates this question in terms of tourist behaviour. It also examines the gendered experience through the lens of age/family life stage and cohort. The following questions were posed.

1. Within each age cohort of women and girls what are the commonalities/ differences in the holiday memories at a specified age?
2. What are the commonalities/differences in holiday memories between same-aged women and girls at different historical times?

3. What are the commonalities/differences in holiday memories of women and girls of different ages at one historical time – the late 1990s?
4. How has each cohort constructed the holiday experience over their life-course?
5. How can one theorise the holiday experiences of women and girls?

CONCLUSION

The position taken in this study is that the subject, the tourist, is intersubjectively produced. It is through language that meaning and knowledge are communicated and the person is constructed. Knowledge is socially constructed and thus the meaning of lived experience, the tourist experience, should be different for different groups of tourists. Women's holiday experiences should be different from those of men. Women and girls of different ages/family life stages are also likely to experience tourism differently. Since knowledge is temporally specific, the meaning of holidays should vary amongst different cohorts of women. That there is no *one* woman's voice is supported. The approach taken also assumes the subject's capacity for agency, for submission or resistance to the status quo of social relations. A feminist perspective which considers that the binaries (men/women and mind/body) have positioned women at the periphery aims to bring women to a central position. The present study also attempts to bring marginalised age groups into focus. An aim of feminist research is empowerment, for women to be strengthened through an understanding of the process, the "how" of the subjectification of the tourist. A feminist social constructionist approach calls for an appropriate research method to study women's and girls' holiday experiences over the life-course. Chapter 6 introduces and explains the research methodology.

CHAPTER 6: METHODOLOGY AND DATA ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

The emergence in tourism studies of new conceptual approaches such as feminism and social constructionism requires tourism researchers to question the usefulness of applying traditional research methodology to new paradigms. Feminist studies in tourism can benefit from methodological developments in leisure studies (Henderson & Bialescki 1992; Henderson et al. 1996) and other fields of study. Questions need to be asked and addressed concerning the best way to uncover women's lived experiences. With some exceptions (Small 1999, 2001, 2004; McCabe 2003) tourism scholars are yet to address the issue of *how* to research the gendered tourism experience. Based on the conceptual approach as outlined in Chapter 5, the research method considered most suitable for the present study was the qualitative method Memory-work (Haug et al. 1987).

Chapter 6 explains the conceptual premises behind the method, the use of the method in other disciplines and fields of study, the procedure taken in the current research and a description of the participants in the study. The method of data analysis is also described. Ethical considerations are outlined with attention given to the involvement of children in a research project.

A FEMINIST SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONIST METHODOLOGY

Critical social science views methodology as:

> inherently political, as inescapably tied to issues of power and legitimacy. It is assumed that methods are permeated with assumptions about what the social world is, who the social scientist is, and what the nature of the relation between them is. (Lather 1991, p.12)

The methodological approach of a social constructionist paradigm assumes that, in the research process,

> constructions can be elicited and refined only through interaction *between and among* investigator and respondents ... The final aim is to distill a consensus construction that is more informed and sophisticated than any of the predecessor constructions (including, of course, the etic construction of the investigator). (Guba & Lincoln 1994, p.111)

Feminist methodology is defined by a strong relationship with feminist theory, an emphasis on representing human diversity and creating change, and an ongoing critique of non-feminist scholarship. Feminist research may be transdisciplinary and frequently includes the researcher as a person, frequently attempts to develop special relations with the people studied and frequently defines a special relation with the reader (Reinharz 1992). While there are certain assumptions about the methodology, there is debate as to whether the methods which emanate from a social constructionist or feminist approach are special for the paradigm or theory. In other words, is there *a* social constructionist or feminist method? Schwandt (1994), in discussing constructivist, interpretivist approaches to human enquiry, commented that "what is unusual about the approaches cannot be explained through an examination of their methods. They are principally concerned with matters of knowing and being, not method per se" (p.118).

Feminists argue whether or not there are methods which can be considered feminist. Reinharz (1992), in her review of methods employed by feminists in social research, concludes that it is not the methods which could be considered feminist but the methodology. She stresses that "Feminism is a perspective, not a research method" (p.240) and there are a variety of research methods used by feminists. Henderson et al. (1996) agree: "Feminist research is based on the outcomes of the research and not the methods" (p. 214). Peplau and Conrad (1989) argue that all methods can be feminist methods. Nonetheless, while feminists have adopted a variety of methods, they have tended to prefer qualitative methods. It is generally agreed that a method for women needs to be one in which women can present their thoughts and feelings in their own words rather than the words of the researcher. As Reinharz (1992) explains, "This asset is particularly important for the study of women because in this way learning from women is an antidote to centuries of ignoring women's ideas altogether or having men speak for women" (p.19). Belenky (cited in Reinharz 1992) describes

her own research employing an intensive interview/case study approach: "'We proceeded inductively, opening our ears to the voices and perspectives of women so that we might begin to hear the unheard and unimagined'" (p.20). As Graham (1984) argues regarding the use of narrative in survey research, the emphasis is on the telling rather than the asking. The traditional hierarchical manipulative relationship between researcher and researched can be broken down and interviewing can be an interactive experience. With such methods, where the emphasis is on telling rather than asking, participants can choose what and how much to tell.

The literature presents the case that social constructionist methods are not unique to social constructionism, nor are feminist research methods unique to feminism. In other words, it claims that social constructionists and feminists, despite approaching the research differently from non-social constructionists and non-feminists, have essentially adopted the existing methods. However, the research method employed in the present study is "memory-work", a method which has *grown out* of feminist theory and a social constructionist paradigm. (Contrary to the views of the previous writers, perhaps this method *is* "remarkable" and perhaps the researcher's approach *can* be explained through an examination of the method.)

Memory-Work

Appreciating the link between ontology, epistemology, methodology, theory and method, German feminists and socialists Frigga Haug et al. (1987) developed the research method "memory-work". Their first attempts at memory-work were in the study of female socialisation and published in Volume 1 of *Frauenformen* (Women's Forms). Research into sexuality as a form of socialisation led to the publication in 1983 of *Sexualisierung: Frauenformen*, with the English translation *Female Sexualisation* published in 1987 with Haug as the principal author. A second edition was published in 1999. Memory-work has also been discussed by Haug in *Beyond Female Masochism: Memory-work and Politics* (1992). In the mid-1980s, while a visiting scholar in Sydney, Haug introduced the concept of memory-work to a group of Australian academics. One particular group, June Crawford, Susan Kippax, Jenny Onyx, Una Gault and Pam Benton (SPUJ collective), employed the method in a study of the social construction of emotion and published *Emotion and Gender* in 1992. In the process of their research, they developed and documented the method. They

expanded and made more explicit the "rules" or guidelines of the method. When Australian and New Zealand users of the method convened for the Memory-Work Research Conference in Sydney (convened by Jennie Small and Jenny Onyx) in 2000, it was apparent that they had turned to both Haug et al. (1987, 1999) and Crawford et al. (1992) in their understanding and employment of the method.

As explained by Crawford et al. (1992), memory-work is "not merely a technique for data collection but includes analysing and theorizing the data, interpreting and re-interpreting them in the light of the overall theory" (p.38). This method was selected to study women's tourist experiences as the method has been tailor-made for a feminist social constructionist paradigm. The present study represents a further development of this method.

Recent Application of the Method

Memory-work is growing in popularity as a research method for those seeking a method that fits with a social constructionist, feminist paradigm. Some view it as a poststructural/postmodern method and prefer the term "collective biography" (Davies, B. 1994, 2000; Davies, B. Dormer, Gannon, Laws, Rocco, Taguchi & McCann, 2001; Davies, B. Dormer, Honan, McAllister, O'Reilly, Rocco & Walker, 1997; Kamler 1996, 1999; Gannon 2001). Those using memory-work (or collective biography) come from diverse disciplines and fields of study. The subject areas in which the method has been employed are broad: *emotion and gender* (Kippax, Crawford, Benton, Gault & Noesjirwan, 1988; Crawford, Kippax, Onyx, Gault & Benton 1990, 1992); *the experience of women leaders* (Boucher 1997a, 1997b; Boucher & Smyth 1996); *body/landscape relations* (Davies, B. 2000); body and place (Stratford 1997); *racism* (Schratz 1996; Schratz, Walker & Schratz-Hadwich 1995); *subjectivity* (Davies, B. et al. 2001); *silence and gender* (Davies, B. et al. 1997); *women's sexuality* (Farrar 2000); *consumer service encounters* (Friend 1997, 2000; Friend & Rummel 1995; Friend & Thompson 2000); *leisure experiences* (Grant & Friend 1997; Friend, Grant & Gunson 2000; McCormack 1995a, 1995b, 1998); *tourist experiences* (Small 2002, 2003); *sport* (Laitinen & Tiihonen 1990; Sironen 1994); *use of memory-work to enhance student learning* (Friend 1999; Grant & Friend 1997; Rummel & Friend 2000); *student assessment process* (O'Conor 1998); *experiences of casual ESOL teachers* (Granwal 1998); *women's*

writing (Gannon 1999; Kamler 1996); *emotion and gender and learning* (Ingleton 1994, 1995); *study of economics and gender* (Ingleton 1997); *emotion and mathematics learning* (Ingleton & O'Regan 1998; Ingleton 2000); *science* (Kaufman, Montgomery, Ewing, Hyle & Self 1995); *women and mathematics* (Johnston, B. 1995, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c, 1998d; Webber 1998); *menstruation* (Davies, B. 1994; Koutroulis 1996a, 2001); *pro-feminist subjectivities among men* (Pease 2000a, 2000b); *women's speaking positions and feminine subjectivities* (Stephenson 1996, 1997, 2001a, 2001c; Stephenson, Kippax & Crawford 1996); *women and AIDS prevention* (Kippax, Crawford, Waldby & Benton 1990); *HIV treatments* (Stephenson 2000); *older women, health and relationships* (Mitchell, P. 1991, 1993, 2000); *heterosexuality and desire* (Davies, B. 1994; Rocco 1999): and *critiques* of memory-work (Koutroulis 1993, 1996b; Small 1999, 2004; Onyx & Small 2001; Small & Onyx 2001).

While the above researchers have been committed to the basic philosophy and tenets of memory-work, the various disciplinary bases, subject areas and approaches of the researchers have meant various adaptations of the method.

The Philosophy

The method is a social constructionist method as it focusses primarily "on the process whereby individuals construct themselves into existing social relations" (Haug 1987, p.33). Subjectivity and experience are considered to be socially constructed. Referring to Haug, Crawford et al. (1992) state, "the strength of her method is that it is integral to her theory of socialisation, of how persons become selves and the part persons themselves play in that construction" (p.37). It is a feminist method in that it was developed for women. Haug (1987) explains:

> Our object … involves a study of the structures, the relations within which women live and the ways in which they gain a grip on them. We are interested in the process whereby individual women become part of society - a process usually defined as female socialization. (Haug 1987, p.33)

Haug (1987) stresses the active participation of individuals in the 'socialization' process. She emphasises, "The question we want to raise is thus an empirical one; it

is the 'how' of lived feminine practice" (p.33). The aim of memory-work as a social research method is liberation, "to counter heteronomy with autonomy, unhappiness with a struggle for the capacity to be happy" (Haug 1987, p.34). Through conversation, alternative discourses can be produced leading to new subject positions (Gibson-Graham 1994). Existing power imbalances are interrupted through the generation of new ways of knowing (Lather 1991). Memory-work is a feminist social constructionist method in that it breaks down the barriers between the subject and object of research. Everyday experience is the basis of knowledge. Crawford et al. (1992) explain, "This collapsing of the subject and object of research, the 'knower' and the 'known', constitutes or sets aside a space where the experiential can be placed in relation to the theoretical" (p.41). As H. Moore (1994) says, "The question of who speaks for whom and on what basis has given rise in feminist debate to a number of very significant divisions; one of which is the split between theory and practice" (p.79). Memory-work aims to close the split.

Ideally, the academic researcher positions herself with the group and becomes a member of the research group. The researched became researchers, thus eliminating the hierarchy of "experimenter" and "subject". The Haug collective refers to the participants as "co-researchers". Haug defended the collective's commitment to subjectivity against criticisms that such findings cannot be generalisable. If our lives are produced collectively, then our lived experiences are subject to universalisation.

There are, of course, limits to generalisability since individuals' experience and knowledge are constructed within a particular social context. While it is considered in the present research that the tourist experience is gendered and aged, there are likely to be differences across social classes, race/ethnicity and so forth.

Crawford et al. (1992) explain, "The underlying theory is that subjectively significant events, events which are remembered, and the way they are subsequently constructed, play an important part in the construction of self" (p. 37). The construction of self at any moment plays an important part in how the event is constructed. Memories therefore are studied in their own right; they are not judged against the 'real/true' past event, memories are the reality. As Arnold (cited in Bain

1995) says, "'meaning does not lie *in* the experience. Rather experiences *become* meaningful as a result of being grasped reflectively'" (p.240). Events are composed as they are remembered (Douglass 1994). As the present changes so do our memories.

> Memory … is unlocking the past; freeing the spirit. Memory is filling the gaps, breaking the silence, telling what could previously not be spoken, which was buried in the frozen silences of the history of women. (Walkerdine 1990b, p.112)

In the present research the focus is on the part tourist experiences play in the construction of self and the part the construction of self plays in the construction of tourist experience. Since the self is socially constructed through reflection, Haug et al. (1987) used memories in their initial data, hence the name of the method. Memory-work has the benefit of enabling the researcher to tap into the past. As Haug (1987) argues, "anything and everything remembered constitutes a relevant trace - precisely because it is remembered for the formation of identity" (p. 50). Crawford et al. (1992) refer to this act of reflection as one's self engaging with one's memories, having a conversation with them and responding to them. This is Phase 1 of the method in which the individual's reflections indicate the processes of constructions. As stated by Shotter (1984), it is through memory that "past specificatory activities are linked to current specifiability – which makes for intentionality, and gives a 'directionality' to mental activities" (p.208). Shotter's argument for human agency is based on the ability of humans to reflect.

As Haug (1987) states:

> The very notion that our own past experience may offer some insight into the ways in which individuals construct themselves into existing relations, thereby themselves reproducing a social formation, itself contains an implicit argument for a particular methodology. If we refuse to understand ourselves simply as a bundle of reactions to all-powerful structures, or to the social relations within which we have formed us, if we search instead for possible indications of how we have participated actively in the formation of our past experience, then the usual mode of social-scientific research, in which individuals figure exclusively as objects of the process of research, has to be abandoned … Since however we are concerned here with the

> possible means whereby human beings may themselves assume control, and thus with the potential prospect of liberation, our research itself must be seen as an intervention into existing practices. (Haug 1987, p.34)

The method also stresses a collective examination and theorisation of the memories resulting in new meanings. This is Phase 2. Crawford et al. (1992) explain: "The two foci of memory-work capture something of the duality of self. The self talking with itself is phase 1 and responding to itself as others respond to it is phase 2" (p.40).

Although expressed as Phase 1 and Phase 2, Crawford et al. (1992) stress, "intersubjectivity precedes subjectivity" (p.52). As they explain:

> The meanings of actions are not found in the actor's head but in the common meanings which she/he negotiates in interaction with others – both then at the time of the episode and now in reflection. The memories of events are collectively reappraised. Memory-work makes it possible to put the agent, the actor, back into psychology – in both method and theory – without falling into psychological individualism. (Crawford et al. 1992, p.53)

As Stephenson (2001b) states:

> From a methodological perspective, one way in which taking part in memory-work challenges the rational, unitary, fixed subject is that a co-researcher is not automatically credited with the ultimate powers of interpretation over her own experience. (Stephenson 2001b, p.45)

Crawford et al. (1992) cite Harre's argument that "human agents are also social beings, persons. Indeed their agency depends upon them being social beings" (p.53).

At a superficial level, memory-work has characteristics similar to other research methods, such as critical incidents and narrative accounts (for example, oral history). However, there are fundamental differences between memory-work and other such methods in the focus on intersubjectivity, the positioning of the researcher and researched and the subsequent likely outcome of the research.

The Researcher

The basic premises of a social constructionist approach bring into question the relationship of researcher, researched and knowledge. As Gill (1998) says:

> It is only in the last few years … that social scientists have started to look at, and problematize, their own textual productions. Interest has come from several directions, invigorated by the general interest in discourse and rhetoric, by the collapse of a belief in representation, and by ethical and political concerns about researching and representing Others .(Gill 1998, p.21)

The outcome of research is a construction. G. Bond and Gilliam (1994) see the work of scholars as an "extension of omphaloscepsis" (p.13). The scholar/ researcher develops paradigms to explain "that which they have themselves created" (p.13). As C.W. Mills (1970) says, the social scientist is not "outside society". "No one is 'outside society'; the question is where each stands within it." (Mills 1970, p.204). An acknowledgement of reflexivity requires a writer/researcher to identify their social location.

Addressing C. W. Mills' question, I am a white, Australian, middle-aged, middle-class, able-bodied, educated, married woman with two children.[1] In many respects (but not all) I share the same social world as my informants. I am privileged (society privileges me) in terms of my race, socio-economic class and able-bodiedness. In terms of age, I am in many ways more privileged than older women and less privileged than younger. As a woman, I consider myself in many ways less privileged. I am uncertain whether my family status benefits me or disadvantages me. My feminist stance comes from a desire for my voice and other women's voices to be heard.

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[1]While presenting this identity, I realise that I run the danger (as Alcoff and Potter cited in Gill 1998 suggested) of according myself "the individual, as epistemic agent too much significance". As they say, "it is the community, rather than the individual knower, which is the key unit of knowledge production" (p.32). Other risks, according to Gill (1998), are that I am assuming fixed essential differences between groups and homogenising differences within groups. Also, there is the argument that merely stating one's social location does not address the implications for the research. The discussion and critique of the methodology in Chapter 12 deals with the power relationship between researcher and researched.

I needed a research method which would allow me to go beyond a description of women's and girls' good and bad holiday experiences. Churchman (2000) presents Scott's argument for analysis:

> Scott (1996) argues that in merely describing the differences one establishes the social distinction as social fact; whereas by analyzing how they were produced, one disrupts their fixity as enduring facts and recasts them as the effects of contingent and contested processes of change. (Churchman 2000, p.100)

Research Participants

The participants were groups of Anglo-Australian, white, urban, middle-class, women and girls who resided in Sydney.[2] (See Appendix B for a demographic profile of the participants.) The participants were selected via a snowballing technique. In most cases, I contacted someone known to me who met the sample requirements and asked her (if interested) to form a group of her friends or acquaintances. In other cases, I was referred to a group of women/girls who might be interested.

Four age groups were studied:

- girls aged 12,
- young single women (aged early 20s),
- middle-aged women (aged 40s) and
- older women (65+ years).[3]

While recognising the argument that other aspects of age may be more significant than chronological age, I agree with Bytheway (1997) that from an early age "we acquire a powerful understanding of the social significance of *chronological* age" (p.9). The rationale for the chosen age groups was as follows:

- Age 12: This was considered the cusp between childhood and adolescence, although it is recognised that girls are maturing physically (and probably socially) at earlier ages than did previous generations of girls.

[2] The descriptors of the participants related to the women's and girls' social position at their current age.

[3] For ease of discussion in the thesis, I refer to the women aged early 20s as aged "20" and those aged in their 40s as aged "40".

- Age 20: Youth is defined variously in the tourism and leisure literature (Clarke, J. 1992). It is often difficult to assess whether youth refers to adolescence, say 12 to 19, or to the 20s. Twenty was selected as an age at which the group was old enough to be independent of parents and schooling and young enough not to be in a long-term relationship or with children.
- Age 40s: This was chosen as a middle-aged position between youth of 20 and the older aged group of 65+. It was also an age at which women were likely to have children and for at least one child to be under the age of 15.
- Age 65+: There are various definitions of senior tourists. While acknowledging that 65 does "not necessarily denote a point in life at which dramatic biological or psychological changes occur" (Leitner & Leitner 1996, p.2), 65 and over was chosen as a point distant enough from the 40s, the middle-aged group, to expect differences. It was also an age at which a majority of women could expect to be retired or living with a retired partner. However, it was recognised that the meaning of retirement from paid work is likely to be different for women and men (see Arber & Ginn 1991).

The women in the two older age groups were mothers. The women in the middle-aged group had at least one child under the age of 15. They were also currently married or had been married. While some women were now divorced or widowed, it was decided not to include any "never married" women in the study. Marital status was held constant since, as Newtson and Keith (1997) claim, "Marriage alters the life course of any individual and reshapes thoughts, values, and dependencies" (p.385).

There were four to six groups of each age with usually four to five members per group. The total number of participants was eighty-six. See Table 1. Glaser and Strauss (1967) state that sampling should continue until "theoretical saturation" (p.61) is established; in other words, until findings are conceptually repetitive. It was apparent after the first few meetings of each age group that there were commonalities in holiday memories. This is not to say that there were no differences within age groups but there were definitely strong themes which permitted the discontinuation of sampling.

Accepting the social constructionist position, that our knowledge of the world is socio-culturally and historically specific, meant that I could be a co-researcher of only one age group, the middle age group. I also felt that I should be a member of only one group of 40-year-olds. I wanted to hear others' voices uninfluenced by my own. While this might sound like a positivist argument for "objectivity", I considered the decision appropriate for my research. I wanted to hear as broad a range of stories and interpretations as possible. I also anticipated that the other groups (who were groups of friends) would be more relaxed, natural and open in their discussion if I were not present.

Table 1: Number of Participants per Age and per Group

Participants	**Age 12**	**Age 20**	**Age 40**	**Age 65+**
Group 1	4	4	5	4
Group 2	5	5	5	4
Group 3	5	4	4	6
Group 4	4	4	4	3
Group 5	4	4	-	-
Group 6	4	4	-	-
Total = 86	**26**	**25**	**18**	**17**

The Procedure

There are three phases to memory-work. Crawford et al. (1992) outline the steps in each phase.

Phase 1: A group is formed and each participant is asked to write a memory about a proposed topic.

In memory-work, the specified memory is considered a trigger. Since the purpose of the method is to let the group decide the direction of the discussion, a broad topic was chosen for the trigger in the present study. With the focus of the research being the negative and positive aspects of the tourist experience for women, two triggers were chosen: (a) a positive holiday experience; and (b) a negative (or not so good) holiday experience. Memory-work requires that the memories are written according to the following set of rules:

1. *Write 1 - 2 pages about each memory.*

The writing of the memory has a number of benefits. It provides a discipline for the group, the group remembers more through writing and it gives the everyday experiences of life a status, which is considered of particular importance for women.

2. *Write in the third person using a pseudonym.*

The advantage of writing in the third person is that the participant can stand back and view the memory from the outside which helps to avoid justification of the experience.

3. *Write in as much detail as possible, including even what might be considered to be trivial or inconsequential.*

By asking for the trivial it is hoped to avoid an evaluation by the participants of what was important or unimportant. Such an evaluation might well be socially defined.

4. *Describe the experience; don't try to interpret the experience.*

Interpretation smoothes over the rough edges and covers up the absences and inconsistencies.

Haug et al. (1987) avoided a method that was "autobiographical" or "biographical" considering such an approach implies a logical development of the individual from childhood into adulthood.[4]

Phase 2: The collective analysis of the memories.

1. *The group meets and each woman reads her memory.*

[4] Hareven (1982b) says of the life-course approach, "The life course approach links individuals' biographies with their collective behaviour as part of an ongoing continuum of historical change" (p.2). While memory-work does not focus on biography it does recognise the individual and the collective in the social construction of self.

The discussion is taped. I explained Phase 2 to all the groups and, with the exception of the one group in which I was a co-researcher, I left them to discuss and theorise by themselves. The venue for the meetings was usually the home of one of the group members. A small meeting room on the university campus was the venue for one group of 12-year-olds, five groups of 20-year-olds (who were university students) and on two occasions for one group of women aged 65+years. Since the groups were required to engage in a task involving focussed effort, it was essential that the venue was not only a place in which the women and girls felt comfortable, but was also an environment which was quiet and free from distraction.

2. *The women discuss the written memories*.

To lead the group into discussion, it is suggested that the group might: look for similarities/commonalities and dissimilarities in the memories; identify clichés and contradictions in the memories; and look for gaps or what is not being written in their memories (but which might be expected to be).

3. *The group summarises the main themes from the discussion*.

This last step was an addition to the method as described by Haug et al. (1987) and Crawford et al. (1992). Concerned that my absence from the discussion in Phase 2 could affect my representation of the women's voices, I asked the groups to summarise the themes of the discussion ("for the benefit of the tape"). When it was recognised at an early stage of the research that some groups were neglecting this part of Phase 2, I made the decision to be present following their discussion and ask the collective directly to summarise: "From your discussion, what makes for a good holiday experience and what makes a holiday experience bad?"

At the conclusion of the session, participants were asked to complete a one-page, question sheet relating to their written positive and negative holiday experiences. The question sheet, "Background Information about the Holiday", asked for information about the holiday in which the experience had occurred (date of the holiday, destination, duration, transportation, accommodation, travel companions, decision maker and other holidays taken around the time of the written holiday experience). The purpose of requesting the information was to provide a context for the reported experiences (see Appendix C for the question sheet and Appendix F for the completed responses). At the conclusion of the final meeting each participant was asked to complete the one-page question sheet on demographic information (see Appendix B

and Appendix C). This information also contributed to an understanding of the holiday experiences and provided a profile of the participants.

While the different age groups of women received the same rules and "guidelines" in Phases 1 and 2, adaptations were made for the 12-year-old girls as the language used by Crawford et al. (1992) did not appear appropriate for the girls. Adaptations, however, were slight in order to remain as faithful to the method as possible. Instructions provided to the participants for Phases 1 and 2 are included in Appendix C. In the present study the collective did not rewrite the memories, a rule of the method listed by Crawford et al. (1992). The reasons for this omission were similar to the reason provided by Crawford et al. (1992) for their omission of this step – the difficulty in rewriting memories of earlier times. I also did not want to overburden the women and girls whose time for participation was limited.

The essence of Phase 2 is the collective searching for common understanding, common themes about good and bad holiday experiences. The method in Phase 2 allows for the social nature of the construction of the memories to be realised.

> The collective reflection and examination may suggest revising the interpretation of the common patterns, and the analysis proceeds by moving from individual memories to the cross-sectional analysis and back again in a recursive fashion ... In this way the method is reflexive. It generates data and at the same time points to modes of action for the co-researchers. (Crawford et al. 1992, p. 49)

With the exception of the girls, all age groups repeated Phases 1 and 2 for different stages/ages of their lives. To understand the construction of tourist experiences and the construction of self, not only were different age groups studied but each age group was asked to write a memory at different stages/ages of their lives. The study was both cross-sectional and "longitudinal", based on memories. All groups were asked to write a memory of a recent holiday experience, with the groups (other than the 12-year-olds) also writing about experiences at specified younger ages. The specified memory was the focus for a particular meeting. The number of discussion meetings, consequently, was related to the age of the group, with 12-year-olds meeting once, 20-year-olds meeting twice, the 40-year-olds meeting three times and the 65+ age group meeting on

four occasions (see the following table). The time duration between meetings varied but was usually about 2 to 3 weeks.

Table 2: Memory-Work Research Design

Participants

Memories	**Aged 12**	**20 years**	**40 years**	**65+ years**
At age 12	√	√	√	√
At age 20		√	√	√
At age 40			√	√
At age 65+				√

Phase 3: Further examination and theorisation of the collective analysis in Phase 2. A further analysis was made of the collective's analysis by relating it to other tourism findings, feminist theory and tourism industry practice. In other studies (Crawford et al., 1992; Haug et al. 1987), the further examination and theorisation were normally the work of one of the participants with feedback sought from the collective. Due to the nature of the present research, Phase 3 was solely the researcher's analysis of the collective analysis. Thus, whereas Phase 2 was how the collective made sense of the memories, Phase 3 was where the researcher made sense of them. The researcher transcribed the tape and related the discussion to previous discussions by the same collective and to those of other collectives. The purpose was to look for themes/patterns and differences across different age groups and same-age groups. Sizoo (1997a) refers to these as a "multigenerational or 'vertical' perspective" and an "intragenerational or 'horizontal' perspective" (p.6). Consistent with a social constructionist approach, I accept that I am constructing women's and girls' holiday behaviour by the very nature of studying it. My understanding of the women's and

girls' behaviour comes through the discourses available to me as a woman identified similarly with the participants and also through the discourses of academe.

Grounded Research

Grounded theory was a basis for the present study in that theory was constructed inductively. Theory was grounded in the context. As Westcott (cited in Jennings 2001) says, "'The idea of grounding inquiry in concrete experience rather than in abstract categories is reflected in women's historical identification with the concrete, everyday life of people and their survival needs'" (p.45).

I looked for patterns in the data which would give order and insight and thus generate theory. I went into the research with a topic – the positive and negative holiday experiences of women and girls of particular ages across the life-course. I also was working within a particular paradigm. However, I had no hypotheses as to what the good and bad holiday experiences would be beyond my experience of being a woman from a similar background to the participants. I was open to the "new and unexpected" (Henderson 1990, p.177). I did not know where the data would lead. As Henderson (1991b) says:

> The secret to developing grounded theory is to take data in the form of descriptions and anecdotes and find patterns and meaning in the data as related to the context in which they occur. As a result, formal theory may be applied and confirmed or substantive theory may be generated related to the particular context. (Henderson 1991a, p.40)

An interpretive approach "combines the development of theory with data collection and analysis on a simultaneous basis" (Henderson 1990, p.177). Chen and Kerstetter (1999) quote Jacob and Luloff, "'an a priori definition imposed upon respondents divorces their answers from [the] sociocultural milieu in which they are developed'" (p.265).

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The study employed grounded theory to the extent that theory was inductively generated from the data rather than vice versa. I was looking for themes that

emerged from my data, not data to support themes. Despite the growing scholarship on memory-work, there are no guidelines for analysis and interpretation. Because I had chosen a feminist method which involved my personal and intimate relationship to the data, many of the methods of qualitative data analysis were alienating and more suited to a positivist paradigm. I did not want to use a software programme, such as NUD*IST. I wanted to stay closer to the data or, as Hancock (1989) says, "close[r] to the marrow" (p.242) than such a programme would allow. I wanted to ascertain the social meaning not merely the words used. I needed to gauge collective understanding. I wanted to capture the arrangement of words, the tone, the accent, the "ums" and "ahs", the laughter and the sighs. I also wanted to hear the silences.

I employed two methods of analysis. The primary method of analysis involved listening many times to the women's and girls' voices and noting the themes which were emerging, many of which came through "loud and clear". However, I was concerned that with such a volume of memories[5] I could perhaps be missing minor themes. I wanted to be able to compare experiences and meanings within groups, between groups of the same age and between groups of different ages. I needed to reduce my data. I needed a method of analysis which would allow me to sift through the multitude of memories. To verify my interpretation of themes and to pick up on less prominent themes I devised a secondary method of analysis which was a thorough and systematic coding of the meanings of the tourist experiences (see Appendix D for "Procedure for Analysis of Data" and for an example of data analysis for one age group). Although the method involved quantification, the method took account of the "mmm"s, silences, tone of voice and tone of laughter. I am aware of the criticism that those involved in discourse analysis often do not provide the reader with enough information to judge the researcher's reading of the text. The volume of data in the present study has meant the full set of transcripts cannot be included. I was also aware that "coding can be overdone" (Jennings 2001, p.200) to the extent that in reducing the data to a micro level of detail, the researcher has moved from a qualitative to a quantitative paradigm left only with numbers. As Jennings (2001) says, "In over-coding, you usually reduce your data to such a level

[5] My study differs from other memory-work studies in the large number of participants and the heterogeneity of participants (in terms of age).

of abstraction that they lose their meaning and connection with the original context or setting from which they emanated" (p.200). To avoid any loss of meaning, the method of analysis was iterative with the analysis moving back and forth between the primary and secondary method. The methods of analysis complemented each other allowing me to identify the girls' and women's understanding of good and bad holiday experiences. The themes and interpretation in this study are those of the author. The holiday experiences of the women could often be located under more than one thematic heading. In presenting the data I had to decide into which theme to locate an experience. I am aware that the results of the study are reflective of my paradigmatic stance and discourse position.

In sifting through the hundreds of holiday experiences, certain themes came to the fore and could be associated with particular age groups. While certain themes such as "Relationships" spanned the generations of women, the meaning was different at different ages. In other cases there was sometimes an overlap between the meaning of a theme and different age groups, such as "Bodily Motion" which had a similar meaning for the 12- and 20-year-olds but was more prominent for the younger group. It would be misleading to suggest that all the themes were clear-cut. However, many readings of the transcripts, listening to the recorded discussions and the women's summaries of their discussions to me has made me confident that my construction of aged themes matches closely that of the individual age groups and that my overall construction and interpretation across the generations is appropriate. As the themes emerged, so the literature expanded to interpret those themes.

There are four different angles of analysis. The commonalities/differences in memories of holiday experiences were examined:

1. within each age cohort of women and girls at a specified age;
2. between same-aged women and girls at different historical times (cross-sectional analysis – see Table 3);
3. between women and girls of different ages at one historical time – the late 1990s (cross-sectional analysis – see Table 4);
4. within each age cohort over their life-course ("longitudinal" analysis – see Table 5).

Table 3: A Comparison of Holiday Experiences between Same-Aged Women and Girls at Different Historical Times

Participants

Memories	Aged 12	20 years	40 years	65+ years
At age 12				
At age 20				
At age 40				
At age 65+				

Table 4: A Comparison of Holiday Experiences between Different Age Groups at One Historical Time – The Late 1990s

Participants

Memories	Aged 12	20 years	40 years	65+ years
At age 12				
At age 20				
At age 40				
At age 65+				

Table 5: Holiday Experiences within each Age Cohort over their Life-Course

Participants

Memories	**Aged 12**	**20 years**	**40 years**	**65+ years**
At age 12				
At age 20				
At age 40				
At age 65+				

The requirements specified for participation in the study conflate chronological age and family life stage. The 12- and 20-year-olds were single without children. Those aged 40 and 65+ years were married/previously married and had children. Throughout the thesis reference is made to age commonalities and differences but it is important to remember that the groups also differed in terms of family life stage.

Presentation of the Data

Quotations from the participants are the data for this study. At the publication stage of the research process I am faced with what Gannon (2001) refers to as a "methodological dilemma". Gannon (2001), who also used memory-work/collective biography in her research, claimed:

> When the explicit intention of the research is to develop collective knowledge through an inclusive process of writing and analyzing memories in a group, the lone writer in her study later can feel like a fraud … She knows she can (and must) use these texts selectively, both because she is working to a word limit and because she must *use* these texts to construct and develop her argument. Yet, using them selectively can feel like a subversion of the very collectivity that has been the goal of the whole exercise. Tension arises at the very moment when a feminist practice –

> collective biography/memory work – is subsumed into patriarchal discourses – academic practices that venerate, and demand, an individual author. (Gannon 2001, p.790)

Decisions were required as to whose voice to include and whose voice to omit. With volumes of written and spoken words, the selection was not easy. I have included those which I consider best represent the sensibilities of different age groups. Where there were differences of opinion I have tried to include these. Like Talbott (1998), I selected the quotations "on the basis of their representativeness, relevance, or trenchancy" (p.433). I have been cognisant of the necessity to tiptoe quietly amongst the women's and girls voices, careful not to dislodge them from their original intention. Those quotations in the body of the thesis from Chapter 8 onwards represent only a fraction of the data. Additional quotations are included in Appendix E while even more remain unpublished.[6] However, from my perspective the themes presented in Chapters 8 to 11 are comprehensive and the quotations excluded do not represent additional themes. The decision was not which theme to represent but which voice to *illustrate* that theme. The quotations included in the text come from the written memories (Phase 1) and the spoken discussion (Phase 2). To distinguish these voices, a quotation from a written memory is presented in non-italicised typeface and a quotation from the group meeting is italicised. The current age of the writer/speaker is included in brackets after the pseudonym. Where the speaker is unidentifiable, I have referred to her as "Other".[7]

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The research was conducted in accordance with the appropriate university guidelines and the national guidelines established by the National Health and Medical Research Council (1999). Written consent was obtained from the participants and they were assured that they could withdraw from the research at any time of the study without explanation. The participants were guaranteed confidentiality and to ensure

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[6] The transcripts are too lengthy to include in an appendix but are available on request.

[7] In one particular group of 20-year-olds, Kristen's group, the girls were very close friends who holidayed together, spoke their own intimate language – speaking over each other, at a fast pace and often not in sentences. There was the sense that they spoke as one. It was often difficult to distinguish one from the other – a perfect example of the collective voice but difficult to transcribe!

anonymity, pseudonyms have been used throughout the study. These were usually the names the participants used in their written memories. It is important to be mindful of different ethical considerations when researching different age groups. As Alldred (1998) cautions, "Particular ethical and political dilemmas arise in representing the lives of people who are marginalized within, and by, the domain of public knowledge" (p.147). Compared to the women participants, the children may not have been as well informed or as free to decide whether or not to participate. As Berk (1989) notes, "immaturity makes it difficult or impossible for children to evaluate for themselves what participation in research may mean" (p.64). For this reason, the parents (usually the mother) of the 12- year-old were approached regarding their daughter's participation in the research. In some instances the parent consulted the child. At other times the parent made the decision. Ethical matters are a key consideration in feminist research. In an evaluation of the study's research methodology in Chapter 12, ethical considerations are discussed.

CONCLUSION

Through memory-work I attempted to uncover the complexities of women's holiday experiences by marrying the individual and the collective experience and fusing the gap between lived practice and theory. An aim was for the women and girls participating in the study to come collectively to a deeper understanding of their experiences as tourists. This chapter has provided the rationale for the methodological choice of memory-work as the research method and has described the procedure, participants and research design of the study. It was exciting to employ and develop a research method which had been designed for feminist social constructionism.

The following five chapters discuss the findings from the study. Chapter 7 presents an overview of the themes which emerged from the discussion of all age groups and focusses on the "contextual" themes of the holiday – weather, physical environment, accommodation, food, transport etc. Chapters 8 to 11 each focus on holidays at one of the four ages, with each chapter title depicting the theme for those currently of that age.

CHAPTER 7: AN OVERVIEW OF HOLIDAY THEMES AND DISCUSSION OF "CONTEXTUAL" THEMES

INTRODUCTION

Participants were asked about good and bad (or not so good) holiday experiences at ages 12, 20, 40 and 65+ years. While most participants were able to report both positive and negative experiences, some women initially reported difficulty in recalling a negative experience, either because the *holidays* were good, or that *life* was good at the particular age being studied. Perhaps they took the view of Isabella Bird who, in 1873, said, "'No inconveniences are legitimate subjects for sympathy which are endured in pursuit of pleasure'" (cited in Niemi & Wiesler 1987, p.70). Nonetheless, even if they could not recall a "bad" experience at a particular age, most girls and women were able to provide a "not so good" experience. Chapters 7 to 11 present the positive and negative themes of holiday experiences of the women and girls. Chapter 7 provides an overview of the themes of the holiday memories *of* different age groups *at* different ages. The themes are identified in terms of their dominance or strength. Following the overview is a description and analysis of what I call the "contextual" themes of the holiday memories.

Throughout the thesis I refer to and compare holidays at particular ages. However, it must be remembered that each age was associated with a particular family life stage. Any differences might have been the result of family life stage rather than age. In other words, if I had included a group of single 40-year-old women without children I might have found that their holiday experiences were closer to those of 20-year-old women of the same circumstances than to married mothers of age 40. Similarly, 20-year-old married women with children might have more in common with older married mothers of age 40 than with their single childless counterparts of age 20.

OVERVIEW OF HOLIDAY THEMES

The overview of holiday themes addresses the first research question:

Question 1: *Within each age cohort of women and girls what are the commonalities/differences in the holiday memories at a specified age?*
The dominant themes represent shared understanding. Douglass (1994) in her study of contemporary Australian women's travel narratives of the 1950s explains the nature of travel commonalities.

> Travel narratives have culturally recognisable plots, narrative structures that are available to the narrator and are expected and agreed upon by the audience. The familiarity we experience when hearing the women's travel stories suggests a commonality of travel experience, for these narratives are shaped by already agreed upon ways of speaking about travel – that is, they are expressed through a known genre which facilitates a variety of discourses about travel. (Douglass 1994, p.231)

Some of the findings of the present study reveal a holiday discourse familiar to a wide audience of men and women of different ages. However, there are other discourses which are specific to female leisure travellers and to female leisure travellers of a particular age. Tables 6 to 9 summarise the findings, identifying three levels of themes with the most dominant in bold typeface, the least dominant italicised and those in between in normal (neither bold nor italicised) typeface.

Holiday Experiences at Age 12

For the current 12-year-olds the dominant positive themes were lots of activities (swimming, skiing, theme park rides) and sharing the experience with a friend. Illness, physical discomfort and unpleasant social interactions featured as the prominent negative themes. The 20-year-olds similarly enjoyed lots of activities at age 12 but they were more likely to stress the fun/adventure aspect of activities. For them, holiday experiences which were new and exciting were positive while boring experiences were a dominant negative theme. Relationships featured as a dominant theme in the positive holiday memories. The 40-year-olds similarly valued doing something new and different at age 12. Relationships could constitute a positive or negative experience. In the negative experience, relationships were to do with social

discomfort and concern for others. At age 65, activities were once again a dominant theme. New experiences which offered independence were seen as exciting and adventurous. The women also stressed the fun aspect. On the negative side, unpleasant social relationships were a dominant theme.

Table 6: Holiday Themes at Age 12 Years

	POSITIVE THEMES	NEGATIVE THEMES
12-year-olds	**Lots of Activities**	**Sickness/being stung**
	Relationships	**Relationships**
	Independence from parents	**Physical discomfort**
	Doing something different	Being scared
	Luxury/accommodation, plane	Physical environment
	Shopping	Waiting
	Food	Accommodation
		Food
		Treated like a child
		Weather
20-year-olds	**New and exciting experience** (including transport)	**Boring experience**
	Relationships	Relationships
	Activities – Fun/Adventure	Lack of independence
	Feeling special	Accommodation
	Food	Being scared
	No responsibility	Injury/illness
	Achievement	Embarrassment
	Accommodation	Missing out
	Physical environment	*Physical environment*
	Weather	*Weather*
	Interesting	*Food*
	Independence from parents	*Physical discomfort*
	Security	
	Shopping	

Table 6: Holiday Themes at Age 12 Years (cont)

	POSITIVE THEMES	NEGATIVE THEMES
40-year-olds	**Doing something new/different** (including transport)	**Relationships**
	Relationships	Accommodation
	Independence from parents	Illness
	Lack of responsibility	Being scared
	Accommodation	*Boring*
	Food	*Physical discomfort*
	Physical environment	
	Weather	
	Activities	
65+-year-olds	**Activities**	**Relationships**
	New experience/independence – exciting /adventure/fun (transport)	Not fun
	Difference	Physical discomfort
	Relationships	Illness
	Freedom from care	*Lack of independence*
	Physical environment	*Fear*
	Food	
	Learning a new activity	
	Weather	
	Accommodation	

Holiday Experiences at Age 20

For the current 20-year-olds, relationships was the key theme of their positive and negative holiday experiences. Another dominant negative experience was fear for their physical safety. Relationships also featured strongly in the memories of 40-year-olds when recalling a positive and negative experience at age 20. A significant positive memory was that the holidays offered new experiences. They were a time of freedom, independence and lack of responsibility. A number of themes emerged in the memories at age 20 for the women aged 65+, including relationships and exciting, new adventures; however, there were no outstanding themes.

Table 7: Holiday Themes at Age 20 Years

	POSITIVE THEMES	NEGATIVE THEMES
20-year-olds	**Relationships**	**Relationships**
	Spontaneity	**Fear**
	Activities	Physical environment
	Learning and exploring	Social discomfort/embarrassment
	New experience	Illness
	Fun	Physical discomfort
	Weather	Weather
	Relaxation	*Boring*
	Getting away	*Accommodation*
	Physical environment	*Concern for another*
	Safety/comfort	*Missing out*
	Learning about oneself	*Cost*
	Independence	*Food*
	Food	
	Suntan	

Table 7: Holiday Themes at Age 20 Years (Cont)

	POSITIVE THEMES	NEGATIVE THEMES
40-year-olds	**Relationships**	**Relationships**
	New experience	Physical discomfort
	Freedom/independence/lack of responsibility	Social discomfort
	Accommodation	Accommodation
	Food	Food
	Physical environment	Fear
	Spontaneity	Lack of planning
	Luxury	*Illness*
	Clothes	*Cost*
65+years old	Relationships	Social discomfort
	New experience/ exciting/adventure	Weather
	Fun	*Cost*
	Activities	*Lack of planning*
	Food	*Fear*
	Physical environment	*Illness*
	Accommodation	
	Food	
	Cost	
	Weather	
	Freedom	
	Clothes	

Holiday Experiences at Age 40

The theme which came through strongly for the current 40-year-olds was their pleasure in freedom from responsibility, relaxation and good relationships with others. The inverse constituted negative experiences. Similar themes were present in the memories of the older women but, with the exception of the negative experience of responsibility for others, themes were stronger for the current 40-year-olds.

Table 8: Holiday Themes at Age 40 Years

	POSITIVE THEMES	NEGATIVE THEMES
40-year-olds	**Freedom from responsibility**	**Responsibility**
	Relaxation	**Lack of relaxation**
	Relationships	**Relationships**
	New experience	Weather
	Fun and excitement	*Not enough time*
	Activities	*Skiing*
	Physical environment	*Physical environment*
	Weather	*Illness*
	Accommodation	*Accommodation – camp sites*
	Food	*Cost*
	Good planning	
	Cost	
	Facilities and service	

Table 8: Holiday Themes at Age 40 Years (Cont)

	Positive Themes	Negative Themes
65+-year-olds	Being looked after	**Responsibility for others**
	Relationships – happy children	**Illness**
	Activities	Relationships
	Physical environment	*Physical environment*
	Accommodation	*Accommodation*
	Weather	*Weather*
	Interesting experience	
	New experience	

Holiday Experiences at Age 65+

There was greater consensus at age 65+ as to what constituted good and bad holiday experiences. A pleasure in the world was a key positive experience for women aged 65 and over. Relationships, physical comfort, good facilities and good service were other key features of a positive holiday experience whereas the inverse of these features was recognised as constituting a negative holiday experience.

Table 9: Holiday Themes at Age 65+ Years

	POSITIVE THEMES	NEGATIVE THEMES
65+-year-olds	**Pleasure in the world**	**Relationships-social discomfort**
	Relationships	**Physical discomfort** (including accommodation)
	Physical comfort	**Bad service**
	Good facilities and service	Fear
	Weather	*Stolen belongings*
	Learning/interesting experience	

CONTEXTUAL THEMES

Included in the above tables are themes which were common to different age groups but which were not necessarily dominant themes. These "lesser" themes interact with the other more dominant themes which are discussed in Chapters 8 to 11. I have referred to these as "contextual" themes as they refer to the financial cost of holidays and the physical environment in which the holiday took place – the physical destination, the weather, the accommodation, shops (and shopping), transport and food. These themes also represent features of a holiday which the tourism industry considers important and over which (with the exception of weather) the tourism industry has some control.

The Financial Expense of the Holiday

The cost of a holiday was a constraint for only a few women. The expense had prevented a couple of current 40-year-olds from having childhood holidays and one woman, widowed and aged 65+, considered she could not afford holidays at the present time. The women and girls identified themselves as middle-class so one might expect that cost would not be an obstacle. However, type of holiday taken was no doubt affected by available funds. The financial cost of a holiday is considered in the literature, and by the tourism industry, to be a vital factor in holiday taking. While there was the occasional reference to the "good value" of the holiday or components of it, there was surprisingly little mention of cost in the written or discussed memories. They were the memories of holidays at age 20 which were most likely to include cost as a consideration. The women at 20 were now responsible for their own holidays. Nonetheless, a limited budget was not always identified as a problem.

> Jane [Age 65+]: Pam [girlfriend] would provide the car, their friends had invited them both to stay with them … expenses would be minimal.

> *Carly [Age 40]: … You did a holiday on the smell of an oily rag (Others: Mmm, Yes). You might only eat once a day…*
> *Annie: That was the time of … $10 a day or $5 a day or something.*
> *Others: Mmm, Mmm.*
> *Sarah: When it really was.*

Memories of holidays at age 40 contained few references to cost. Some of these were in response to the women travelling as part of the family.

> *Sarah [Age 40]: When you're travelling as a family, it's a lot more expensive than when you're younger and you're free to go on your own and ... you're prepared to put up with (Carly: grotty places) grotty conditions.*

The Physical Destination

The holiday destinations ranged from beaches to mountains, rivers, lakes, cities and rural areas. Europe, North America, Asia, Africa and Australasia were visited. Overseas destinations were absent in the memories from the 1920s to 1940s. In the memories from the 1970s, overseas travel was apparent and by the 1990s many memories were related to holidays abroad. Urry (1990) claims that we travel to gaze on a different landscape. Sometimes the physical environment was described in much detail, at other times it was mentioned in passing and in other instances not mentioned at all. The 12-year-olds were least likely to refer to landscapes. Where they did refer to the external physical surroundings was usually in relation to the physical features of a particular beach.

> *Naomi [Age 12]: I like if the sand's yellow and not black. And there's no algae in it or a lot of seaweed.*

For all of the age groups, the physical features of the destination or travel route were more likely to be seen positively than negatively. The physical environment discussed was usually the natural rather than the built environment. In some memories people and places are fused; in others the scene is empty of people. In a few instances, the environment had a special meaning to the women because of family connections.

For holidays at ages 12, 20 and 40 years, the physical destination was more likely to be written about than discussed. The women and girls did not identify the physical features of the destination as a major theme (either positive or negative) of holidays at these ages.

Holidays at Age 12

The larger physical environment received little mention from the current 12-year-olds. It appeared that the physical environment was important only in so far as it facilitated or hindered the girls' activities. They generally drew no pleasure from the surrounds.

It could be argued that as children, they were less articulate than the adults or perhaps more constrained in voicing their relationship to the environment. The women, on the other hand, in recalling holidays at age 12, could be impressed by the landscape.

> Lisa [Age 20]: Lisa was overcome at the sight of the amazing scenery and mountains of snow … The crisp sound of snow under Lisa's boots was one that won't be forgotten …

> Rachel [Age 40]: Grandeur and beauty all around … spectacular views … The wildflowers were beautiful, particularly the hops that grew prolifically after winter rain, covering the hills with a cloak of red.

> Eleanor [Age 65+]: She went to a dairy farm. Her uncle and aunty were there with her cousins. She loved the country without houses near each other. The wonder of the house being on a creek. She could walk for miles over the paddocks, watching rabbits being caught as they put ferrets down the holes. There were so many rabbit holes … No cars; paddocks long into the distance … Acres of land everywhere, no one would hurt you.
> Later
> Eleanor: The wonder of all the land was fantastic. The love of the country has never left her.

> Barbara [Age 65+]: The nights were so still, and the occasional moo from a cow, breaking the silence. The stars so bright and seemed so close. There were smells from animals, cows and horses and rabbits and also from grasses and garden plants ...

They were the current 12- and 20-year-olds who made mention of disliked physical environments.

> Tracy [Age 12]: The first day we were there, there was heaps and heaps of jelly fish, and heaps and heaps seaweed, so it was really foul.

Holidays at Age 20

> Roberta [Age 40]: Roberta loved Perisher the moment she saw it. It made her think of Europe (although she had never been there), with the barren, boulder-strewn landscape and all the Swiss looking houses with window boxes, carved with window boxes, carved window shutters and cow bells hanging outside. They reminded her of the gingerbread house in *Hansel and Gretel* …

> Jane [Age 65+]: The expansive view of that part of the Smokey Mountains was remarkable. And Jane was especially interested in her brief view of Alabama because she was born there … To satisfy her particular interest, Pam and Suzie [friends] drove her to Alabama one day, staying just long enough over the State border sign for her to fill a matchbox with dirt so she could go home and show the family some of her native soil.

> Margaret [Age 65+]: [After a holiday at Burren Junction] I'd gone so far and experienced such diversity, yet had only touched upon a small corner of New South Wales. It was the beginning of an understanding and appreciation of what an immense and wonderful land this is.

…
Margaret: … it was lovely going through the wheatbelts, but to go into this absolute desolation of brownness (*Other: Mmm, Yes, Mmm*) and flatness everywhere, it was just so different.

Amongst the current 20-year-olds who had travelled more extensively than the other age groups at age 20, there was much "trip dropping", evaluations of particular countries, cities and towns.

Negative attitudes toward destinations were few. When destinations were perceived unfavourably they were usually described as boring, dirty, seedy, crowded, Westernised.

Louise [Age 20]: [In Tiananmen Square] The ancient gateways and palaces stood, bordered in one corner by modern buildings with the signs of MacDonalds and Kentucky clearly seen from the square. Louise found this unsettling as she believed that it detracted from the experience. Obvious westernisation of China was starkly contrasted with Chinese culture. She felt that it seemed to be out of place.
Later
Clair: Just horrid, isn't it!
Louise: Like it really, really repulses you (Others: That is disgusting, Mmm) ... Yeah, that's when I think I really decided that, you know, the West should just butt out ... It's really horrifying to notice that, you know, that they can exploit such an amazing place like that (Other: Yeah). It's only going to get worse too which I think (Other: Yeah) is really,
Cara: It's really sad.

Holidays at Age 40

Jean [Age 40]: They drove up to Noosa through the magical, mystical hillsides of this steamy part of Australia.

Ruth [Age 40]: … the smell of salt air and full blown roses in the gardens of Monaco – the magnificent land and seascapes … the tidiness, cleanliness and obvious civic pride in Monaco.

Mary [Age 65+]: When all was quiet on the creek the reflections were beautiful and if quiet a lyrebird was likely to give a concert.

For another woman the physical environment combined with the cultural environment to make New Guinea a special place:

Cordelia [Age 65+]: Flying low, clouds seemed to be suspended on transparent film with the vegetation below a verdant haze interspersed with pinks, mauves and reds. Bush tracks, narrow, yellow arteries, stretched endlessly onward … While not exactly primitive, the mixture of clans and Christianity, sorcery and art made them and the rugged surrounds like no other place on earth that these intrepid travellers had ever seen. Cordelia felt that she understood why anthropologist Margaret Mead lived such a long time in this magical place.

Once again there were only a few negative references to the visited physical environment. Concern for their children was apparent in the women's memories.

> Lorna [Age 65+]: There was a garbage sanitation strike, throughout the [Hawaiian] islands … which was quite revolting for travellers … you couldn't go into the toilets (*Others: Mmm, Oh!*) … the smell would drive you out. Not to mention, people had been sick everywhere, in bowls, basins, everything (*Others: Oh gawd! Oh!*). It was chockablock. Garbage was piled up on the streets. This is in Honolulu!
> …
> *Frances: It'd be a real health hazard too (Other: Mmm; Lorna: It would have been, absolutley) after a few days, let alone weeks (Lorna: Yes; Other: Mmm).*
> Later
> *Lorna: … you felt like getting on the plane and going straight back home (Other: Yes; Frances: Yes, you would too). To take children into that was awful (Others: Mmm, Yes).*

> Frances [Age 65+]: The main thing everyone remembered about the trip to Broken Hill was all the dead animals, mainly kangaroo on and at the side of the road, driving from (*Other: Mmm*) Mildura … It was 327 kilometres between Mildura and Broken Hill and the family saw at least 250 dead animals (*Other: Oh!*) … The children were upset about all the animals and after being told it was caused by the animals being blinded or dazzled by car headlights, and people driving too fast, their parents pointed out the many lovely wildflowers growing by the side of the road, to take their minds off the dead animals.

For one woman a return to her hometown changed her views for the worse. Her old friends seemed insular in America, with little interest in other parts of the world. The city also seemed different.

> *Jane [Age 65+]: … Cincinnati seemed so dull to me, you know (Lou: Yeah), and jaded (Lou: Yeah). It's because the sky's not as blue and as cloudless as it is here (Lou: Yeah; Susan: Yeah) and it all looked a bit dark and dingy. The places that I remembered as being glittery and bright as a child (Lou: Yeah) were only bright because I didn't have anything else to compare it to (Susan: Mmm, mmm). But when I'd been to Florida and when I'd been to Australia where the climate's so different and the sky's so different …*

The lack of overall importance of the destination at age 40 was discussed by the 40-year-old women. As one woman asked:

> *Helen [Age 40]: Aren't we supposed to go on holidays to see things?*
> Later
> *Roberta: … it's not really the destination, as the people you were going to meet there.*
> *Others: Yeah, Yeah.*
> *Helen: But you know, I think that's interesting (Other: Mmm) from my personal point of view … in just working in the tourism industry in promoting destinations. I think that's really interesting (Others: Mmm) that it's not just the destination … it's never been so evident to me before (Other: Yeah, yeah).*
> …
> *Roberta: So, it seems that if we are given an opportunity to go away anywhere, it doesn't matter where it is (Marie: where it is, yeah) we want to go (Marie: Yes, Other: Mmm,*

> *mmm), and we don't really care (Helen: We don't care where it is). Yes, it is just the idea of getting away and leaving our responsibilities behind (Others: Mmm, Yeah).*

> *Jenny [Age 40]: ... I think that we're all talking about our experiences with the people rather than the places. I think that (Liz: Yes) we're at the places but it's (Sue: Mmm) how we judge it ... in terms of the relationships (Liz: Yep, yep; Other: Yeah).*

Holidays at Age 65+

Memories of holidays at age 65+ contrasted with those at younger ages. Whereas holidays at younger ages were certainly remembered in terms of the physical environment, the environment did not dominate either the positive or negative memories. At age 65+, the physical environment was prominent. The women travelled to explore and learn about the environment, rather than it being a "backdrop" to other experiences, as appeared the case for many of the younger women and girls. This theme is the focus of Chapter 11.

> Lorna [Age 65+]: Forty minutes out of Seattle, the scenery is quite beautiful, especially at this time of the year. Lakes, rivers, pine trees, snow and a variety of deciduous trees about to break into leaf … After a good night's sleep, the family started their sightseeing immediately, visiting Beaver Lake which was quite close by. The stillness of the lake, which looked like glass, and the quietness of the surrounding forest, with an occasional interruption of little finches and wrens, flitting through the pine trees, was breathtaking.

The language that the women (of all ages) used to describe the physical environment is quite clichéd. Scenery is "spectacular" and "breathtaking"; water "sparkles". The women were familiar with the travel discourse and participated easily, each understanding the meaning of the others' experiences. When one woman commented to her group that they were talking in clichés to describe the physical environment, another responded:

> *Megan [Age 40]: We've read all the travel brochures!*

Weather

The weather (good or bad) was variously mentioned at different ages. There were a number of references to the weather being "perfect", "glorious" etc. Once again, descriptions were clichéd. While extreme heat was mentioned as a negative experience it was usually rain which characterised bad weather. Rain was a negative feature for holidays at age 12 for the current 12- and 20-year-olds as it prevented them from engaging in their outdoor physical activities.

Holidays at age 20 could also be spoiled by rain according to the current 20-year-olds. One group explained how they had pictured themselves in the holiday destination.

> *Alice [Age 20]: [At Fraser Island] ... it was really heartbreaking because (Other: Yeah) you saw this picture in the brochure and you were really hyped up about going and swimming in this unreal lake. We'd planned ... (Other: Mmm) (in the brochure there was a picture of these three girls lying in the sand on the water, this clear water) and we were joking around about that we were going to like do that photo there, have that same photo taken. And when we got there, it was pouring with rain. I mean, it was still nice.*
> *Elissa: It was still fun yeah.*
> *Alice: But it was just really disappointing, yeah it would have been nice to have like (Other: Yeah) a really nice time and everything (Other: Yeah).*
> *Elissa: Because that's sort of what you associate with Fraser Island.*
> *Alice: So I guess our expectation was kinda like (Other: Mmm), we set them really high.*

As the tourism writers such as Urry (1990) say, the tourist goes in search of what she has seen in the brochure and photographs the image.

> Involved in much tourism is a kind of hermeneutic circle. What is sought for in a holiday is a set of photographic images, as seen in tour company brochures or on TV programmes. While the tourist is away, this then moves on to a tracking down and capturing of those images for oneself. And it ends up with travellers demonstrating that they really have been there by showing their version of the images that they had seen originally before they set off. (Urry 1990, p.140)

For holidays at age 40, warm weather was enjoyed as it assisted in the women's relaxation.

> Carly [Age 40]: The weather was perfect and she lay by the pool quite a lot, strawberry daiquiris brought to the pool area helped very much in the relaxation process.

The negative effects of weather (rain or extreme heat) during holidays at age 40 were quite different from the negative effects at age 12. Whereas at age 12, bad weather prevented the girls from having fun in their outside activities, at age 40 bad weather aggravated the women's attempts to *manage* the holiday.

> Jenny [Age 40]: … it was 40 degrees and I was a single parent having to collapse this tent and put up and pack everything away, and it took two hours. And it was the most unspeakable experience that I would never want to relive again. It's not often that I say a partner would be useful but this was one of those occasions. It really was. It was just, it was awful. Yeah. So I had the car sort of tocking over with the air conditioning going and

> occasionally getting into it just to try and … it was an awful experience, yeah (*Others: Ohh, Mmm)* and I was wretched *(Other: Mmm)* and yelling *(Other: Mmm)* at the kids and I'd had it, yeah
> *Other: Mmm.*

> Jean [Age 40]: It rained for the best part of the four days they were there. The kids were bored without their usual water-based activities. They weren't co-operating all that well, and confined to an uncomfortable tent, with insufficient games to play … She packed up the tent, black sand, wet canvas and all. It took half a day to break camp.

At age 65+, bad weather was not necessarily seen as a negative experience.

Considering the emphasis given to good weather (sun and warmth) as a destination pull factor in the tourism industry's promotional material, it might have been expected that weather would feature more strongly in the discussion. Perhaps "weather/climate" is not as prominent a reason for leisure travel for Sydneysiders as it is for those from many other parts of the world (Selänniemi 2001). It is also possible that good weather was experienced but was taken as a "given".

Accommodation

Although not as dominant a theme as those discussed in the following chapters, holiday accommodation was important to many women and girls.

Holidays at Age 12

At age 12, to stay in "luxury" accommodation was cited as a good holiday experience.

> Felicity [Age 12]: The best experience about going to Queensland was that our apartment at the Rocks Resort was gorgeous with a magnificent view looking over Surfers Paradise, our own personal kitchen and three luxurious bathrooms.
> Later
> *Felicity: … you know on most game shows you get a night or five at the Rocks Resort?*
> *Others: Yeah, oh yeah.*
> *Felicity: That's the place I went.*
> *Zoe: Oh wow!*
> *Jackie: Cool!*
> *Felicity: And it was a very top …*
> *Zoe: Was it 5-star?*
> *Felicity: Yep, oh I don't know. But it was good.*

"Luxury" is a historically contingent label. For the 40-year-olds, "luxury" at age 12 was accommodation which had a swimming pool. However, this age group was

more likely to use the terms, “posh” “impressive” or “modern” (as in “black leather furniture” or an “A-frame house”).

Accommodation located near a beach or which contributed to a “fun” experience was popular.

> Kimberley [Age 20]: [In Honolulu] I loved it because we stayed in this place called the Pink Palace which was highly trashy, highly like just plastic, it was great and it was so much fun. And that was really good.
>
> *Other (Kimberley’s group) [Age 20]: The plane trips and the hotels and all that seems so exciting then (Others: Yeah, yeah, New). It was all new. Like you’d go and you’d play with all the stuff in the bathroom in the hotel, like all the soaps and (Other: Yeah) that sort of thing, like that was really exciting. Like it was really small things that you’d get really excited about (Other: Yeah). Whereas now you just rock into a hotel and just go, ‘Yeah, you know, whatever’, sort of thing ... you’re happier ... in smaller things. Whereas now you need, a bit more stimulation sort of thing to get excited.*

Accommodation for the 65+-year-old women at age 12 was much simpler than that experienced by many of the current 12-year-olds.

> *Barbara [Age 65+]: This particular farm had no water (Lorna: running water) laid on. No running water and no electricity (Other: Mmm). Everything was oil lamps (Lorna: lamps, yes, Frances: Oh crikey) or hurricane lamps.*

The guest house was also a style of accommodation experienced positively by the older women as it offered more than a place to sleep.

> Frances [Age 65+]: The lounge room [at the Strathaven Guest House at Wyong] had an open fire as it was May and a little cool at night, and the fire made the room lovely and cosy with a lovely smoky wood smell. The room had very high ceilings with lovely patterns of flowers and leaves and the lights sunken into an oval shape design ...
> ...
> *Frances: It was a marvellous place (Others: Yes, Mmm), it really was.*
> *Lorna: Yes, the old guest houses, they were wonderful, weren’t they (Others: Mmm, Mmm).*
> ...
> *Frances: ... they’re the best fun of all I think.*
> *Lorna: Do you know, I think there’s a place for them today with all these high falutin’ hotels and everything. You know, they charge an arm and a leg, sitting round bars and eating expensive food and that’s holiday (Other: Mmm). You had a* ***holiday*** *at a guest house, didn’t you.*
> *Other: Mmm.*

Accommodation also featured in the negative memories of holidays at age 12. The women and girls complained about accommodation which was smelly, dirty,

cramped or lacking in facilities. Toilets were often a source of displeasure. Of all the groups, the 65+-year-olds were least critical of their accommodation at age 12.

> Tessa [Age 12]: My school camp was the worst. Seriously, it was terrible … The worst points of this camp. We had to wash our dishes in this trough, in this water (*Other: Same*) ... It was filled each morning and so like all the rest of the kids and all other schools and everything, they'd all washed their dirty dishes in it before us. Anyhow there's this filthy water, it had all gravy and bacon and all this sick, wady stuff in it and everything … And anyway it was really sick. And the tap water was unsuitable for drinking. It was untreated dam water. And so it was all brown. We had to brush our teeth in it and everything … *(Laura: I wouldn't have brushed my teeth. They would have stayed as dirty as they would've. Tessa: Yeah well I know.)*
> Tessa: … what me and Nicky [friend] did – we went out to the tap in the middle of the park and just washed our dishes there because it was a lot more hygienic. We got into trouble once and just ignored the teacher and just kept going.
>
> *Stephanie [Age 20]: I remember finding a fake nail in the elevator of one of the hotels ... just turned me off that hotel.*
>
> Liz [Age 40]: There wasn't a lot of money … the holidays were always in cabins and often cabins of friends … so they were very, very budget. The accommodation therefore was always inferior. The toilets were smelly. Sometimes they were, yes, cans. That was an enormous problem for Liz. Sometimes, in fact, she would vomit about using the toilet. The beds were often lousy. Sometimes camp stretchers. And for Liz that was never a good aspect and so once she actually had holidays that were different to that, she never wanted to go back to those other holidays which included things like camping.
>
> Helen [Age 40]: When they arrived at the house, the key was hidden in some spot which her father had to find. The house was just wood; it needed a coat of paint and looked like it was falling down. It was just awful to look at. Inside was no better. It was very old, very dirty, lots of spiders' webs, broken down wood. The toilet was the worst. It was located out the back. There were spiders' webs; it stank, and it housed many spiders. Not a comfortable place to be when you should be quite comfortable.
> *Roberta [Age 40]: It's expectations*
> *…*
> *Helen: But it's interesting that I would, what would a 12-year-old child expect?*
> *Roberta: Well, you'd think that when you were going on a holiday it would be somewhere nice. (Other: Somewhere really nice.). Somehow a holiday is special.*
> *Ruth: Yes, but also you think about the facilities you'd have at home. It sounds exactly like a place we went once. Someone, a friend of my father's, had this beach cottage ... Somewhere, Gerringong or somewhere and it was just like that. When you were reading that, I could just see this place was unpainted weatherboard, the garden was full of sort of lantana and the toilet was out the back. It stunk, it was full of spiders, you couldn't shut the door properly, there was no light in it ... When you're that age or younger, I mean, that's scary.*
> *…*
> *Marie: Isn't it funny, all the things are sort of flowery aren't they - the descriptions of what we expect to be?*
> *Others: Yes ... Mmm.*
> *Roberta: Somehow you want to be able to come back from a holiday and tell your friends about this wonderful place you went (Ruth: Exactly) for a holiday. And you don't really I guess know where it is, but you expect that it's got, that you'd be able to tell them something fabulous. And if you went to an ordinary place, even at 12, I really think you do have expectations ...*

Lack of privacy was of concern to some 40 year olds at age 12.

> Ruth [Age 40]: And …an even worse scenario, sharing a "family room" with her parents at their motel. Absolutely no privacy ... and the nightly torment of trying to sleep while her parents both snored incessantly and even shouts from her to 'shut up' produced no peace. I remember it very well.

Holidays at Age 20

Once again location of accommodation was a positive feature when it was "right on the beach". Cleanliness and warmth were also positive features.

> Roberta [Age 40]: Inside the chalet there was a huge log fire burning in a massive fireplace built into a white wall. Polished wooden floors were covered with rugs and there was a smell of freshly baked scones, brewed coffee and burning wood. Their rooms were located upstairs and each room had a little balcony with a view over the valley dotted with similar houses, chair lifts and a single snaking road which ran down the middle.

For most of the women aged 65+, holiday accommodation at age 20 was a guesthouse or the home of friends. One woman likened staying at a guesthouse to "visiting aunts". Once again the older women recalled the comfort and homeliness of the accommodation.

> Barbara [Age 65+]: … they caught a bus to Coolangatta to stay at St Leonards Guest House which was like most of the buildings in 1951, they were two storeys high with verandah and built of timber and fibro. On today's rating, 1-star. No ensuite. Shared facilities along the verandah, no big deal really. However, it was very homey and comfortable …

Memories of holidays at age 20 also included negative experiences of accommodation which was dirty, uncomfortable, cramped or cold.

> Barbie [Age 20]: The first night saw a brown carpeted hotel room with one double bed, one sofa bed and a set of bunk beds … With five girls in the room, one small bathroom, with brown towels, no kitchen and no sunshine at all (*Other: Ohhh!)*), because the sun didn't come in the windows, the room filled up very quickly with mess and odour.

> Jean [Age 40]: The four of them drove to Ourimbah [Music Festival] in a ute which was to be their accommodation for the night. They had packed eiderdowns and pillows but weren't well endowed with camping equipment (and they probably hadn't even thought of it). This was the year of peace and love and who needed materialism … Funnily enough, Jean doesn't remember the music. Just the discomfort of sleeping in a ute.

Toilets again featured as negative experiences.

> *Crystal [Age 20]: What about the South-East Asian bathrooms, you squat in a little hole.*

> *Stephanie: Oh no … I'm not that open minded.*
> *Paula: Those Turkish toilets, I couldn't go in them. I just had to wait until I found a sit down one. I just couldn't bring myself to squat.*
> *Crystal: So many times just going in the bush was the better option … (Others: Oh! Oh!). So many times.*
> *Tania: See I want to go to Asia, but I'm a bit apprehensive about Asia actually.*

It was often the spontaneous nature of travel at age 20 that resulted in what they considered to be inferior accommodation.

> Hayley [Age 20]: Well, the negatives I'd have to say would be not knowing where you're going to sleep that night … you get to a station and the competition for youth hostels was really, really high so you sort of had to ring around all these places and you had to find something that wasn't too expensive. Like you'd stay in these really dodgy places sometimes (*Other: Mmm*). But it was still lots of fun.

Holidays at Age 40

Location close to a beach and homeliness of accommodation were positive features. Women also appreciated accommodation that was "welcoming".

> Joan [Age 40]: Soon they turned off the dirt road and up a winding track to a log cabin with a large verandah at the front, set among tall gums and surrounded by heavily wooded hills. It was beautiful. Joan felt relaxed already. The front door of the cabin opened into the living room, which was simply decorated yet very cosy. Large soft couches, welcoming you to curl up into were set around a fireplace, already set up with kindling ready to be lit. Joan felt the place had a lovely feeling of warmth about it. It was very comfortable. It was just perfect.

> Marie [Age 40]: … the house looked beautiful. Her sister had gone to a lot of trouble. Flowers everywhere and a beautiful table laid up for the dinner that evening. Lights hanging in baskets all around the house and a lovely Christmas tree.

> *Mary [Age 65+]: [The private hotel] was homely. It was wonderful.*

At age 40, the women had to consider the family, rather than their own individual desires for accommodation.

> *Liz [Age 40]: … we don't stay in hotel rooms anymore with the kids. We actually stay in apartments or houses because it means people can go into separate places.*
> *…*
> *Liz: … I think the space thing does make an enormous difference … gorgeous hotels which I love, but I would never go there and stay in one room with the kids. It's just to me, that's a nightmare. An absolute nightmare when we're all stuck in this tiny space, yeah, don't like it at all. Especially if it's raining.*

While luxury was not as important as it was for the 12-year-olds, it was appreciated, especially for those travelling without their children.

> Lizzy [Age 40]: Once in Canberra, they made their way to the Hyatt Hotel. The hotel was wonderful and decorated in the original Art Deco style. A bottle of champagne and tickets to the Turner Exhibition were waiting in the room … Lizzy and Ian enjoyed the luxury of their room.

The women did not want the basic accommodation that they had tolerated at age 20. At age 20, they were prepared to put up with grotty conditions but at age 40, they expected more than a backpacker's hostel.

> *Susie [Age 40]: We like to be spoilt!*

Several women did not want to repeat the basic caravan/cabin holiday experiences they had as children. For others, camping was an enjoyable holiday at age 40. Nonetheless, even for the latter group many of their negative holiday experiences related to camping.

> Joan [Age 40]: They arrived at the camping ground. Everyone was impressed by the trees and the grassy areas near the water. It seemed perfect. It ... was quite crowded … [Tension] increased when they had a close look at the site. There was a large fish cleaning table right in front of them. Joan hoped the fish were not biting this holiday. Nothing could be worse than smelly fish and screeching gulls to break their … peaceful morning. Also next to them, through the scrub, was a creek running into the sea. Unfortunately, it was filled with rubbish and was a haven for mosquitoes. She could feel that things were going downhill quickly. (I mean it was a really grotty spot, and it wasn't sandy, it was muddy.) (*Others: Mmm, Mmm*) … And it was wet and damp.

> Megan [Age 40]: We didn't put up the annexe because … didn't have time. So there wasn't as much space as anticipated. So the kids were squashed inside the tent. Three kids and two friends (and who sleeps with who and who's going where?). Megan decided to sleep in the car … One of the kids wanted to come in with her … and it was all cramped up in the back of the car. It was stuffy. It was hot and all sticky.

Although not always emphasised by the women, it was apparent that inferior accommodation made the domestic and motherhood role difficult, often more difficult than it was at home.

> *Susan [Age 65+] ... when we got to that hotel, they had provided a baby's cot for him [son]. And he was five! ... I think that was one of the times where, you know, he had my bed or something, and I kept moving from, I used to move around if we were a bed short. I was always doing the rounds, sleeping with each of the other three until they pushed me out.*
> *Amelia: It's another case of a woman on holidays, isn't it?*
> *Susan: Yes, yes.*
> *Lou: Mmm, mmm.*

Poor accommodation combined with bad weather did not make for a good holiday experience when women were responsible for the happiness and physical wellbeing of their family.

Holidays at Age 65+

At age 65+ the women were stressing the importance of comfort in holiday accommodation and the importance of good service. This was a dominant theme at age 65+ and is discussed in detail in Chapter 11.

> *Topsey [Age 65+]: We feel we've earned our comfort by our age group.*

It might be anticipated that accommodation is of relevance to women since homemaking and housekeeping duties have been, and continue to be, the province of women – despite the increasing presence of women in the paid workforce. Cleanliness of accommodation was a prime concern for the women and girls. Recalled features of holiday accommodation were age-related. While the status of "luxury", "modern" or "fun" accommodation was important at age 12 for all groups (with the exception of the 65+ age group), "homeliness" and comfort of accommodation became increasingly important as the women aged.

Shops and Shopping

Although shopping might be considered a gendered activity its significance as a tourist activity varied by age. It was only apparent as a theme in holidays at age 12 for the current 12- and 20-year-olds. There were, however, references to shopping in memories of holidays at age 20 (by the 20-year-olds) and at age 40 (by the 40- and 65+- year olds). That shopping did not feature in the memories of holidays at ages 12 and 20 by the current 40- and 65+- year-olds is perhaps best explained by historical changes in consumerism and by the types of holidays taken in the past, often to local, non-tourist destinations. Although shops and shopping were not significant in the memories of adult holidays for any age group, there were enough references across the groups to warrant including them in this section.

Holidays at Age 12

> *Briony [Age 12]: ... I like spending money. I love going shopping. Shopping makes a good holiday ...*

> *Joanna [Age 12]: ... I like getting souvenirs from the holidays. I try and get a key ring. When I was in America, I tried to get key rings from every place I went to.*
> *Phoebe: Yeah, I like getting souvenir for fun because like you can remember all the places ...*

> *Brooke [Age 20]: ... we went shopping. Was the definite highlight.*
> *Other: Shopping is always a highlight.*

Holidays at Age 20

> Barbie [Age 20]: On one particular day, Barbie decided to do one [of] her favourite things, shop.

> *Kimberley [Age 20]: Oh, Sarong City! How many people bought sarongs! (Other: Yeah, I know). They were really nice.*
> *...*
> *Samantha: They had the best shops there, like really arty.*
> *Kristen: Oh yeah ...*

Holidays at Age 40

Having the time and space to shop was appreciated at age 40 by the woman below.

> Carly [Age 40]: After only having holidays with the children (and husband) for ages, a conference in Adelaide last November was the positive holiday experience, because I had no children … There were no pressures, no itinerary to follow. All she did was shop, look at some sights and visit galleries. There was no one else to think about and please.

Non-discretionary shopping for family and holiday maintenance appeared in the holiday memories at age 40 but not at younger ages.

> *Susan [Age 65+]: ... we'd gone down to my old shopping stop of Kleins in New York (Jane: Oh yeah, Kleins) down on 14th street, where I always used to buy them [clothes] there. Sold clothes that didn't sell from the fashion boutiques (Jane: Yeah, yeah) and you'd pick them up for a song (Other: Mmm). Well, we got Peter [8-year-old son] long trousers and a couple of shirts with long sleeves.*

When shopping was recalled, it was generally as a positive experience. A couple of current negative experiences related to shops and interaction with Indian shopkeepers in Fiji.

> Emily [Age 12]: My worst holiday experience ever was at the Fijian Markets. As soon as me, my brother and sister stepped off the bus, we were swept away to a market stall by an

> Indian man. Although we had only come to the markets to look around and buy a birthday present for my father, this man seemed to think that we had come to spend a fortune at his stall … I pointed out a wooden mask that I thought might be a good present for my father … my mother asked how much it was and then looking quite pleased with himself, the man told her, that he would bargain with her. They started to bargain but in the end my mother decided that it was too expensive and we would rather have a look around first. This man didn't agree … my mother and the man were still arguing, but my mother put her foot down and said that she wanted to look around first. The man backed off, but asked for the present that he had given to my brother to be given back … It was quite a frightening experience for all of us.
>
> Roberta [Age 40]: Suva is something else! In one word, awful! … The shops were absolutely atrocious, with poor quality goods, pokey holes, ancient dust and insect-infested window displays, dirty and crammed with seedy people (mainly Indian men with bryl-creamed hair and thin moustaches looking like 1930s movie stars). 'Come on in and look around, I give you good price', says the cheesy insincere grin. Some of the shops, especially those designed to attract the tourist, had signs such as 'Hassle-free Shopping'. Roberta presumed this meant the shop-keepers were going to leave you alone, which they didn't, walking behind her and [son] Christopher, breathing down their necks. 'You like? You like? We have more to show you!' And what a heap of shit it was too. Revolting carved and coloured figurines (mass produced), wooden bowls, shells, shark-tooth necklaces, warrior clubs – probably all made in Thailand. Roberta and Christopher couldn't wait to get out of the place …

The only memory of a dislike for shopping per se and a contradiction of the accepted wisdom on shopping is reflected below.

> *Hannah [Age 20]: … my boyfriend went shopping crazy. This was another bad experience … I got sick of shopping by the end. Like, I'm a girl I'm supposed to love shopping (Other: I know). By the end of it I was sick of it. I said, 'No, I don't want to go shopping'. And he's like, 'Oh please, c'mon, let's do it. I've still got money left, I still want to buy stuff'. I still had money left, but … I couldn't be bothered, and so the whole time we were shopping for him.*

It would be interesting to research further the place of shopping and "the shop" as a physical space in women's holiday experiences. Shopping is an activity with which most women are familiar and feel comfortable engaging in on their own. As a feminine space women can feel a right to be there. Of the department store, Ganetz (1995) says

> [it is] a safe as well as an exciting place for women: it is safe because unlike the street it is supervised and guarded, and it is exciting because it remains a public place to which everyone has access and in which unforeseen encounters can occur. (Ganetz 1995, p.84)

Urry (1990) likens the mall to the department store. He claims, "shopping is a sphere of social activity in which women are empowered. It links together the

public and the domestic and involves activity in which women are permitted to demonstrate competence" (p.152). Women's domination in souvenir shopping is documented (Littrell et al. 1993). The store can be contrasted to the many other physical leisure and tourist spaces in which women, especially those travelling solo, can feel uncomfortable and insecure, such as bars, restaurants and many urban spaces.

However, when the store is in an unfamiliar destination and there are cultural, economic and racial/ethnic[1] (as well as gender) differences between host and guest (as in Fiji), the experience can be threatening. In Fiji, the women tourists' racial and class privileges did not "protect" them against safety fears. They could have added to their fears.

Transportation

Transport contributed to positive and negative experiences of travel but the type of transport and the meanings associated with the travel differed by age group.

Holidays at Age 12

The excitement and status of plane travel was evident in the memories of holidays at age 12 by the two younger age groups. Discussion centred around service and facilities on board. An airline which provided personal TVs with multiple channels was popular.

> Vicki [Age 12]: And the flight was so much fun because we were getting swizzle sticks and were like getting food.

For the older aged groups train travel was an adventure at age 12.

> Ruth [Age 40]: It was a taxi ride to Central Station, the excitement of finding their seats on the train.

> Barbara [Age 65+]: The train was a steam train and the carriage in which she travelled was a corridor one, which meant the aisle was on one side and each compartment had a sliding

[1] It is more ethnicity than skin colour which pervades the popular tourist discourse on Fiji. The indigenous Fijians are viewed favourably as warm, friendly and welcoming, in contrast to the Indian Fijians who are perceived only in the role of trader in economic transactions. The tourist is taught to be wary of the Indians.

door and very comfortable seats, wood panelled walls with framed pictures and a luggage rack overhead.
Lorna: I used to love those trains.
Frances: I did too.
Lorna: They were wonderful, yes.
Barbara: If the weather was cold each seat had a foot warmer, a metal container filled with hot coals. Also in each compartment was a water carafe and glasses held in a metal rack and the water always tasted stale (I can still visualise that) (*Others: Yes, Mmm*). The smell from the engine as the train travelled through the tunnels was a smoky, steamy one and the windows had to be closed to stop the cinders from coming into the compartment. At Gosford the train stopped for refreshments, everybody piled out and hurried to buy their tea and cakes etc.
Lorna: Gosh I remember that, as clear as a bell.

Car travel could also be fun. Women associated car travel with singing.

Lucy [Age 20]: Lucy was so excited to be going on holidays with her Mum, sister, her sister's friend and Lucy's best friend. It was hot, the sun was shining and it was time to pack the car. Packing the car for five females was an experience in itself and the car was such a bomb that it almost wouldn't move … The car trip was so much fun. The five of them singing, playing 'I Spy' and warming in anticipation.

Joan [Age 40]: Joan was thrilled because her family did not have a car and it was even more exciting as they were lying in the back part of the car. All the way along the trip they sang songs, like 'On Top of Old Smokey' … and [the] Aeroplane Jelly song …

However, the close confines of car travel contributed to physical discomfort and social tensions. These experiences are incorporated in "negative social relationships" in Tables 6 to 8. Boredom on long journeys and car sickness were also some of the negative memories.

Kylie [Age 20]: Me and my sister would actually ... punch each other out in the back. We'd be all bleeding and scratched. And Dad was going, 'OK, we're stopping soon guys'.
Hannah: My sister and I had to sit on separate sides of the car. My poor little brother in the middle. You know when you try to sleep in the car (Other: Ohh)...
Kylie: And like, 'Get off me!'
Amanda: Yeah ...

Ruth [Age 40]: The prospect of Canberra was boring to say the least, the journey by car with friends of her parents even more so – tedious in the extreme, squashed in the back seat in the days before most cars had air conditioning.

A significant feature of childhood negative memories of car travel was father. It was he who controlled the situation. The girls, as children, were passengers.

Sarah [Age 40]: … Sarah was always car sick due to her father's appalling driving.

Fathers could be irritating.

Hannah [Age 20]: ... my dad drove like straight from, the bottom of WA, through, across South Australia, and we stopped like in Victoria. "Can we go to the toilet, Dad?" "No!" Day and night ... he got tired and so we stopped at ... a park on the side of the road, and he was going to sleep, and we're all in the car (Other: That's like 'European - ', Other: 'European Vacation'). I think he slept for an hour and said, 'Bugger this!' and kept driving. And I've actually got a tape, like a tape that I bought of something like 'Hit Machine', or something like that, and every time I see that tape, I remember, WA trip! Because I played it the whole way there and the whole way back.
Claudia: Didn't you hate it?
Hannah: No, like MC Hammer, fantastic!
Claudia: And your mum's going, 'Please!'

The girls laughed at their fathers.

Hannah: My dad's going, 'Let's put on some birdcalls!' ...
Kylie: My dad – 'Let's put on some Pavarotti'.
Hannah: My dad likes Foster and Allen, you know, Irish, singing.
Kylie: My dad likes Traveling Wilburys, the song like 'On the road again, I can't wait to get on the road again'!
Hannah: After that holiday I vowed I'd never do that again. But I want to do it again.
Kylie: What, with your family?
Hannah: No way. Not with my family. Maybe with my friends ... I was just a little teenager and I was a real shit ... I just didn't want to go with my family, 'Send me on a plane!'

.

Fathers' anger was also recalled

Helen [Age 40]: … travelling by car with her father was always a traumatic experience. He would stop the vehicle the minute he thought something was wrong with it, get under it, rant and rave, leaving mother and four sisters in fear and feeling in some way at fault.
Later
Helen: I think in analysing it now as an older woman looking back, I think that Dad didn't really want (Other: want to go, No) to be there anyway ... I do know I felt going in the car 'Oh my god!' ... Any journey I go on now I want to know, 'How long is it going to take to get there?' and that's why.
Roberta: There was obviously tension in the car.

Holidays at Age 20

At age 20, the car could provide the current 20- and 40-year-old women with independent travel; however, it could also be the focus of negative holiday memories, similar to those experienced at age 12. At age 20, family car travel was tedious. The memories of 40-year-olds included fearful experiences with men in cars.

Megan [Age 40]: … arrangements had been made for the brother [of boyfriend Herbert] to pick Megan up from home one Friday afternoon … and take her up to Kandos to spend a weekend with Herbert … The trip to Kandos proved to be quite a trial … (thought I'd never get there). She was glad to reach Kandos intact. It was dreadful.
Later
Megan: I feared for my physical wellbeing.
Later

Karen: [In Fiji] I said goodbye to my two girlfriends and went out. And we'd gone about two miles or something and I said, 'Where are we going?' and he looked at me and said, 'Nowhere'.
Megan: Oh, no!
Karen: ... [I said] 'Oh I'll have to go back ...' He was annoyed with me but he turned around and took me back. And I just dived into the apartment and said something and he must have disappeared. But, yeah, it was a gut wrenching feeling (Others: Mmm, mmm). I was shaking when I got back (Others: Mmm, mmm, mmm).
Megan: No, it wouldn't be very nice (Karen: Yeah) Glad to get to the end of this [my] trip with that guy.
Karen: Well, that's right, yes. Because you're trapped in a car.

Holidays at Age 40

Family car holidays required organisation. Having games for the children, making them comfortable and rotating their positions in the car "could make a big difference". One group advocated Walkmans. The current 40-year-old women were ambivalent about being in a confined space with the family.

Liz [Age 40]: ... one of the positives is sort of being like in a cocoon together ... because you're forced to talk ... when you're in that sort of environment there aren't any interruptions, there aren't any jobs to go to, there aren't any other people to see. I actually think Liz's [my] partner likes that quite a lot ... the good things are for me quite important (Others: Mmm, Mmm) ... You're there twenty-four hours a day (Other: Mmm), seven days a week. And there are long talks about feelings and emotions and thoughts (Other: Mmm) and how things are going. And so it's ... being forced to do some of the things that I think are very important, that I don't always make time to do and sometimes don't have time to do (Sue: Mmm) with my family (Other: Yeah) mmm.
Later
Liz: Driving along and suddenly the air conditioner stopped. And it was terrible. We were all upset about that because it was so hot … Liz is down with her head under the dashboard, and sort of bum on the seat and legs up in the air and people weren't all that happy about the time being spent on this search for the … [cause]. Tempers were frayed. People were hot …

It was the mother's role to manage and entertain the children in the car.

Frances [Age 65+]: While travelling, the children and their mother play 'I Spy', or 'Spotto'.

The long hours in the car together were not always a positive experience.

Carly [Age 40]: I always think it's going to be great because you take, you know, little travel games. You know how you can buy those little like battle ships and things like that. I always think that they're going to be wonderful and they will keep them occupied for hours. But actually it causes more fights than if they didn't have anything in the first place (Others: Mmm, Mmm). Somebody knocks the thing, and all the little bits fall out or somebody's cheating (Other: Mmm). Aghh!
....
Susie: And you do get sick of 'I Spy'.
Carly: 'I can't play, I'm driving.'
*Susie: That's what Bill [husband] constantly says and **I** get it!*

The women also used the car as a refuge to escape the heat and their family. A couple of women differentiated their and their husband's relationship to the car. Staying at a boutique hotel in an inner-city area of Sydney for a special weekend without her children, one woman said:

> *Joan [Age 40]: Well, it was just beautiful (Other: Mmm) except [husband] Harry kept looking out the window worried that his [new] car was going to disappear ... 'Is the car still there?' ... He was just panicking, 'It's going to get ripped off'.*

Another replied:

> *Rachel [Age 40]: I can imagine [husband] James would be [like] that too.*

The above woman had previously asked her husband what *his* positive and negative holiday experiences would be at age 40.

> *Rachel [Age 40]: The negative ... one was the car malfunctioning (Karen: Yeah; Joan laughing) which, I mean, I wouldn't even have thought of because it only happened for a brief time.*
> *Karen: I guess it depends how your husband responds to it, whether it's your negative experience as well.*
> *Rachel: That's right, very true.*
> *Karen: And you know that if they're cursing and swearing about it, it can ruin your holiday too.*
> *Others: Mmm, Mmm.*

The packing of the car could also be problematic between wives and husbands.

> *Karen [Age 40]: [For a self-catering skiing holiday], we'd pack up all the food (Other: Mmm), all the sheets, all the towels, all the gear. And then [husband] Robert would come home ... see all the gear and say (Megan: 'That's not going to fit in the car') 'We can't take all that. We don't need all that' ... He would still see himself (Joan: Yeah) as the single man going off (Joan: Yeah) with one little bag.*

> Anne [Age 65+]: Anne was just a little worried about her husband whether he would enjoy his [camping] holiday … The first sign that he was not so happy about the holiday was having packed the car up with all its considerable bits and pieces, he decided to unpack and start again as he thought it was not balanced properly …

Husbands' dangerous driving was frightening for a couple of women.

> Anne [Age 65+]: Anne finally asked Kevin if he would like to go home, and he agreed. So the family packed up in a huge hurry and left. Kevin was still very unsettled and drove very badly. The children turned around to Anne and said, 'When we stop next, please take over the driving' which she did, which further unsettled Kevin. But she felt she had very little choice in the matter. It was not a holiday to be repeated.

Cordelia: God, I can relate to a lot in that …
Anne: That was not a good holiday. I don't know why I decided it was going to be all right.
Later
Anne: My negative experience was dealing with a husband who used to get very tense or irritated and then if he was at the wheel of the car he would do some very silly things and we'd all say, 'Holy Mary!' you know.
…
Cordelia: Especially with children in the car, it's terrifying …
Anne: I can remember them all saying, 'Don't let him drive' …
Cordelia: Well of course criticising mine only exacerbated the problem …
Anne: Well, we didn't say a word. I just got in the wheel …

Travel sickness was more likely to be remembered by the 65+ age group than the current 40-year-olds. Improvement in road conditions might account for this difference. Amongst the current 40-year-olds, flight delays and booking errors contributed to fatigue and strained relations between family members.

Sue: We had one experience on the plane … where the two boys were sitting in the row in front of us, and we're behind in the next row and we'd been going for … ten hours or something and a meal comes. And I can hear the younger person saying to the older brother, 'Could you open this for me, could you?' And being ignored. 'Could you please open this for me?' [Ignored] 'cause the headphones are on listening to, you know, the X-rated movie that's on. And next thing it comes over the top (and we've got trays all around us, and we're trying to open these silly little packages ourselves) and the drink went – (Others: Ohhh). You know, it was like 'calm, calm' 'cause I really wanted to say something very bad (Others: Mmm, Mmm, Mmm). Terrible!
Jenny: With lots of witnesses on the plane. (Laughter)
Sue: Mmm, exactly, yeah. 'Be in control, there are people watching'.
Later
Sue: … we realised that none of our internal flights were actually booked. And we weren't even sure that the four of us [wife, husband and two children] were going to be able to get on the plane. It was awful. So it was actually quite good that the four of us weren't sitting together. Because nobody was talking!

Holidays at Age 65+

At age 65+ car travel was much more benign and for one woman travelling with a female friend, it was the highlight of the trip in validating her sense of competence. For the first time she was responsible for the car.

Frances [Age 65+]: … the best thing of all was that I drove, Frances drove all the way. Absolutely loved it. Felt like you'd get in a car and drive anywhere at all … For me personally, I found it was great to know that I could drive that far and drive back in that wretched weather.

Wearing (1984), in her study of motherhood, similarly describes the pleasure of two single mothers who travelled by car around New South Wales. "They changed their own tyres and felt really independent and in charge of their own situation and 'had a

really good time'" (p.149). Travel and transport are gendered. That men in heterosexual couples drive and women are the passengers is acknowledged in the travel literature. Having control over the vehicle also means control of the passengers, which at times was frightening for the women. Not being the driver also meant that women with children were responsible for keeping children entertained. Crompton (1979) claims that the enhancement of kinship relationships on holiday "is often facilitated by long drives in an automobile because family members are physically juxtaposed for long periods and forced to interact with each other" (p.418). The above findings, however, indicate that, despite some pleasurable memories, there were many memories of social tension when family members were forced to spend a long time together in an automobile.

Food

"Pasi Faulk claims that the modern sense of the self is significantly connected with the notion of unlimited personal consumption of consumables and 'pleasurables' such as food." (Turner, B. 1996, p.7) For the girls and women a bodily pleasure (and displeasure) on holiday was food. Food was a theme for all age groups and more likely to be a positive feature than a negative feature of holidays. Food was most prominent in the memories of holidays at age 12 and age 20.

At age 12, holidays were seen as a time for treats. Holidays were a time to resist the discourse of a healthy body.

> Kate [Age 12]: You could get lollies and ice creams from the shop whenever they wanted. Kate could do all this which was just down the street.

> Barbie [Age 20]: After dinner, they went to the ice-creamery to choose any two flavours they wanted. Barbie chose passionfruit and her absolute favourite - Bubblegum. It wasn't just the taste that she loved, but the lovely green colour left round her mouth, on her lips and her tongue that she spent most of her time showing her unimpressed parents!

> Ruth [Age 40]: There was always a packed picnic lunch made by her mother to eat en route and the purchase of a special kind of boiled lolly selection at Central Station, never duplicated anywhere else … These holidays meant lots of picnics and bush-walking. She and her family would be out all day, her dad with a backpack of chops or sausages to grill somewhere in the bush for lunch. The smell of sizzling meat never failed to whet the appetite, the meat accompanied by thick slices of bread and butter, washed down with our treat purchased in the village of our choice of soft drink. Hers was always Cottee's Passiona and the taste of it today still evokes those mountain memories. For her parents, a boiled billy of black tea, always with a gum leaf added for extra flavour and accompanied by a slab

> of home-made cake … On those days when her father and brothers were attempting a longer than usual hike, she and her mother would walk to the village to choose a cream bun for morning tea or call at the milk bar to choose a bag of lollies from an enormous selection.

A wide range of food from which to choose was also a treat at age 12.

> Brooke [Age 20]: Good food. Good resort breakfast *(Other: Love the breakfast).* Smorgasbord. Don't you love that!
> *Other: You've got to love that. I used to love that - all the courses.*
> *Other: All you can eat.*
> *Other: Did they make your own omelette and stuff?*
> Brooke: There was an egg man.
> *Other: Oh, you got to love the egg man. Make friends with the egg man whenever you go to a resort.*
> Brooke: He made your omelettes. He did everything.
> *Other: ... did you eat it outside?*
> *Brooke: Yes.*
> *Other: Ohh!*
> *Other: Ohh, love that, al fresco.*
> Brooke: And they have these cool juices *(Other: fresh juices)* like guava.
> *Other: Guava juice and peach juice.*
> Brooke: So, so funky.
> *Other: Yeah.*

In some instances the girls were staying with other families who ate differently from their own family.

> Joan [Age 40]: And then after the swim we went back to the house for lunch. And I was really impressed by the lunch, because the grandmother had actually made a home-made meat pie and we just had mashed potatoes, peas and pumpkin. But it was nothing like what I ever ate at home. We had Latvian food. So it was really different. And I also remember dessert. It was apple pie, and they used tinned, I think, Tongala reduced cream or something like that. And I thought, I've never had this before … and it was just incredible, because it was all these things that I'd never had before, and never done … it still sticks in my mind very strongly.

> Gillian [Age 65+]: Maybe if they were lucky, they were allowed a one penny ice cream … as they straggled home in their woollen scratchy bathing costumes … One thing their mother used to say, prior to their holidays, 'Good, we'll be able to have tripe when we get to grandma's. It is delicious'. So this dish was always considered a real delicacy.

Nearly seventy-five years later, one of the 65+ year old women could remember the food of her childhood holiday experience in 1925.

> Susan [Age 65+]: First came the packing of the trunk … In a good safe place surrounded by clothes to keep it safe, with one enormous tin of cookies, given to Susan's father by his boss … What a treat this was for Susan, as they never had bought store cookies, as her mother did all the baking.

There were only a few references to food being unpleasant.

> Fiona [Age 12]: [At camp] And the food tasted like crap, it was so bad. The chocolate sauce … for the ice cream … they crossed out the 'Used by' date so you couldn't see it (*Tessa: Oh; Tracy: Oh foul!*) and it was probably 'Used by ---'.
> Laura: *Oh gross!*

As one the 40-year-old groups recognised after discussing their positive experiences,

> *Jean [Age 40]: Food featured pretty big, didn't it?*
> *Other: Mmm (laughter)*
> *Joan: It did for me.*
> *Karen: Yeah, yeah….*

Holidays at Age 20

Food appeared in memories of holidays at age 20; however, only in one group was their discussion about the importance of food in a good holiday experience. This was a group who had holidayed together. They talked with much joy about the special foods they had shared on holiday.

> *Samantha [Age 20]: Food has to play a big part.*
> *Other: Food, oh yeah.*
> *Kristen: I mean, we went through a block of chocolate every day (Brooke: peppermint), Cadbury's.*
> *Samantha: Cocktails ... making those cocktails.*
> *Hayley: Oh yeah.*
> *Samantha: I loved that.*
> *Hayley: Oh, my fabulous 'Illusions'.*
> Later
> *Samantha: Every day we'd go buy a thing of ice cream and packets of chips.*
> *Other: How gross!*
> *Samantha: We are gross on holidays.*

> Carly [Age 40]: We'd eat bread and Greek salad, and lie on the beach drinking Retsina and Ouzo in the evenings at the little cafes.

> Frances [Age 65+]: Most girls drank Pimms and lemonade or orange juice or fancy looking cocktails … which were like coloured water with fruit on a little stick, and a little paper umbrella in the top of the drink. If there was any alcohol in the drinks it was only an eyedropper drop and there were also drinks made in little pineapple cups, which looked very Hawaiian (*Other: Mmm*). [At the guesthouse] The meals were as beautifully home-cooked as your Mum's best baked dinner or apple pie, with a selection of three or four items in each course as well as yummy sweets and seconds of anything you wanted.

Likening the food at the guesthouse to "Mum's best baked dinner" has social significance. Murcott (1982) devoted nearly twenty pages to an analysis of the "cooked" or "baked" dinner, concluding that "While reducible to a familiar cliché it connotes a great deal more" (p.677). It is a "proper" meal with rules attached to the

foods included, their preparation and presentation. Murcott says, "the cooked dinner in the end symbolizes the home itself, a man's relation to that home and a woman's place in it" (p.693). The guest house took on similar meaning to the home. It is twenty years since Murcott deconstructed the "cooked dinner" and meanings may have changed in that time; however her interpretation is very likely to be relevant for the historical time of the memory above.

There were only a few references to bad food experiences and these were generally to do with unfamiliar food.

> Annie [Age 40]: By the time we got to Paris it was daylight and we were starving … So they thought they'd go to a restaurant and have a big splurge and we checked out the menu and how many francs we could spend … And they ordered steak tartare and they were so looking forward to a big bit of steak … it arrived … a plate full of mince with a raw egg sitting on the top (*Other: Oh no, ooh*). Absolutely disgusting and they both got up and ran straight to the bathroom.

Holidays at Age 40

Food featured in the positive memories of the current 40-year-olds but not the 65+-year-olds at age 40. Perhaps food is more central for women currently at the age at which they are providing for their family. While some of the recalled meals were enjoyed for their distinctiveness, they were also meals for which the women were not singly responsible.

> Joan [Age 40]: Coming back to the cabin that night was just as wonderful [as climbing the mountain that day]. The cabin was filled with the smell of hearty vegetable soup …

> Lizzy [Age 40]: This was just wonderful to have a lovely breakfast and be waited on while enjoying it all.

Other references to food focussed on the value, variety and ease of purchasing meals for the family.

Holidays at Age 65+

Food was not a theme in the memories of holidays at age 65+. This finding conflicts with a study of the 55 and over age group (Environmetrics 1991) in which it was concluded, "Food figures prominently" (p.65).

B. Turner (1996) associates diet with religion in traditional Christian culture for the regulation of bodies. With the decline in religion and the secularisation of society, views about food might be expected to become less moral and more secular and scientific. However, B. Turner claims that "While there has been … a scientific transformation of nutritional knowledge and practice, the social policy outcomes of nutritional science still contain an important moral dimension" (p.23). Different foods (and drinks) and the means of presentation have major symbolic significance. Food preferences are cultural with different meanings at different historical times. They may also be related to age and gender. As Murcott (1982) says:

> people's food choice is neither haphazard nor incoherent. No more are eating habits solely a matter of the satisfaction of physiological and psychological needs, or merely a result of individual preferences. Food is also a cultural affair … a product and reflection of the norms and values characteristic of the society in question. (Murcott 1982, p.678)

It was evident in the present study that food took on a different meaning at different ages. At age 12, the girls were, for the most part, not in control of their meal preparation and diet. Holidays were an exceptional event and were a site for leniency in diet. Especially at age 12 holidays represented a time and space to resist the moral dimension of food. Disallowed foods at home could be a treat on holiday. The girls reported a lack of restriction in what they could eat. Buffets presented them with choice and empowerment. They were in control as well as experiencing the pleasure of the sensual taste of desired foods. At age 20, those girls not travelling with their family were now responsible for their own eating habits and, at age 40, the women's role of managing food for the family was evident. At age 65+, food was not as central as it had been at earlier ages. The significance of alcoholic beverages is evident in the memories of all the age groups at age 20; however, there are cohort shifts in meaning. While today's 20-year-olds were mixing their own cocktails and, as some said, "getting maggot" (drunk), experience of alcohol was different for the older women. The 65+ age group was quick to make clear that any alcohol they had was "an eyedropper drop". For those aged 65+ the legal drinking age when they were aged 20 was 21, as opposed to age 18 for the current 20- and

40-year-old women. There was a moral dimension to drinking at age 20 for the 65+-year-old women.

> *Gillian [Age 65+]: But you didn't drink in those days.*
> *Eleanor: No, I can't remember any alcohol at all.*
> *Gillian: I mean 19- and 20- year olds didn't drink at all (Eleanor: No). It ... didn't even come into the scheme of thinking.*
> *Topsey: Oh no, you never had your first drink before you were 21.*

Two of the women aged 65+ (Jane and Susan) had grown up in the United States during the years of Prohibition and possibly had a different understanding of alcohol from the Australian women. There were, however, differences between Susan and Jane in their views of the morality of drinking.

> Jane [Age 65+]: [Holiday at age 20] And one morning … all the girls were invited to visit … for a 'boxcar'. Now Jane had been invited for … a cup of coffee, tea or a drink, but never for a 'boxcar'. So she asked what it was, and in typical southern drawl, one of the Cox girls [hosts] explained, 'But honey, a boxcar is four sidecars' (*Susan: Oh!*). And so it was (*Susan: Oh no!*). We all had a hilarious morning. I had to look up the recipe for a sidecar which is a cocktail that was popular at the time (*Others: Oh, Oh right*). And it's brandy, cointreau, lemon juice … in a small cocktail glass. But a boxcar is four sidecars! And they served them in tumblers!
> *Susan: Jane, was prohibition over by then?*
> *Jane: Oh yes, prohibition was over, prohibition would have been over then.*
> *Amelia: It sounds very nice actually ... It sounds very nice, this sidecar.*
> *Susan: In the morning? For a 20-year-old girl?*
> *Lou: In the morning you drank?*
> *Jane: Well, no. I was 20 (Susan: Yeah). But in the morning it was off-putting (Lou: The morning!) after four sidecars.*

The fashions for foods and beverages at different historical times can be seen in the women's and girls' accounts. The current 20-year-olds referred to cocktails, in particular, "Illusions"; the 40-year-olds remembered "Harvey Wallbangers"; and the 65+-year-olds, "Pimms" (or, in the United States, "Boxcars"). Offal, which was a delicacy for one older woman at age 12, is unlikely to be considered a treat by current 12-year-olds. On the other hand, ice cream remains a constant favourite! It is uncertain whether women's special relationship to food accounts for the emergence of food as a theme in their holiday memories. Women, traditionally, are responsible for the preparation of meals and the family's diet. They also may be highly conscious of food in their battle for desired body shape.

The women and girls associated types of food and drink with the tourist experience. While some of the food experiences might have been perceived as authentic (consumption of foods indigenous to the destination), other eating experiences were remembered as distinctive because of the exceptional quality of the food or because the holiday space allowed for indulgence of familiar foods. The findings from the 12-, 20-, and 40-year old groups support Richards's (2002) contention that "food is central to the tourist experience" (p.3). However, it is difficult to know where to place the women and girls in the food tourism model of C.M. Hall and Sharples (2003). They were not special interest tourists, not the consumers of what is termed these days the "gastronomy tourism product" (Fields 2002, p.36) but neither were they disinterested in the food at the destination.

Harris (2002), in her study of business women, found that food was discussed as part of the business travel experience. As with the middle-aged women in the present study (discussed in Chapter 10), not having to prepare meals was a "treat" for the business women, an enjoyable part of a business trip/holiday. However, the business women's emphasis on the desire for healthy nutritious meals was not reflected in the memories of women and girl holidaymakers in the present study. B. Turner (1996) maintains that, whereas in the past the religious intent of diet and self-regulation was to control the soul, in modern societies diet is intended to "produce an acceptable social self, particularly a self that conveys sexual symbolism (p.23)". As he says, "A youthful slim body is a major personal and social asset which must be maintained through the lifecycle" (p.23). Bordo (1989) refers to woman's body "as a text of femininity" (p.16). Much of the feminist literature on the body (for example, Bordo 1989; 1992) focusses on women's contradictory and problematic relationship with food leading to eating disorders. While the women (and girls?) may have been committed to a discourse equating slimness with sexual attractiveness and consequent dieting, their holiday memories did not indicate this.[2]

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[2] Although not apparent in my findings, Ms Wendy Cormack, a fitness professional from the organisation Fit to Travel, reported women's anxiety to be slim and look good before undertaking a holiday (2004, pers.comm.). Wearing (1984) in her study of motherhood, says about one of her participants, "When I arrived to do the interview, she was busy doing floor exercises from a glossy woman's magazine to be the right shape for the bikini she had bought to go on holidays" (p.147).

"CONTEXTUAL" THEMES: PERIPHERAL OR CENTRAL?

The themes discussed in this chapter were, for the most part, not the dominant themes. For many of the women and girls the cost of a holiday, the physical surroundings at the destination, accommodation, shops, transport and food were a backdrop for the holiday, peripheral to their main concerns. They were either not included in written or discussed memories or, if they were mentioned, were merely described without evaluation or interpretation. However, for other women and girls, the "contextual" themes were inseparable from the more dominant themes which are discussed in the following four chapters. Their memories were permeated by the established holiday discourse. The close association of the physical and social environments was evident.

> Joan [Age 40]: Large soft couches, welcoming you to curl up into were set around a fireplace, already set up with kindling ready to be lit.

The warm, cosy physical environment intersected with the warm social relationships that occurred between travelling companions. "Hearty" food and "fine" wine were also aligned with "great" (and hearty) company.

> Joan [Age 40]: The cabin was filled with the smell of hearty vegetable soup, simmering on the stove and which they all devoured hungrily. Many nights were spent around the crackling fire enjoying fine wine, food and great company.

Expectations that a holiday should be different from home were evident. For the girls, luxury accommodation and plane travel differentiated a holiday from life at home and endowed the girls with status and self-importance, thus enhancing their holidays. Food could contribute to the special experience of the holiday as treats were permissible at this time. Alcohol too played a central role in many of the memories of holidays at age 20 and, to a lesser extent, holidays at age 40, contributing to the bonhomie of holiday groups. At age 20, alcohol, no doubt, contributed to adult identity. The weather also could affect one's sense of identity as a holidaymaker, how one saw oneself in the holiday picture. For some of those who wrote or spoke about transport, "getting there was half the fun". For others, travel could be an unpleasant and, in some cases, a traumatic and dangerous part of the holiday.

Women's attention to beauty in their surroundings, the importance of accommodation and food and, for the younger groups, pleasure in shopping may well be gendered. Gendered power relations were particularly evident in car travel where women were the passengers. The women were also constrained by the physical space of the car. They could feel "trapped". There were various examples of resistance. The usurping of her husband's authority in relation to car travel allowed one 65+-year-old woman to experience an immense sense of pride, competency and empowerment. Power relations are not only gendered but differentially experienced at different ages. Power relations at home were reflected in the holiday experiences. Girls were constrained by adults. Middle-aged women were constrained in their role as mothers and, as is discussed in more depth in Chapter 11, the 65+ age group were constrained by society for being "old". To a certain extent, holidays could be an opportunity to resist everyday constraints.

CONCLUSION

While many of the emergent themes from the written and discussed memories are common to holidays at different ages and at different times, there are different thematic *patterns* in holiday memories for each age group. The same theme can differ in strength and meaning at different ages and for different age cohorts. The strength of the themes is noticeable when one considers that they interwove many different types of holidays *within* a particular cohort at a specified age/family life stage (detailed in Appendix F). The above discussion of "contextual" themes has addressed the more "tangible", facilitating and necessary features of a holiday, money, the physical surroundings, accommodation, shops, transport and food.

The following four chapters are organised according to holidays at each specified age: Chapter 8 focusses on holidays at age 12, Chapter 9, holidays at age 20, Chapter 10, holidays at age 40 and Chapter 11, holidays at age 65+. Each chapter concentrates on the thematic pattern, highlighting the dominant themes for holidays at that age. The title of each chapter reflects the outstanding theme (particularly for those currently of that age). Each chapter is organised in two parts: Part A gives voice to the participants, presenting their written and discussed holiday memories in Phase 2 of memory-work. Part B represents Phase 3 of the method, my further

interpretation and theorisation of the collective analysis. It was at this stage that I explored the literature to make sense of the themes which emerged in Phase 2.

CHAPTER 8: HOLIDAYS AT AGE 12 - THE PHYSICAL ME

INTRODUCTION

The title of this chapter reflects the physical nature of holidays at age 12 for all age groups. The first person, "me", was relevant to all age groups but more strongly reflected in the memories of the current 12-year-olds than in the childhood recollections of other age groups. The physicality and egocentrism which is evident in the memories distinguish holidays at age 12 from holidays at other ages. Cohort differences are also evident in the memories.

The memories of the women and girls came from different historical periods. The youngest group was aged 12 in the mid to late 1990s, the 20-year-olds were 12 around 1990, the 40-year-olds were aged 12 in the 1960s and, due to the range in ages of the women aged 65+, they experienced age 12 from the mid-1920s to the late 1940s.

PART A: HOLIDAY VOICES AT AGE 12

The dominant theme which emerged from the collectives of girls and women at age 12 was the *physicality* of the tourist experience. The positive experience was the physicality of bodily motion and the negative was the physicality of bodily discomfort. There were a number of other themes at age 12: sharing the experience with others, independence from parents, freedom from responsibility, novelty, prestige, doing the "right" thing and experiencing fear. Some of these themes were common to all age groups at age 12, whilst others were specific to particular cohorts. For the current 12-year-olds, particularly, the emphasis underlying the themes was *me* and *my* enjoyment.

In presenting the findings for holidays at age 12, it is relevant to comment on the social dynamics of the research context in which they were produced. As an age group, the current 12-year-olds handled the social situation and discussion quite differently from the women in any of their meetings. I was surprised at the disrespect a number of the groups showed to each other and to the research task.

The girls belittled and parodied others both outside and inside the research setting. The research setting gave me a glimpse of what Oakley (in Hey 1997) calls "the subterranean world of girls' friendships" (p.viii). In some of the groups, it was apparent that there was an accepted hierarchy with the consequent power relations of inclusion and exclusion. Although the discussion produced rich data about holidays at age 12, the girls' talk was often unrelated to the research topic. In the psychological terminology of children's play, the conversations could often be seen as "parallel" rather than "co-operative". In a number of groups the girls were competing with each other, showing off and "playing to a gallery". Presentation of themselves was more important than the research task. These were not traditional rule-following, compliant girls, displaying a feminine "ethic of care" (Gilligan 1993) to each other and others. Theirs was certainly not the behaviour exhibited by the women in the research setting. The girls' disruptive attitude to the research task was not the discourse of "respectful" childhood. These girls were confronting and resisting the adult middle-class, patriarchal discourse of scholarship and yet, of the girls I knew in the groups, they were all good performers at school and enjoyed the school culture. Admittedly, the context of the research (during the school holidays and in the home of one of the girls) could have mitigated a "serious" attitude towards the study. Nonetheless, I wonder whether past generations of women at age 12 would have been more respectful (compliant?).

Physicality

The embodiment of the women's and girls' tourist experiences is apparent in holidays at all ages and appears in the chapters to follow. One cannot escape one's body in tourism, but it was the holiday at age 12 in which the body was most in evidence. Positive memories focussed on a *moving* body and negative memories related to a *hurting* body.

The Body in Motion

Leisure activities which were physical, involving bodily movement, were the core of a good holiday experience for the women and girls at age 12. Although some mention was made of "going to the movies", holiday activities were primarily outdoor pursuits involving action. The stress was on *lots* of activities. Holidays at

age 12 were more frenetic for the current 12-year-olds, who often commented on their displeasure in having to wait for an activity, than they were for the older women as children. The written memories and the discussion of the 40 and 65+ age groups suggested that, although full of activities, holidays in childhood were relaxed and unrushed. They were generally recalled warmly as a time of fun and laughter. For all age groups, swimming was a favourite activity at age 12.

> Kristina [Age 12]: From the moment I arrived on Plantation Island, Fiji and spotted the pontoon with the sun sparkling down on it, I knew it was going to be one of the highlights of my holiday. After a delicious breakfast, I would swim out through the sparkling warm water and you would be able to see the bottom of the water as it was so clear. When I reached the pontoon, I climbed up the ladder and stood up on the surface of it. I would feel very proud and look out over the water and feel like I'm on top of the world! You could also dive off the pontoon into the water and that was heaps of fun too.
> *Jessie: Oh yeah, I agree because when I went to Fiji I dived off a pontoon too, and I thought it was fun.*

> Clair [Age 20]: Before they left each reef site, Clair and her sister enjoyed jumping off the side of the boat into the water. They would jump off the top of the boat and then find ways to climb higher and jump further. It was always fun when other kids would join in and they'd have a big contest going. Clair loved these boat trips as they were full of her favourite things. She could swim herself, snorkel, see amazing things, eat great food, be in the sun and do daring things.
> *Josephine: Oh, wonderful! (Belinda: Wow! That was good). That sounds fabulous.*

> Eleanor [Age 65+]: They slept in the afternoon, it was so hot. Then they walked to the river to swim which was so beautiful after a very hot day. Cold and very strong. How wonderful to have the cold wonderful water to swim in. She rode her bike with her cousins a long way, over creek beds into town. What a great adventure.

A skiing or snow (tobogganing/playing) holiday at age 12 was a positive experience for many of the current 12- and 20-year-olds. Only one of the 40-year-olds and none of the 65+-year-olds reported such a holiday.

> Phoebe [Age 12]: She woke up the next morning and guess what she woke up to? It was snowing. Phoebe's legs were tired, because every time she walked her legs would sink into the snow. They finally got to the lift and put their skis on and went up in the lift. It was sensational. Phoebe was most excited. She was the first person to go down the hill and made the first set of ski tracks. After a few hours Phoebe had got used to the powder and, boy, was she enjoying it!

> Cara [Age 20]: Anastasia was jumping with excitement, as skiing was one of her favourite activities and there was something about going down to the snow which made her all warm and fuzzy inside.

Theme parks were also a source of holiday pleasure at age 12 for many of the current 12- and 20-year-olds, but were not included in the memories of the older two groups at age 12.

> Felicity [Age 12]: The other good experience at Queensland was that all the days we went to the fun park, Wet and Wild, Movie World and Sea World … the best thing being Wet and Wild. It never rained any of the days which was great because it was still warm enough to swim in the gorgeous warm pools and go down the hair raising slippery slides at the fun park, Wet and Wild.

> Barbie [Age 20]: She settled, feet first onto the slide and waited a moment or two before she headed off down the slide. It was great. She could feel the water and her body as if they were moving as one down the cool slide. She took a deep breath in and hit the water at the bottom and made it safely to the other side. Barbie felt happy again. She was at last having some fun.

Other good outdoor activities included playing tennis, riding bikes, walks in the bush and horse riding. The country was seen as a good holiday destination as it offered many activities and an opportunity to experience wildlife (important to the current 12-year-olds).

> Tracy [Age 12]: And on Monday, that Monday … it was a pretty nice day so we went on the wave ski and the dolphins came a metre away from us!
> …
> *Fiona: We went on a dolphin cruise and they were all a metre away. Ooh!*
> *Laura: Yeah I fed one at Monkey Mia. It was cool.*

> *April [Age 12]: … 'Cause here [at home] you don't get like kangaroos.*
> *Vicki: Like we had kangaroos digging around our tent, like kangaroos just there.*
> *April: And I think that's really good. Because then like, you get really excited when you spot them. It's so different.*

> Camps could provide the desirable activities.

> *Belinda [Age 20]: My best camp was in Year Six … it was just action packed the whole week-end (Others: Mmm, Mmm, Yes). And just doing the archery and all that kind of stuff.*
> *…*
> *Belinda: Yeah, it was the first one and you were just so hyped …*
> *Alice: And you're so excited to do these really good activities. You think, 'Oh my God, abseiling!'*

> Anne [Age 65+]: [At National Fitness Camp] Lots of activities, lots of community singing, lots of games, swimming, competitions and friends to be made.

The 40-year olds and 65+-year-olds at age 12, in addition to their active outdoor experiences, also mentioned dancing and quieter activities such as playing cards and reading.

Although the younger cohorts at age 12 engaged in more commercially developed activities (such as waterbiking, snorkelling, parasailing, waterskiing and snow skiing) often in a more glamorous, exotic destination than their elders at age 12, the theme of bodily movement and physical sensation was similar across the age groups. The significant feature of a good holiday experience was *having fun.* Although there were a few references to sightseeing, education and learning were usually not considered positive experiences.

> *Monica [Age 20]: Having fun, really isn't it?*
> *Other: Yeah.*
> *Clair: It's got to do with fun.*
> *Other: Yeah.*
> *Monica: Yeah. It's not about, you know educating yourself,*
> *Clair: [not about] finding meaningful things.*

> Nicole [Age 20]: They spent a week in London … where they travelled to cathedrals, castles, museums and art galleries. Nicole and her brother and sisters were not overly impressed (mainly due to their age) and because they'd been having such a good time in Florida. Like at this age it's (*Other: it was boring*), yeah, a bit boring.
> *Lucy: Because you had to do what your parents wanted to do..*
> Nicole: What your parents wanted to do.

> Ruth [Age 40]: When she was 12 or 13 or 14 … those years when no longer a child but far from an adult, holidays were a mixed bag. The negative memory that is most prominent concerns a week's visit to Canberra with her parents … The itinerary for the week did not include anything that might have remotely interested her age group. Her father was actually attending a conference and she and her mother were left to wander aimlessly in the boring city that Canberra was in the 60s. It was thought she might find interesting such icons as the War Memorial, the Academy of Science and Natural history. All left her yawning and complaining of boredom, her mother pretty much at her wit's end to entertain this tiresome teen.

For an activity to be enjoyed it was important for all age groups at age 12 to feel in control, with skills matching the challenge.

> Tessa [Age 12]: I recently went to Castaway Island in Fiji … And it's really fun like going swimming in the lagoon and stuff … I especially liked the fact that like you don't have to be like a really strong swimmer to do all these activities and stuff which are mainly around the water. Because you kind of loafed on the surface …

None of the girls or women at age 12 referred to any adrenalin rush in their activities. They were not seeking out dangerous activities to be overcome. The description of favoured beaches amongst the current 12-year-olds suggested a preference for a tropical-style beach, the type presented in the holiday promotional material. This is also a beach which is not dangerous, which does not require a great physical effort. While the women and girls at age 12 were enjoying the corporeal sensations in the water, they were not experiencing the physical rough and tumble of the surf. The theme park could also be viewed as a safe site in which to experience extreme bodily sensations.

The emphasis on bodily movement at age 12 is striking, not only because it was a dominant memory at this age but because it was also relatively absent as a theme of holidays at later ages. The current 20-year-old groups compared their active holidays at age 12 to their more sedate holidays at age 20. The physical bodily theme of holidays at age 12 was also a theme of the negative experiences.

The Hurting Body

Illness and physical discomfort featured in the memories of holidays at age 12 for all the age groups. However, it was the current 12-year-olds for whom the theme was most prominent. While the beach was the site for much bodily pleasure, it could also be the site of bodily discomfort from sunburn and stings. In addition to the physical pain of stings, sunburn and illness there was the mental anguish of watching others enjoy themselves while the injured girl was prevented from "doing stuff".

> Alex [Age 12]: It was a lovely hot day and she was invited to stay for the whole day at the beach with some of her family's friends. This didn't last. Half way through the day she was sent back to our hotel with terrible sunburn. Gosh she felt horrible … Her sunburn prevented her from going to the beach for the next two days. This made her grumpy as she really wanted to walk around the shops and splash through the sparkling water. Because of her, her holiday was ruined. This would have to be her worst experience on a holiday.

> Lorna [Age 65+]: We used to go down to the beach. We'd stay all day … And we'd come home cooked to a crisp (*Other: Mmm*), absolutely cooked to a crisp. We'd be like beetroots.
> ….
> Lorna: And she [aunt] used to rub our backs with tomatoes (*Others: Yeah, yeah*) and we nearly hit the sky. The sting of the acid (*Other: Mmm*) was something fierce.

> *Jackie* [Age 12]: *I know when I got the blue bottle, I got it just on my thigh and I couldn't sit down because it really hurt and like we went to the theme park the next day and most of the rides you had to sit down on them and it really hurt. So I didn't quite enjoy that day.*

Being too hot or cold, tired or jetlagged, encountering jellyfish in the water, sand in the swimmers and rough pebbly beaches were some of the complaints of the current 12-year-old girls. Fathers (and in one case a grandfather) were at times held responsible for the girls' physical discomfort and illness.

> Samantha [Age 20]: … actually my biggest memory of the holiday is Dad waking us up at six every morning to say, 'Yep we're going'. And we'd walk all day, and we'd go non-stop and if we stopped for lunch we'd be allowed to stop for like ten minutes. And then he'd be going, 'No we're still going, we're going'.
> *Other: Are you serious?*
> Samantha: … he wanted to see everything.
> *Other: He sounds worse than my dad. And we thought he was really bad.*
> Samantha: Yeah. But the sad thing is that we did all this, and I can't remember seeing it!

> Cordelia [Age 65+]: [A gold fossicking expedition] Time to be spent in a large 'cottage' tent, in adverse conditions was a concern for Cordelia's grandmother taking into account her granddaughter's recent recovery from pneumonia. However, her arguments in this regard failed to convince her spouse, and the journey was undertaken … Cordelia hated the enterprise from the start. The crudely made, straw-filled hessian mattress prickled her nightly, causing an angry red rash, unresponsive to scratching or entreaties for the provision of a more comfortable base … Whether … dietary deficient, or viral activity, Cordelia became ill about two weeks before the intrepid travellers were due to return home. Listless, nauseous and unable to eat, measures were taken in an attempt to remedy the situation, with offerings of Bonox broth, dry toast, and weak tea, to no avail. Without medical assistance readily to hand, the decision was made to return to Sydney, leaving George to continue his mission alone …

Fear of being physically hurt was also a common theme throughout the memories of holidays at age 12, particularly for the current 20-, 40- and 65+-year-olds. The source of fear was various: fire, drowning, dingoes, spiders, local people, a drunken uncle and being lost. The fear expressed was for their own safety and rarely for that of others.

> *Ashley [Age 12]: And between Vanessa and I, the similarity was we both could have been harmed. Because if that fire had caught hold to the flammable paints, then it would just have gone kapoom and I could have been very well damaged ... and Vanessa could have, Vanessa's caravan could have fallen off a cliff or something bad could have happened to Vanessa.*

At age 12, the women and girls were not in control. A number of women expressed a sense of helplessness in not knowing what to do, how to deal with a fearful situation.

> Kylie [Age 20]: Kylie's mother felt that the [fire] situation was too dangerous for her [Kylie] to help so she had to sit back and watch. She felt helpless and could smell the burnt fiery clouds of smoke from the kitchen.
> …
> Kylie: To this day, I remember the fear that I felt being helpless and watching the fire roar.
>
> Ashley [Age 12]: Ashley was scared and she wanted to help but she couldn't.

Other Themes

Although there might be one strong theme, holidays are usually a combination, an interaction of different needs. In comparison with holidays at other ages, holidays at age 12 revealed a number of powerful themes.

Novelty

Doing something different and going to new places were positive experiences for all age groups at age 12, but were more prominent as a theme in the memories of the 20, 40 and 65+ age groups at age 12 than they were for the girls. New and different experiences were not only fun but were also described as "exciting" and "an adventure".

> *Barbie [Age 20]: I found a common theme was that we all [were] going to new places, that's why it was so exciting.*
> *Other: Yeah, that's true.*
> *Other: Everyone was excited.*
>
> *Topsey [Age 65+]: … lovely holidays, great holidays, adventure holidays, fun holidays and being excited about going on holiday.*
> *Other: Yes.*

Fun, excitement and adventure usually derived from participation in a physical activity but were sometimes related to "something happening". For one woman, disappointed that her holiday was not living up to her expectations of exciting activities, the news of the sensational Bogle/Chandler murder, involving a parent of schoolmates, was the "positive" experience.

> Helen [Age 40]: She found it was fascinating and exciting that something so awful could happen to someone she 'knew' and it was all in the papers.
> *Roberta: ... that's typical of a 12-year-old, that ... I guess, drama or (Lizzy: that sort of sensational thing) (Others: Yes, Mmm) that makes you feel important because you knew them!*
> *Helen: We knew them, yes!*

For the current 40- and 65+-year-olds, memories of holidays at age 12 were filled with a sense of discovery, wonderment, fascination and adventure. For many, the experiences were "something I had never done before". As one group said, "people letting you do things you couldn't do at home".

> Joan [Age 40]: As soon as they arrived at Long Jetty, they raced off to go for a swim. They blew up their Lilos and headed for the water. They spent about two hours floating on these, making up games, laughing, racing through the columns under the jetty, just having a ball. And it's something I'd never done before either, having these floaty things … And then after lunch we went to Toowoon Bay where Sharon's brother was a lifesaver and we spent the afternoon in the surf which I hadn't done before either.

> *Rachel [Age 40]: I guess I probably experienced that [novelty] more than ever before there [destination] because it was a different environment. Probably more than I do now. Now, I guess you've seen a lot more and it's not quite as exciting anymore. Whereas this was all new and different.*

For some in the older age groups, a holiday in itself was a novelty.

> Fran [Age 40]: I just enjoyed them [Girls Brigade camps] because we didn't do anything like that as a family. We just didn't have the opportunity to ever get away … there's a long period of time when we didn't do that. So it was, it was just an adventure.

> *Megan [Age 40]: [At Forster, a coastal town with a girlfriend's family] It was a holiday destination, you went there for a holiday ... whereas when we used to go with my parents to stay on the farm in Casino ... it wasn't a holiday destination ... We went there [Forster] to spend money.*

> Jane [Age 65+]: On a holiday the summer of 1924. It was not usual for the Thompson family to travel during the long school summer holidays. Nor was it usual for members of the family to go off in different directions for a change of scene. So it was a big event for Jane to go away for a week's visit with her aunt and uncle who had a cottage at Sandy Park, a private vacation area on a river. Aunt Pat and Uncle Joe had a car, so they were able to get to their cottage, which was not easily accessible by public transport on which the Thompsons were dependent … And this was the first time Jane had been invited there on her own, without mother, father, or older brother Tom. So it was a special occasion … And the summer of 1924 was the first time in her life that Jane ever went to bed and listened to the sound of rain on the roof above. It was glorious and she never forgot it.
> *Amelia: ... a special sound.*

For some women the sense of discovery went beyond places and activities but to new people and new lifestyles. The woman, previously cited, who went away with a girlfriend's family to the coastal town of Forster explained:

> Megan [Age 40]: I found it exciting 'cause they were sort of quite different to my family. My family were sort of very conservative, stayed with relatives all the time. These people … the kids played sport and … the father went to the club and he drank beer. Like it was really, really different to my family … I sort of felt really grown up. And it was really exciting.

Holidays offered opportunities for special experiences, sleeping in bunk beds, having the bedroom at the top of the house, sitting in a particular place in the car, new foods and transport. A holiday also offered the opportunity to learn new skills, such as rowing, surfing and skiing:

> Louise [Age 20]: The first abseil was the hardest and the slowest, but it gave Louise a sense of achievement as she made it to the bottom.

One of the older women learned how to make silk underwear:

> Mary [Age 65+]: Once when the weather was inclement, the mother produced a silk parachute and proceeded to teach the three girls present how to cut out and sew silk for panties – loose legs, button at waist. Mary had hers for many moons.

Achievement and a sense of competence were positive features of holidays at age 12 for the adult women.

Independence from parents

Independence from parents and a feeling of being grown up was a theme common to all of the women and girls at age 12. Sometimes the girls and women had holidayed without their parents. Contradictory emotions were revealed prior to departure.

> Kelly [Age 12]: She recently went on tour with the Sydney Children's Choir. As this was the first time she'd been away from her home for more than two weeks she had mixed emotions about this holiday. She felt excited but sad at the same time.

> Anne [Age 65]: Anne had managed to talk her mother and father into letting her go to a National Fitness camp on her own. She was very excited and tried not to show a little apprehension of being away from home for the first time, that is, without her sister or her brother, as well as not having her mother and father there as well.

There were only a couple of memories of homesickness. For most of the girls and women independence led to a feeling of capability and self-esteem.

> Barbara [Age 65+]: Holidays for this young girl were always spent with relatives. What made this particular one exciting was the fact she was going to travel from Sydney to Muswellbrook, by herself in the train. Her mother saw her onto the train at Central Station, placing her in the care of the guard. Imagine a 12-year-old to-day (*Other: Yes*) to travel by themselves.
> *Frances: All those things you can't do now.*
> *Lorna: No.*

> Anne [Age 65+]: Anne, on reflection, can say this [holiday without family at National Fitness Camp] was the beginning of 'good' holidays and some of the reasons must have been she was an entity in her own right. She was accepted as one of the girls who could do the majority of activities reasonably well … she found she did not miss her family that much – they came up on Sunday to see what it was all about ...

Opportunities for independence within a family holiday were also valued.

> Tessa [Age 12]: Another really excellent thing about this [resort] holiday was that you could just wake up in the morning and go down and have buffet breakfast and everything. When you've got really protective parents it's like really fun because you never really get to go anywhere on your own.
> *Laura: What's so fun about it?*
> *Tessa: Because it's like freedom …*
> *Laura: Oh! So they weren't being too protective at that time?*
> *Tessa: Yeah,, because like you couldn't get lost or anything.*
> *Laura: Ohh, cool.*
> *Fiona: Cooly dooly.*
> *Tessa: Cooly dooly.*

> *Hannah [Age 20]: … to me, it [a positive holiday experience] was like anything I could do, that didn't include my parents (Amanda: Yeah; Kylie: Yeah) even if it was just going down to the shops with my friend and I, without Mum and Dad. That was just good things to do on the holiday. Or being able to go to the beach by ourselves.*

> Karen [Age 40]: [On board a ship] There was an immense sense of freedom and being grown up. Being able to go places on their own.

At age 12, being treated like a child was a negative experience particularly for the current 12-year-olds.

> *April [Age 12]: … to come back from Sydney [on plane], I had to be unaccompanied minor, wear one of those silly little badges.*
> *(Others agree)*
> …
> *Naomi: Yeah, anyway, I went as an unaccompanied minor… And you have to wear these little, stupid badges that say you're an --- but I took mine off … I could never get any decent*

drinks. I got this stupid little meal with this stupid Popper in it. And I hate Poppers. And all other people in the plane, every single other person got to choose a nice meal.

It is also possible that, at age 12, it is important to *appear* independent, not to be labelled as a child. In one particular group of current 12-year-olds there was much bragging and jockeying to assert each member's independence from adults.

Sharing the holiday with family

Interaction with the family was not a feature of positive holiday experiences for the current 12-year-olds. Several of the groups of current 12-year-olds stated their preference for friends as travelling companions.

Tessa [Age 12]: It would have been better with friends.
Laura: Yeah, like at least one friend. Like ---
Tracy: With activities.
Laura: Yeah, with activities
Tracy: Stuff like swimming and like ---
Laura: 'Cause when you're with your family you can't really play many games with them. But when you're with a friend you muck around and talk.
Fiona: Yeah.

Many of the women were ambivalent about family holidays at age 12. Families could be irritating, especially siblings and fathers.

Lucy [Age 20]: I used to hate when Dad used to walk up the front. That irritated me so much, 'cause he always walked so much faster (Other: Mmm). Ohh!
Nicole: That's what my dad used to do. Walk fast and we'd all go, 'Slow down, we've got to see all these things' (Other: Yes) ...
Lucy: And we used to always stress, because Mum would be going, 'Jim, slow down' and we'd be going 'Ohh, no'... And after a while we'd just go, 'Ach! Walk ahead Dad!' you know.
Nicole: And so then they [fathers] walk heaps far and you're like sure to lose them ...

Kimberley [Age 20]: … we used to call my Dad … "Bad News Tours" ... because like, he used to take us to the worst places. Anyway, but it was still heaps of fun. Like I'd like to emphasise this, I'm just thinking of all the bad stuff. But I think it's when you're 12, you've got attitude, so you think everything's … oh, you know, it's just not cool .
Other: 'Can't believe you're making me do this'!

Anne [Age 65+]: Although Anne liked the change [on holiday], and a whole heap of everyday life restrictions being lifted, Anne wondered what it would be like to be able to not have to move about in a family group. That is, have breakfast, go down to the beach swimming etc., in the close knit family. Often there was friction between herself and her siblings and mainly her father. She could not understand why he could do what he liked and when he liked on holidays, and she could not. She had to fit in … Anne, on reflection, was just beginning to experience the adolescent hormone rush, which of course was not

> recognised in any way in the late 1930s or early 40s. There was no such thing as adolescence. So possibly any unhappiness which she felt could have been put down to her changing body.
> *Cordelia: I can relate to a lot of that.*
> Later
> *Cordelia: I didn't like the restrictions, not being somewhere of my choosing …*
> …
> *Anne: I think by the age of 12, one could … easily show that you were there on sufferance.*
> …
> *Anne: … and around about 12 (Cordelia: Mmm), one's beginning to sort of think, 'I should be able to have a (Cordelia: Yes) say in my life', even (Cordelia: Yes, mmm) though it wasn't as clear cut as that.*
> *Cordelia: Your own sense of self is very (Anne: Yes, yes) evident at that age, I think, (Anne: Yes, yes) as a person.*

Parents arguing, fights with siblings and getting into trouble, especially with fathers, were recalled by the women in their memories of holidays at age 12.

> Marie [Age 40]: Having bought chocolate at a stop, they [Marie and sister] decided it would melt into a nice chocolate liquid if they left [it] on the back seat under the back window for a while. As you can imagine this chocolate melted very quickly and made a lovely pool of chocolate mud! Marie and her sister thought this was much more fun to eat. Well you can imagine the mess after a short while. Trying to eat melted chocolate without being caught by Dad! Of course they were caught and a very furious Dad had dealt out some harsh punishment. The car was very quiet.

Independence from the family was a positive theme in the memories of the girls and women at age 12. At the same time *sharing* the holiday with the family was also a dominant theme for the 20- and 40-year-olds at age 12.

> *Edwina [Age 20]: … what's fun about camping is that all of a sudden you're sleeping next to your brother and sister or something like that (Other: Yeah) and you sort of think it's good fun. Or your cousins …*
> *Alice: And your mum and dad …*
> *Edwina: Yeah and them.*

Perhaps there was nostalgia for parental care. A number of the women spoke of the security provided by the family.

> Monica [Age 20]: We believed our family to be more fun than anyone's. After dinner, the kids walked down to the ice cream shop near the beach. They proceeded to run around on the beach for ages, just kicking the sand, and playing chasings. Monica felt both free from worry, and totally secure in the knowledge that her loved ones were around. There was simply a feeling of security which Monica has never forgotten. Monica remembers thinking, even at that young age, that the evening would long be remembered.
> *Cara: Oh, wow!*
> Later
> *Louise: Doesn't it make you long for those times … don't you wish you could have holidays like that again? (Cara: Yeah, I do.) where you just go with your family.*
> *Cara: No pressure.*

> *Louise: Yeah, no matter what they suggest it'd be cool (Other: Yeah). There wouldn't be five people going, 'Oh no, I want to do this' 'I want to do that'.*

> Rachel [Age 40]: She felt good about the way her parents joked and talked and held hands. Something they didn't usually do. Rachel's parents decided that they should climb St Mary's Peak … A real sense of achievement was experienced and an overwhelming sense of happiness at doing this sort of thing with her mum and dad … At night Rachel and her mum and dad sat in the caravan and played games and cards. They all had a great time. And Rachel wished they could do this at home too. Rachel felt happy. There was a sense of newness in all they did. Also relaxation and contentment.

> Liz [Age 40]: In the afternoon the mother would sleep and Dad and Sue [sister] and Liz would go for a walk. And they'd go for hours. And there'd be singing on those walks. And they're very memorable, they were quite lovely. In the evening usually the family would go to the carnival down in the Entrance and play things like the Clowns and other sorts of things or go to the movies. And those were the days in the holidays and I think there was nothing different about any of those days. Liz has very strong memories of fun and laughter and jokes. And lots of happiness.

> Ruth [Age 40]: Evenings were quite blissful – a hot bath, supper of soup or cheese on toast in front of the fire, games of monopoly and scrabble with her brothers, whom she could never beat, and sweet dreams of which horse she might be able to have on her next ride.

One of the 40-year-old women explained:

> *Jenny [Age 40]: … as a 12-year-old, I had no insight into the … family as a 'value' thing. But as I grow older that's something that I consciously value more. So the meaningful holidays surround family, because that's what's important to me now …*

Sharing the holiday with girlfriends

It was evident in the findings that other people were necessary at age 12 for the physical activities to be enjoyed.

> *Megan [Age 40]: … it's not so much where we are or what we are doing but that we're sharing it … (Other: Mmm) with someone.*

For the current 12-year-olds and for many of the current 20- and 40-year-old groups, the preferred other person at age 12 was a girlfriend of the same age. While family travel could have a downside, a problematic relationship with a friend was rarely mentioned in holidays at age 12. The enjoyable, physical, holiday activities were usually only fun, exciting or an adventure *with* a playmate. The relationship enhanced the enjoyment of the activity.

Vicki [Age 12]: ... with my friend Georgie and we both dyed our hair mulberry, blueberry and golden blonde. And that part was lots of fun.

Ashley [Age 12]: And having friends at the snow makes it so much better.
Christie: But it's company.
Ashley: ... You can get bored if you don't have friends and you're skiing. Like skiing's only good if you've got someone to do it with. Like I hate going up T-bars by myself.
Sally: Yeah. I hate it.
Vanessa: Well, yes, same.
Christie: I've had to [do] it a few times and I hate it when like, and they call out 'Singles?' and you have to go, so it's much better when you've got friends. Yeah, but it's OK if you're meeting someone up the top though. It's not like you're constantly going by yourself.

Amanda [Age 20]: The positive experience that Amanda had around the age of 12 was on a family holiday. Every year Amanda and her family went to a hotel on the Hawkesbury River. Only this year was different. It was the first time that she was allowed to bring a friend. Therefore it was the first time that someone her age was there to share her experience and have the same interests as her ... The holiday was great. They played lots of imaginary games, of queens and princesses and, of course, of the dream boyfriend from the Baby Sitters Club that happened to be staying in the room next door to her.

Kylie [Age 20]: You used to always bring the naughtiest friend (Other: Mmm), always, because they would have so much fun (Other: Yeah). You could always expect the most exciting things.

Sometimes the women stressed a group of friends.

Fran [Age 40]: She very clearly remembers going on one particular camp with … lots of girlfriends and actually has photos of herself and her friends on the bunks with their rollers in their hair and their nighties on and long socks, because it was so cold in the night time … The positives were having girlfriends around.

Karen [Age 40]: She's on the P&O ship the 'Iberia' returning from America … the trip takes five to six weeks … Karen has made lots of friends … They run wild all day, all over the ship playing. There was an immense sense of freedom and being grown up. Being able to go places on their own. They go to the Nursery and play games, and do things there. They also spend a lot of time around a swimming pool, playing and swimming. They are 'a gang of girls'.

Despite months of touring the United States and experiencing famous sights, the above woman explained:

Karen [Age 40]: What stands out is not going to the Empire State Building or the Statue of Liberty but ... just playing with friends which is the same sort of thing you could do at Laurieton, Forster,... the coast, [the holiday destinations of the other women in the group]...

The playmate might have been a friend who accompanied the girls or someone met at the destination. It was agreed by the current 20-year-olds that, at age 12, it was easy to make friends. The physical environment could facilitate social relationships.

> *Tania [Age 20]: You make friends in a pool … I remember when I was young and used to say, 'I'll see you at the pool, tomorrow morning' (Stephanie: Yeah). And you always meet your friends back at the pool. You spend the day with them, and you meet them back at the pool the next day.*

Boys rarely appeared in the girls' and women's memories of holidays at age 12. When they did, they were more likely to be the object of the girls' amusement.

> Claudia [Age 20]: The three girls spent many hours chasing boys, as at this stage (*Other: chasing boys*) it seemed to be their number one fascination.

Although the gender of the playmate was irrelevant to a couple of 65+ women who were "only" children, others expressed displeasure in boys as companions.

> Zoe [Age 12]: When we went away we went with two other families. The first family had … two children (one my age and one younger) who were both boys. The other family had two young girls (who were both younger than me) and were very annoying and didn't like doing anything and were afraid of the beach. My worst experience was being the only girl so I couldn't really do much as I was by myself as the boys did things they wanted to do. We went to a fair … but the two girls didn't go. My brother went too so that made four kids, three boys and one girl. We went on a ride called the Octopus which needed people in each, needed two people in each carriage. No one volunteered to go with me so I had to go with somebody in the end. It wasn't as much fun going with someone that I really, really wanted to go with. That was definitely an experience I didn't like.

Holidays could be more relaxing when not having to impress or negotiate with the opposite sex. As one group of current 20-year-olds explained, holidays at age 12 were not about "meeting the love of your life".

> *Monica [Age 20]: … It's all just having a good time.*
> *Clair: Just having a good time.*
> *Other: Yeah.*
> *Cara: There's no men involved!*
> *Clair: Yeah, none of us mentioned that.*
> *Monica: There's only one involved in everyone's and that's your Dad.*
> *Cara: Yeah.*
> *Monica: You know what I mean (Cara: Yeah), it's always at the back of your mind [at 20].*

Me and My Pleasure

Self and Others in the Holiday

An awareness of others was apparent in the memories of some current 12-year-old girls who had travelled abroad to developing countries or stayed with Australian

families less affluent than themselves. Such holidays resulted in a re-evaluation of their lives (at least for a period of time).

> *Emily [Age 12]: And you think how lucky you really are ... 'cause like we get spoilt every day of our lives. (Other: I know, we like get food.) We think we've got nothing.*
> *Kristina: Yeah, we think, OK, 'Oh my god, Mum you're so mean, you don't get me anything' (Other: Yeah). And then you think about it.*
> *Emily: How many people that don't even have parents.*
> *Bridget: Well in Manila there were people who were just living on the street, and ... beggars wait on the road.*
> *Emily: Yeah, ever since that I've just tried to keep myself from asking my mum for anything.*
> *Kristina: I know, It's really hard ... like we always forget about it after a time.*
> *Emily: Yeah, I know.*

However, for the most part, the memories of the current 12-year-olds (and a few 20-year-olds at age 12) revolved around themselves, around "*me* and *my* pleasure". When the girls were expecting a certain outcome and it didn't eventuate, there was disappointment for themselves. If others suffered misfortune, it was significant only insofar as it constrained the girls' pleasure.

> Sally [Age 12]: Sally was on a holiday in Cairns. She was really excited because tomorrow she was going to see her uncle who she hadn't seen in eight years. She had trouble sleeping … When she went down for lunch, her aunty said they weren't going to see their uncle after all because her stupid brother was sick and couldn't go.

> Lisa [Age 20]: … Lisa's uncle had organised to take the four kids camping in the national park out of Broken Hill. All were excited at the thought and packed their bags. The next morning some bad news arrived for the family. Nanny's aunty had died in Sydney, and being the only close relative she had, meant that we all had to go back for the funeral. The kids were distraught. How dare they cut our holiday five days short! We had things to do and more fun to be had! Tension was building between the kids and the adults, because at the time they didn't realise what had happened and were basically being very selfish. They wrote hate letters, expressing the bitterness towards their dead auntie (*Other: Oh, what!*) and acted in a very unco-operative way suggesting that Nanny go back by herself on a plane and leave them alone in Broken Hill. At the time it seemed to ruin the holiday experience…

Their uncharitableness is contrasted with memories of the current 40-year-olds whose memories of holidays at age 12 displayed concern for others' wellbeing.

> Jenny [Age 40]: … the tyre on the trailer punctured and the rear axle was damaged … The only way to get the trailer fixed was to unload all the luggage out of it and drive slowly back to Eucla from where they had come … So, in the heat, they piled all their belongings under the one tree that was available and Jenny watched her father sit down on a suitcase to mind them while they were gone … she did not want to leave her father in the middle of nowhere on a lonely dusty road.

> Rachel [Age 40]: Rachel's mother had been feeling sick and had suffered from diarrhoea along the way. Rachel felt worried about her. Her mum was never really sick. She'd never really known her to go to bed or even have a rest during the day. During the night Rachel was awoken by a loud thump. Her dad rushed out to investigate. She could hear him talking but didn't know what was happening. She felt bewildered, confused and a little frightened … Rachel was concerned. Her mother tried to reassure her that she was all right. But it was not a normal thing for her mother to faint … Rachel thought they should go to a doctor, but her mother reassured her that she would be all right.

While the fear expressed above might also have been for the girl herself, the memory nonetheless contrasted with those of the current 12-year-olds who showed no such vulnerability.

Holidays involve work, both in the planning, maintenance and return home. The current 12-year-olds and most of the 20-year-olds (and even the 40-year-olds), at age 12, neither wrote nor spoke of working with others to produce their childhood holidays. This was in contrast to the memories of the 65+ age group who recalled helping out with the daily chores.

> Gillian [Age 65+]: The holiday mainly consisted of beach, surf, early rising, cup of tea, a piece of bread and butter and Vegemite, then a quick walk down to the beach … for our early morning surf. Home for breakfast, usually cooked by grandma … Clean up, do the housework, wash up, boil the kettle for hot water and wash up in an enamelled bowl, chipped … Some mornings the children would have to hurry down to the village to help with shopping and carrying parcels back up the hill, then off to the beach again, for the morning surf.

> Lorna [Age 65+]: … at Boat Harbour my cousins and their families had opened up the land with poultry farms, fruit orchards and pigs … Every school holiday was spent there, picking fruit at fruit picking time, gathering the many thousands of eggs and helping out at feed time.

The older women did not complain about their contribution to the holiday work. One woman explained that domestic tasks took on a different meaning for her when on holiday.

> Anne [Age 65+]: [At National Fitness Camp] Although there was some tasks, she was happy to do them in comparison with having tasks to be completed at home … [where they were often accompanied with some acrimony with her brother and sister as to whose turn it was etc. …

Although the 20- and 40-year-olds might not have written or discussed their role in the maintenance of their childhood holiday, they were aware that it *was* being

maintained and credited their parents with the work and cost of the holidays. The women acknowledged the lack of responsibility they as children had on holiday.

The current 12-year-old girls did not write or speak about freedom from responsibility and did not recognise and/or mention that others' labour made possible their holiday enjoyment at age 12. There was no indication in the memories of the girls that they were expected to do something for others. The egocentric memories of the current 12-year-olds are distinguished from the older age groups who saw themselves and others as mutually impacting on each other. No doubt, having experienced responsibility as adults, and in the case of the 40- and 65+-year-olds, responsibility for a family, the women were able to take their parents' standpoint.

> *Barbie [Age 20]: And you didn't have to control anything. All you had to do was go there and have fun (Others: Yeah, Mmm). Your parents were in control. You didn't have to organise anything.*
> *Lisa: There was no fear.*
> *Barbie: No.*
> *Lucy: Yeah, so you were just free to do whatever you want (Lisa: Yeah). Poor parents, how awful!*

In comparing holiday experiences at age 40 to the experiences at age 12, one group of current 40-year-olds considered that the memories at the younger age were "responsibility free", while the memories at age 40 were "responsibility heavy".

> *Liz [Age 40]: Other people took responsibility, they planned it, all you had to do was actually (Sue: turn up; Fran: turn up) be there…*
> *Jenny: Free time was free time (as opposed to catch-up time).*
> Later
> *Liz: No worries about money. Other people accepted those worries.*
> *Fran: You just turned up.*
> *Liz: Heaps of free time.*
> *Fran: Yes. And food was sort of (Sue: put in front of you) on the table, maybe the washing and wiping up possibly but,*
> *Liz: Yeah.*
> *Fran: No decision making.*
> *Liz: No decision making.*

The preparations were undertaken by the mother.

> *Liz [Age 40]: … we had one big suitcase full of all the towels and sheets which the mother would iron (Other: Oh) … spend days getting ready for this fortnight up at The Entrance and a bag full of clothes. And to actually go, you wore your best clothes. So, you know, I*

> *know the children in the family were decked out in … the absolute best, like patent leather shoes and the socks…*
> *Jenny: What a ritual, yeah absolutely!*
> *Liz: It was a ritual.*
> *Fran: Yeah, that's interesting.*
> *Liz: Absolutely, yeah, but the children in the family, although I observed those sort of things, I know the children in the family did none of that.*

One group of current 40-year-olds wondered what their parents/mothers would have written about the same holiday.

> *Helen [Age 40]: What were they going through (Other: Yeah) having these little brats, surly 12-year-olds.*
> *Roberta: Yes, that's right because that's the other thing, we are only looking through selfishly from our own perspective (Helen: Sure) like everybody does, but not really understanding anyone else.*

Another group of 40-year-olds thought it would be interesting to be able to talk to parents to obtain their version of events. They laughingly imagined what a parent might say, "She didn't want to join in, she didn't want to do anything"; "She teased her sister … she was a spoilt brat". Even amongst the older women who had been involved in domestic chores, it was said:

> *Carmen [Age 65+]: I'm inclined to feel that at 12 maybe no responsibilities were ours. There may have been negative things our parents had to cope with.*
> *Lorna: We were very free, weren't we, yes, yes.*
> *Others: Mmm, Yes.*

Awareness of their mothers' leisure needs was evident in the memories of the women currently aged 65+.

> Frances [Age 65+]: … Frances's mum could even play some tennis without having an attack of asthma. She didn't have a bad attack the whole holiday and said she liked having someone else to do the cooking and housework.

> Susan [Age 65+]: For her dear mother, this holiday was wonderful. Housework was negligible, they wore few clothes, cooking was simple on a very small, kerosene stove, so she could indulge her pleasure in embroidery and crochet. Susan's father read J. J. Jacobs, *Seafaring Tales*, mysteries by Edgar Wallace and the classics, *Les Miserables*, and the likes.

Awareness of others was also evident in the women's concern for correct behaviour at age 12. Although the 20- and 40-year-olds might not have been physically responsible for contributing to the maintenance of the holiday at age 12, many 40-

year-old and some 20-year-old women expressed an obligation on holiday to be "doing the right thing". Behaving appropriately in the eyes of others was significant in these women's memories at age 12. The negative memories revealed feelings of insecurity, embarrassment, guilt and unresolved conflict when the women as girls failed in "doing the right thing". Implicit in these memories is a move away from "me" to an awareness of other people.

> Louise [Age 20]: This negative experience occurred at Louise's music school camp … On the final day of the camp Louise's group went bike riding in the morning, out to the point on a dirt track. Louise rode a red BMX bike yet she didn't have much riding experience on the dirt track. Everyone rode up the main track, but on the way to the point, Louise's back wheel somehow got caught with another girl's front wheel, causing a crash (*Other: Oh*). It resulted in the other girl, Jessica, falling off her bike and cutting her knee … It was an uncomfortable feeling as the ride had been halted and people teased and joked about Louise causing a crash.
> *Louise: I saw the girl all the time, so I was always feeling guilty and you know, the memory ... the bad thing I had caused ... was always around me so that's why I was feeling pretty, you know, low self-esteem at the end of the camp.*

Fearful experiences were at times accompanied by embarrassment. One woman who had become lost on holiday at age 12 saw it as an embarrassing as well as fearful experience. Self- consciousness at age 12 is evident in the experience below in which a 20-year-old was stuck in a lift while on holiday at age 12. The importance given to a comment by another child is striking in the context of what would likely be considered a fearful situation for many people, adults and children alike.

> Crystal [Age 20]: While Crystal was catching the lift down, it broke down completely and she was stranded by herself in the lift for some length of time. Instantly Crystal panicked and didn't know what to do. She continued to panic for about five minutes, and then realised that she could press the emergency button. Crystal pressed the button and proceeded to wait, and wait and wait. She waited in total for about half an hour, until such time as a crack engineer team, manually forced their way into the lift and helped Crystal out. By that time, she had a large group of people … gathered around the lift, to see who was stuck in it. When Crystal finally walked out of the lift, she was confronted by another 13-year-old girl, who said in an extremely disappointed manner, 'Oh, it's only you'. Crystal was mortified and very hurt. She was still very scared about being stuck in a lift, and this comment made her feel even worse.

At age 12 the women were aware that there were social rules, that there was a correct way of behaving, but often they did not understand the rules. These occasions were problematic and were remembered.

Karen [Age 40]: I just sensed my mother coming down hard on me [for making what Karen thought was an innocuous comment to their holiday host], like that wasn't what you said. And I remember being quite shocked because my mother wasn't normally like that ... I thought I was just making a normal comment, you know, but I realised that wasn't what I should have said.

Jenny [Age 40]: … Because my … parents were working and so we were bundled up and sent off to this farm for three weeks, I think to these people we'd never seen before, never met before, yeah.
…
Jenny: … I didn't feel comfortable about it, particularly at the outset of it. These strangers, you know, and wanting to, like, do the right thing. There was a lot of that [doing the right thing] which we didn't have on our family holidays. We just you know relaxed and everything was predictable. Yeah, I remember once … the farm wife … had left me and my sister in charge of maintaining the wood stove … while she ducked out somewhere. At some point I panicked. The stove! I haven't been chocking it full of wood! … I panicked and I saw the bottle of kerosene … and I burnt my hand up here … I never told her though … 'cause I do the right thing. It was very high on my agenda staying at someone's.

Megan [Age 40]: When the Taylors [neighbours] asked Megan if Megan would like to spend a weekend with them down at Sussex Inlet, Megan was both excited and nervous. Excited at the prospect of visiting this exotic location, yet nervous at the thought of leaving the security of her own parents. Friday afternoon came and off they set … The Taylors in the front seat, Megan sharing the back seat with the Taylors' rather spoilt … fox terrier, Spike (rotten little Spike!). I remember him sitting up on all the stuff like he would sit up really high … and Spike was used to getting his own way, of having the back seat to himself … He must have eaten a rather large meal of what must have been spinach or baked beans, because he just kept oooh … It was so embarrassing that the Taylors might think it was she who was responsible for the odours constantly emanating forth from the rear of the vehicle … So I started this holiday feeling really embarrassed.

Megan was embarrassed the whole weekend. The holiday did not improve for Megan.

Megan: Dinner on the first night was the worst experience Megan could ever remember. She knew it was very important to be polite and helpful … and not to complain. She was a good girl when it came to things like that. But she was not prepared – it was rabbit! I mean, I know it's a really ordinary thing but we'd never had, I'd never eaten rabbit … What was she to do? She had never seen or smelt rabbit being prepared and she was not impressed. She was a good girl, and had been taught to always eat what was put in front of her. She wanted to show her manners, but I mean basically, I just couldn't, I just could not eat it. The smell of it made me sick … The Taylors were not big eaters, there was nothing else apart from the rabbit. How she wished the floor to open … up and swallow her … She tried but … [it] just wouldn't go down and I just felt sick and I just had to leave the table.

This same woman had cut her foot on the holiday, "enough to warrant a trip to the doctor and possible stitches". However, she concluded that this was "almost irrelevant compared to having to eat the horrible food", the social rule of the time being "that children should eat everything on their plate". The group understood her discomfort.

Karen [Age 40]: … I remember that as a child, that just painful terrible experience that they put something down in front of you that you couldn't eat.
Others: Yeah, yeah, Mmm.

It is concerning that in many of the above memories the girls had the additional burden of embarrassment in situations which were already painful or fearful. It was later agreed in the discussion that as an adult you can laugh it off, but as a child, "You don't have that confidence". Negative experiences were often related to communication difficulties, not knowing how to react at age 12. They were away from the safety of home and although they were starting to spread their wings a bit, they lacked confidence in dealing with certain situations. They were fearful of the situation.

Cara [Age 20]: So the insecurity thing is a big thing.
Monica: But isn't that what being 12's all about?
Others: Yeah, Yes.
Monica: You're so unsure of yourself.
Cara: On the verge of puberty.
Monica: You don't know what's happening.
Later
Monica: Not knowing what was going to happen. Because you were so dependent. Because we were young, we didn't feel we could change things very much. If something went wrong it was, 'Oh no, we're going to have to, you know, let our parents get us out of this a little bit' whereas, you know, as … the 20-years-old, it's, you know, 'Oh we can get ourselves out of this. We can make change'.
Clair: We've got more control.
Monica: Yeah.
Cara: Yep.
Clair: But you're a lot more dependent at that age (Other: Yeah) and also I think a thing that came through is you sort of saw yourself as not quite sure who you really were, like, you were just a little person, really, in comparison (Others: Yeah, Yeah) …
Cara: A bit intimidated by everything.

That the current 65+-year-old women did not include such feelings in their memories at age 12 perhaps suggests that the women by later adulthood had resolved feelings of insecurity or obligations of "doing the right thing". It is also possible that the construction of childhood as "the good old days" necessarily excluded the possibility of difficult times being remembered.

The social insecurity of the 20- and 40-year-olds was absent in the memories of the current 12-year-olds. Although the current 12-year-olds remembered others' anger

and "getting into trouble", these did not appear to be negative experiences. The girls did not appear to be bothered by others' displeasure. There was no monitoring of correct behaviour amongst the girls. In fact, for many girls, improper behaviour was associated with bravado. Where adult authority was respected and feared by the women at age 12, it was more likely to be mocked by the current 12-year-olds. The women, at age 12, were fearful of "doing the *wrong* thing". The current 12-year-olds exhibited no such concern.

A Desire for Luxury

Incorporated into the theme of "me and my pleasure" was a desire amongst the current 12-year-olds for "luxury" and pampering. This could be achieved primarily through accommodation (resorts and 5 star hotels) and transport (planes) (as outlined in Chapter 7).

> Vicki [Age 12]: My good experience was in Fiji because everyone was always waiting on us and you could always get food … just be put on the bill and so you wouldn't have to pay for it, so you'd always get food.

> *Kelly [Age 12]: I love luxury.*
> *Joanna: No, I do. I think the good part was saving up for it, waiting for that, just knowing.*
> *Phoebe: The good part is having to wait for it*
> *Joanna: ... and it was so nice because they cleaned your shoes for you and they did all this. And we got up and they made omelettes for you. Smoked salmon omelettes. I didn't have them because that's not very nice for me.*

> *Vicki [Age 12]: So I got the first seat, right at the front, business class. I got all the things that business people get. The best meal, to be served drinks. They ask you and they write it down on a piece of paper and things like that.*

Some 20-year-olds also recalled prestige as a positive element of holidays at age 12.

> Kimberley [Age 20]: We went to the Everglades which was really cool for the fact that we got a red convertible to go there (*Other: Really?*) … 'cause Dad was still having, or he is still having … his midlife crisis.
> Later
> Kimberley: We went to Hawaii at some stage … But I just remember that I got to have a cocktail and that was really exciting.
> *Other: Wow! Alcohol!*
> *Kimberley: Yeah, with like umbrellas in it. And fruit and stuff.*

> *Tania [Age 20]: When you go to Queensland, the pool has to be good.*
> *Stephanie: And it has to have a tennis court. Whether or not we use it or not, it has to have one.*

Paula: It's just a status thing.
Tania: I love when the pool's got a bar in the middle of it.
Stephanie: Yeah ...

However, it was also recognised by one group of 20-year-olds that a 5 star resort was not necessary for a 12-year-old to feel special. Another group claimed that the simple holidays were often the best.

Alice [Age 20]: … it was camping at Pebbly Beach. And we just managed to find this really good camping site … Everyone wanted our spot. Like people would comment when we were walking back ... to our campsite, from the beach, we had people go, 'Wow! That's a fabulous spot' … They'd ask if they could have our spot when we left … We felt special.
Later
Alice: It's always good when ... you're little and you've got something that someone else doesn't.
Belinda: Yeah ...

While the current 12-year-olds hankered after luxury, the 65+-year-old women focussed on their pleasure in the simplicity of holidays as children.

Gillian [Age 65+]: ... they were very simple pleasures, weren't they? (Others: Mmm, Yes, Yeah). And we really didn't have a lot of money. In fact we hardly had any. And it means you don't have to have money to have fun.
Eleanor: No, that's right.
Topsey: We were encouraged to make the most of everything.
Gillian: Absolutely.
Eleanor: We had adventures all the time, didn't we?
Gillian: Mmm, oh yes, and secret things.

PART B: THE PHYSICAL ME – AN INTERPRETATION

The academic discourse sees holidays as offering an educational opportunity for children (Crompton 1979; Mayo & Jarvis 1981). As C. Ryan (1992) says, the heritage and conservation industries are aware of children as a market and of developing and promoting attractions which appeal to children. Especially for those who travelled overseas, there was an opportunity for sightseeing and learning about different ways of life. However, although some of the 20-year-olds referred to these experiences at age 12 as "interesting", it was apparent from the findings of the present study that "learning" about the culture and physical environment of a destination was not outstanding in the positive memories. Such experiences were often recalled as "boring". How interested the participants were in the sights depended on what sights were to be seen. Those currently aged 12 reported

enjoying wildlife but not museums. While the present study did not specifically investigate holiday decision making at age 12, it was apparent that "educational" visits were more likely to be initiated by parents than children.

At age 12, the holiday, rather than a site for educational opportunities, was perceived positively by all age groups as a space in which to have outdoor physical experiences, to enjoy bodily movement. Although some of the physical activities have changed over the years, the pleasure in bodily movement remains the same. Fun was a key feature of positive holiday experiences at age 12 for all age groups.

The popularity of swimming and the beach, which was evident in the present study, is reflected in the British findings of Thornton et al. (1997) who established that, in Cornwall, tourist families with children spent more time using swimming pools and engaging in beach activities than did adult-only tourist groups.

In one of the few studies to investigate children's experience of a holiday, Cullingford (1995) concluded that children appreciate holidaying in a culture which is similar to their own. As he says, the ultimate tourist destination for British children is the United States because it is familiar and rich.

> Children express a far greater interest in travel for the sake of holidays than they do for exploring new lands or different places, at least on the surface … the perfect destination is seen as one which provides all the pleasures they would have at home, with extras. Well-developed resorts and theme parks; big hotels and a great deal of entertainment are more attractive than explorations of tropical rain forests. (Cullingford 1995, p.123)

However, Cullingford believed that if children were given the opportunity for sightseeing experiences in their overseas "beach and sun" holidays, they would appreciate the educational value. Such a proposition would be interesting to study. Since Australian children can experience "beach and sun" in their own country, it is likely that many of their overseas holidays involve sightseeing. Yet, those in the present study who engaged in sightseeing did not identify the activity as a good

holiday experience at age 12. Cullingford's (1995) conclusions imply that children can do better than the packaged beach holiday abroad, that children are curious and aware of differences beyond the resort walls. He asserts: "This is the side of their experience that has remained unexploited (p.127). While not disputing the opportunities that travel offers children in learning about other peoples and places, I want to highlight the value for girls of fun, excitement and adventure through physical activities and the social context within which these activities can occur, the female group.

The importance of social relations is reflected in the memories of one 40-year-old woman who, at the age of 12, had travelled to the United States, an exceptional holiday for an Australian 12-year-old in 1960. Her positive memory, as a child, was not a visit to New York City or even Disneyland, but rather the simple pleasure of playing with friends on board ship, an environment in which she could experience freedom from parental control. Neither was her negative memory the lost luggage or the stolen travellers' cheques, but the awkwardness and embarrassment felt in an interchange with her mother. This is not to say that place was irrelevant to the experience but rather that social relations were more important than (what some might consider) an "exciting" destination. Social connectedness was important for all the age groups at age 12. Memories of pleasure in social activities at age 12 support previous findings by Crawford et al. (1992) in their study of women's adult and childhood holiday memories. They concluded that memories of pleasure in social company as children "may anticipate the pleasure we found in our adult holidays of convivial company with our peers" (p.141).

If girlhood holidays are a site in which girls can feel strong with a comfortable sense of themselves through physical activity, fun, excitement and adventure, a site in which girls can act out their fantasies, then a childhood holiday does not have to be "educational" in the traditional sense of visiting museums and famous sites to be beneficial. A site which allows girls self-determination and freedom of choice is liberating. Holidays can provide girls at age 12 with the physical space and social space to experience empowerment.

The current 12-year-olds enjoyed the idea of "a resort". An explanation for the popularity of the "resort", however, might go beyond their desire for prestige. As Makens (1992) says, "Resorts and children have much in common. Both are dedicated to having fun" (p.25). It could be said that the resort, constructed by the tourism industry as a "playground for tourists", has a special appeal for children. Girls take on the holiday discourse and desire the luxury resort and the "fun" associated with the beach and sun holiday. The sites themselves create what a holiday experience should be. One might say the fiction of the holiday and the holiday resort is powerful because it is a fiction of desire and fantasy - freedom, relaxation, prestige and pampering. Just as the school as a site of the production of childhood can be seen as a fiction "because it produces what it claims to describe" (Walkerdine 1990b, p.119), so too can the holiday resort be seen to do so. Each "produces the practices in its own image". The pedagogy "pathologizes the difference which it finds from the child it defines" (Walkerdine 1990b, p.119). In terms of the holiday resort, the child who is not having FUN could be seen as opposite or different. As Walkerdine (1990b) says:

> texts do not simply distort or bias a reality that exists only outside the pages of books – in the 'real world' – but rather that those practices *are* real, and in their construction of meanings create places for identification, construct subject-positions in the text itself. (Walkerdine 1990b, p.89)

The older women did not have access to today's "resort", but the defining feature of a good holiday experience at age 12, fun, physical activity, was nonetheless the same.

In the chapters to follow, holiday experiences at ages 20, 40 and 65+ are also described at times as "fun" and "exciting". Physical activities and pleasure in the body are also apparent in the memories of adult holidays, but it was at age 12 that these experiences were central and defining features of the holiday experience. Sharing the physical play activities with same-aged girlfriends was the usual key to a successful holiday at age 12. These activities were described as "fun". A study of similar-aged American children (Stucky-Ropp & DiLorenzo cited in Lutter & Jaffee

1996) concluded that a main reason for children's physical activity was the desire to have fun. The value of play for all children is well documented. Taking a Transactional Analysis approach, Mayo and Jarvis (1981) consider that many of the motives for leisure travel reside in the Child ego state of all of us, whether child or adult. Nonetheless, in our society, opportunities for physically active play are gendered and age-bound.

The centrality of physical activity in childhood holidays compared to its peripheral position in adult holidays reinforces findings from leisure studies that female participation in physical activity declines after childhood (James 1995). The discourse of femininity can be said to discourage bodily movement and encourage the control of bodies in space. Henderson (1993), in her analysis of American recreation literature from 1907 to 1990, identified an emphasis on the value of play and recreation for girls and women until the early 1930s, after which there was social control and a return to femininity. Until the mid-1930s physical activity was endorsed, although during the 1920s there was advice concerning what was not appropriate for girls. In Britain, at the same time, girls were given the following magazine advice, "girls have got to remember always that they ARE girls, and therefore cannot let their zest for 'fun' spoil their girlish charm" (*Girls Favourite* cited in Tinkler 1995, p.121). As Tinkler explains, "girlish charm" referred to "a disposition towards domestic and caring pursuits" (p.121). In the present study, the older women in the 65+ age group (who had spent their childhood and adolescence in the United States) were likely to have grown up with recreational encouragement, albeit with some provisos. The younger members of the 65+ age group (who had grown up in Australia) would have been exposed to greater social control and concern for femininity (if Australian society were similar to American society of the time). Pfister (cited in James 1995) claims that girls do not expect to have equal access to space; "'the space for action that parents permit their daughters is smaller than that permitted to sons … [girls] are urged to a restrained presentation of their bodies in public'" (p.110).

Parents' concern for the physical safety of girls in public spaces has the effect of limiting their use of space and thus leisure activities (Kelly, J. 1987; Henderson &

Bialeschki 1993; McRobbie & Garber 2000). As J. Kelly (1987) says, in early adolescence "encouragement of exploration for males is often in contrast with the shielding of females from environments in which they may be at risk physically, sexually or even emotionally" (p.75). Boys' derogatory comments, girls' attitudes to their bodies and girls' underrating their competence are other explanations of girls' decreasing physical activity as they age. A connection between personal use of space and self-esteem has been noted by Garret (cited in James 1995), with low self-esteem being related to limited use of space.

The holiday provided a space in which physical activity was legitimate. Holiday locations away from urban areas and holiday environments which were enclosed, such as a resort or a ship, provided a space where the girls could explore more widely and safely than they could at home. They could experience a freedom from parents in a safe environment that might not be so easy in the home environment. Holidays were thus a time to develop independence and self-esteem, to be in control.

For the older age groups, holidays at age 12 represented first-time experiences. Although there was some mention amongst the current 12-year-olds of good experiences being "ones which were new", they did not appear as *overwhelmed* by the joy of new experiences as did many of the older women recalling girlhood. Perhaps the newness of the experience is best seen from a distance within the context of further life experiences. On the other hand, it might be that today children by age 12 have had so many different life experiences, including holiday experiences, that the potential for a holiday to provide a sense of wonderment is limited.

"Adventure" and "excitement" were additional descriptors of the fun activities in the memories of the older age groups at age 12. As Simmell (cited in Wearing & Wearing 1992) says, adventure offers the possibility for personal expression and identity development.

> Adventure is a dropping out of the turmoil of everyday existence to experience a new 'something alien, untouchable, out of the ordinary', 'an island of life which determines its beginning and end according to its own formative powers' (Simmel,

> 1965, p.248). The adventurer sets challenges, the achievement of which bring satisfaction and a sense of personal control. The experience extends beyond the island of the adventure to everyday life through reflection. (Wearing & Wearing 1992, p.13)

The holiday memories of fun/excitement/adventure with other girls at age 12 are reminiscent of the themes of certain genres of literature directed at this age group (Frith 1985; Tinkler 1995; McRobbie 2000). In the forever popular British "boarding school story" the pre-pubescent reader is presented with a model of female friendship and an appealing configuration of girlhood. The girls do things, fun things with friends, free from their families. Frith's (1985) description of the "school story" is similar to the memories of positive holiday experiences at age 12.

> In a world of girls, to be female is *normal*, and not a *problem*. To be assertive, physically active, daring, ambitious, is not a source of tension. In the absence of boys, girls 'break bounds', have adventures, transgress rules, catch spies … While the 'best friend' is the crucial relationship, the *group* is equally important … 'The group' itself has almost unlimited licence … [The school story] is a fantasy accessible to any girl who dreams of vindication, independence, freedom from constraint; a fantasy which combines the dream of autonomy and control with the freedom to be irresponsible within 'safe' limits. (Frith 1985, p.121)

McRobbie and Garber (2000) describe the importance of girls' friendships in pre-pubescent girls. They refer to the "extremely tight-knit friendship groups formed by girls", the function of which is "to gain private inaccessible space" (p.24). This is a safe social space from which to negotiate the world. Hey (1997) concluded from her ethnography of British girls' friendships that "It is precisely the lack of powerful *public* discourses for different groups of girls that potentiates the significance of girls' *private* relations with each other" (p.132). She claims:

> The data has thus shown that the personal is indeed political, even if previously we have not thought to theorize girls' ordinary pleasures in each other's company as a source of meaning, let alone as forms of power and as sites of subjectifications. (Hey 1997, p.124)

Through friendships, girls construct themselves into society.

> A girl's best friend is her best friend because here (at least theoretically) girls can find the reflection of a self – confirmed as 'normal' since the face that smiles back is our friend/ourself.
>
> I would suggest that what is invested in friendship practices is the attempt to inscribe the subject into a position which suppresses or directs desire and difference. (Hey 1997, p.136)

Friendship is not only an inclusionary practice but it is also exclusionary. Girls' identity is achieved through both belonging and through "othering": constructing who one is and who one is not. Girls' friendships are not static, as indicated in Hey's (1997) study of girls' friendships. Consequently, the social space of "friendship" might not always be as safe as McRobbie and Garber (2000) state. In the present study there were a few instances of women and girls at age 12 differentiating themselves from other girls in the holiday stories. One holiday companion was excluded from a friendship for taking advantage of her host's generosity on holiday,

> Bianca [Age 12]: But now I'm not friends with her, and she's never going to rip me off again the fat pig …
> *Anna: Well said!*
> *Bianca: And you probably know who I'm talking about, don't ya?*
> *Crystal: Well feel sorry for me. She's going to my school!*
> *Bianca: I know*

It was the inclusionary aspect of girls' friendship which was, for the most part, promoted in the holiday story.

In the present study, if boys featured in the memories at age 12 (and this was rare) they did so from a distance and from the security of the all-female group. Interaction with boys was usually restricted to chasing, spying or daydreaming about them. They were seen as "Other".

Just as the school story can be seen as a resistance to the passive and domestic representation of women, so too can the holiday be an expression of subversion. The freedom from the gaze of adults and boys on holiday gave the girls and women at age 12 the space and safety to act as they wished (Walkerdine 1990b). Girls on holiday could enjoy the same benefits as the characters in the school story since the feminine position produced by the cultural practice of the school story was permissible within the context of the holiday. Frith (1985) says of the modern (twentieth-century) school story, "The school behind its walls is neither microcosm nor formative experience, but another place, suspended in time, complete in itself" (p.132). There are similarities with the liminality of the holiday experience. As stated by Wearing (1998):

> Simmel provides a framework which posits leisure as a space in contemporary society for excitement and release of emotions. Most of these spaces are commodified and provide only temporary and unsatisfying heightened emotional excitement. He does suggest, however, two leisure spaces which are outside the commodification process and which may provide some emotional satisfaction, that is, sociability and adventure. (Wearing 1998, p.116)

For the adult women, memories of holidays at age 12 could be interpreted as awakening what Hancock (1989) called "the girl within". In a study of women across the life-course, Hancock found that despite various experiences of girlhood, there was an identifiable uniform story of this life stage. The girl in her account was independent, adventurous with initiative and powerful in her competence. In many ways the girl described by Hancock was the holiday girl of my study. And just as the women studied by Hancock had, as adults, replaced the vitality of this girl with feminine compliance, so too had the women (especially those aged 40 and 65+) of my study on reaching adulthood. Hancock saw this girl as the essential, authentic, female self, free from patriarchal construction. This girl has a "sense of self as subject" (p.233). However, Hancock recognised that sustaining this sense of self becomes problematic when tending to the needs of others and reshaping oneself through the gaze of others. This girlhood subject becomes displaced and forgotten.

Hancock maintains that it is only when that girl is reclaimed that women become healthy adults.

Although Hancock (1989) could be seen as taking a feminist, social constructionist approach to women's adulthood, her concept of "the girl within" is an essential, androgenous self. This self synthesises the dualities of female/male, play/work, love/hate, dependence/independence, social competence/concrete skill, autonomy/ attachment. She desires mastery of the challenges of life rather than mastery over others. Non-essentialist feminists would disagree with Hancock's approach to understanding girlhood. Walkerdine (1990b) would see the "girl within" as "shaky and partial".

> Modern conceptions of child development understand children as active, inquiring, discovering. Yet that activity also defines an active masculinity of which passive femininity is the obverse … By definition, active childhood and passive femininity exist at the intersection of competing discourses. For girls, therefore, their position as children must remain shaky and partial, continually played across by their position as feminine. (Walkerdine 1990b, p.34)

While Hancock (1989) would not disagree that girls come to experience these contradictions, she claims there is a pure state which exists prior to patriarchal moulding. Although we may experience ourselves as unitary, I take the view that there is no pre-existent, unitary self but rather our subjectivity is the interstice of discourses. Whichever approach one takes, it appears that *relative* to a woman's experience at later ages, her sense of self is *less* gendered as a child. Or perhaps one should say that the *effects* of the gendering are less imprisoning than they are at later ages/family life stages. The experience of a holiday which allows one to escape the everyday, ordinary, home life gave the girls and women at age 12 the opportunity to be physically active and adventurous. The holiday could be interpreted as a site in which "the girl within" could resist the feminine discourse at age 12.

However, it was evident in the women's stories, that at age 12, only *part* of the feminine discourse was resisted. Alongside the pleasure of physical adventures was

an awareness of the gaze of others. Being "good girls", caring for others and "doing the right thing" were imperatives. Hancock (1989) situated "the girl within" around the age of 8 to 10 years, claiming:

> Suddenly, well before puberty, along comes the culture with the pruning shears, ruthlessly trimming back her spirit. Adults who left the girl to her own devices anticipate her blossoming femininity and nip her expansion in the bud. (Hancock 1989, p.18)

In line with Hancock's timing the experiences of the women in the present study (especially the 40- and 65+-year-olds) were showing evidence of "the culture with the pruning shears". The women, at age 12, were moving from "doing" to "being good girls", concerned for the welfare of others and how they appeared to others. Such findings support Walkerdine's (1990b) conclusions from a study of girls throughout all age groups that to be "'nice' and 'kind' and 'helpful' were the three commonest signifiers posited as the most desirable characteristics for girls to possess" (p.76).

In the present study, problems arose for the women as girls when they were conscious that there were social scripts but did not, as yet, know how they worked. The women professed to a lack of social competence and embarrassment at age 12 which Parrott, Sabini and Silver explain as "partially caused by the disruption of a social interaction that no one knows how to repair" (cited in Gleitman, Fridlund & Reisberg 1999, p.459). The older two groups took more responsibility for their actions than did the younger groups. When problems arose, they were more likely to consider themselves at fault than to blame others. When fathers were angry, they had a right to be angry.

Taylor, Gilligan and Sullivan (1995) maintain:

> When girls' experience comes into tension with what are called 'relationships', or girls' sense of themselves is at odds with images of good or valuable or desirable women, then women's voices can be psychologically life-saving in providing an

> internalized counter to what otherwise becomes an almost necessary process of disassociation that drains girls' vitality and energy. (Taylor et al. 1995, p.5)

Confusion as to how to behave was more likely to occur when the women were in adult company without other children. The life-saving capacity of women's voices to which Taylor et al. (1995) refer meant, in the present study, the voices of girls of their own age.

The academic holiday discourse considers the holiday an opportunity for "the strengthening of family bonds and for sharing important and memorable experiences" (Mayo & Jarvis 1981, p.102). In the present study, the family holiday at age 12 could be a site of conflict for all the age groups. For the current 12-year-olds and many of the adult women, holidays at age 12 were a site for the "loosening" rather than "strengthening" of family bonds. Nonetheless, there were a number of adult women aged 20 and 40 who also had warm holiday memories of family togetherness, time shared with mother, father and brothers and sisters. A holiday allowed space for relaxed togetherness which was not possible in their day-to-day lives. Crawford et al. (1992), in their study of adult memories of childhood holidays, similarly found the "special shared experiences or moments of closeness with a significant adult" (p.141). While for some women and girls, the memorable positive experience at age 12 was a complete break from the family, others were satisfied with moments during the family holiday when they could be free of the parental gaze. That the current 12-year-olds did not recall positive memories of family togetherness could be interpreted as today's girls not placing the same value on family as previous generations of women have done at age 12. Another explanation is that it is not "cool" at age 12 to profess to enjoy one's family. It is also possible that the distance of years is necessary for women to value the shared experiences of their childhood family. The 20-year-olds, now taking independent holidays, might appreciate what they have lost. The 40-year-olds, now parents themselves, are likely to view their place at age 12 as a child in the family differently than they did at the time. I repeat the earlier cited quotation:

> *Jenny [Age 40]: ... as a 12-year-old, I had no insight into the ... family as a value thing. But as I grow older that's something that I consciously value more.*

The adult women were more reflective about their holiday experiences at age 12 than were the girls. In an attempt to understand their childhood tourist experiences, they situated their experiences in the social context of the time and compared their own 12-year-old experiences to those of current 12-year-olds. They recognised that their experiences were constructed within a particular historical context which was different from the world of the 12-year-old today for whom holidays were seen as more numerous, varied, commercialised and international. The women in the collective analysis moved back and forth from memories at one age group to memories at another age group.

> *Fran [Age 40]: And the things that gave us pleasure as 12-year-olds probably wouldn't give our children pleasure (Sue: Oh, no way!) today. But they were very simple things – going for walks (Sue: Yeah).*

Some tried to imagine their mothers' perspectives of holidays at that time. The girls, on the other hand, were only interested in their own experiences and made no attempt to relate them to the historical context or to other generations. Despite the relative simplicity of the women's holidays at age 12, their memories were more detailed and various in their sensuality.

> Susan [Age 65+]: The unmown grass beside the house was soft and fragrant with clover, and there Susan loved to lie, sometimes with her ever present book, or just watching the bees and butterflies fluttering over her head. To this day, she can recall the scene as if it were yesterday. It felt so free.

The layers of meaning in the construction of the girls' memories were fewer and less complex than those of the older group.

While the theme of fun physical activities with friends was common at age 12 across the age groups, there were differences between the cohorts, particularly between the girls' and the women's memories of childhood. These differences raise questions related to age, family life stage and cohort. The memories of the current 12-year-olds were unproblematic compared to some of the memories of the older women thinking back. Compared to the women's memories of holidays at age 12, the girls' memories

placed a greater stress on "me and my pleasure" which included the experience of luxury and pampering. There was little concern in their holiday memories for others or how the girls' actions might affect others. The current 12-year-olds were less respectful of others, including adult authority, than were the women in their memories of holidays at age 12. Unlike many of the women, the girls showed no indication of valuing their family in the holiday experience. What surfaces from the present study is that the holiday memories of today's 12-year-old girls are, in many ways, more closely related to the holiday memories of men in boyhood (Crawford et al. 1992) than they are to women in girlhood. Crawford et al. (1992), in their study of adult memories of childhood holidays, found that for men (as boys) drama revolved around their private excitement, fun and play.

> None of the boys' memories mentions any work; certainly they do not appear to have done any, or to be expected to do any. Nor do they refer, or appear to be aware of the work performed by their mother. (Crawford et al. 1992, p.143)

As with the men (as boys) there was no sense of an imposed or accepted sense of responsibility in the memories of the current girls. The girls' relationships with their friends were important but there was little evidence that they were concerned for their relationship with others. The girls were not unduly concerned about getting into trouble with adults. Crawford et al. (1992) found that men (as boys) took it as a mark of achievement to challenge adult authority with certain bravado in front of their peers, whereas the women (as girls) had felt isolated and responsible. This same bravado was expressed by a number of girls in their holiday memories. Although for the women in the present study, drama revolved around fun, excitement and play, they were also aware of others in their memories. Perhaps one could say that girls today are enjoying what Crawford et al. (1992) perceived a holiday should be. Recognising that subjectivity is not unitary but fluid, the discourse of femininity might be moving closer to a discourse of masculinity. These middle-class girls might be seen as portraying a "healthy resistance" (Taylor et al. 1995, p.195) to the social pressure to present as "nice" and cover over unpleasant realities. As Lorde (cited in Taylor et al. 1995) says, the danger in presenting as "nice" is that

girls can come to believe in the fantasy that "'if you are good enough … quiet enough … then you will be allowed to co-exist in patriarchy in relative peace'" (p.194).

Memories cannot be separated from the context in which they were produced and that context includes the research situation. This setting can be considered another site, along with school, home, leisure and holiday, in which the girls worked their cultural activity. In a number of groups of current 12-year-olds a social hierarchy was apparent. The girl whose home was the venue for the collective discussion tended to be invested with, or assume, the most power. Sometimes one member of the group would be excluded, relegated to a less powerful position than the rest of the girls through the act of silencing or belittling.

> *Emma [Age 12]: [Said smugly] Georgina's never been on an independent holiday, have you!*
> *Georgina: [Indignant] I have so, thank you very much!*

The girls transgressed the traditional discourse of girlhood passivity through their active friendship practices both within and outside the research setting. They also resisted the feminine subjectivity which stresses "niceness". That the girls' exclusionary practices were not unique to my study is apparent from Moses's (2004) newspaper report of teenage reaction to the recent film *Mean Girls* (based on the book, *Queen Bees and Wannabes* by Rosalind Wiseman). Moses reported, "all agreed the nasty way the girls treated each other was apt" (p.5). Hey's (1997) ethnography of British girls' friendship similarly portrays the ways in which girls can hurt each other. "The effectivity of girls' particular power to wound each other is precisely because such judgements emanate from one's imagined allies (girlfriends) as opposed to the enemy 'other' (boys)." (p.63)

The findings of the present study might suggest that in the subversion of adult authority and the focus on "me and my pleasure" we have "succeeded" in freeing our daughters from the shackles of our gender, that they are now able to enjoy holidays similar to boys and men – free from concern and care for others. Heys (1997) in her study of girls' friendships concluded:

> A measure of girls' resistance is their insistence on friendship but the fact that it takes the form that it does reveals the extent to which as a social form it carries the weight of girls' general subordination within schooling and masculine culture (Cockburn 1986). (Hey 1997, p.139)

The competitive nature of the current 12-year-olds in the present study suggests, as Heys (1997) concluded, that the conditions in which girls make sense of themselves against other girls are not of their own choosing. While women should not be the carers of society at the expense of themselves, a lack of caring for others is not a feminist goal. The holiday memories and behaviour of the 12-year-old girls which centred on "me" might imply that girls can become too "de-femininised".

In explaining the meaning of the holiday experience for the current 12-year-olds, one might ask, was the meaning for girls at age 12 always thus? Is it from the vantage point of age 20, 40 or 65+ (and the associated family life stage) that women have constructed their experience differently than they would have when aged 12? Has a feminine discourse of care and maternal family value not been "appropriated" by age 12: in other words, have the current 12-year-olds yet to understand their experiences from a caring, maternal perspective? Luxury had a greater appeal for the current 12-year-old girls than it did for the women as children. Does maturity of years expose the shallowness of image and lead to a valuing of the simpler features of life? As we age have we learned not to boast, not to expose status as a tourist need? On the other hand, can we say that the current 12-year-old girls are positioned at the interstices of different discourses than their elders at age 12? In other words, have there been historical changes in girls' subjectivity, meaning that 12-year-old girls today *are* different from 12-year-olds of the past? Certainly there have been social changes in consumerism, technology, education and gender and age relations since the eldest women were girls in 1925; different discourses from which to produce the holiday experience. Perhaps differences in memories of the current 12-year-olds and the older groups of women can be explained in earlier social and physical maturation of girls today. The memories of 12-year-olds today might be better equated with 15- or 16-year-olds of the past.

Differences between the different age groups at age 12 are outweighed by the commonality of happy childhood holidays. There were only a couple of women who had not experienced a happy holiday as a 12-year-old and who considered their lives as children did not match the "happy/ideal family" discourse as portrayed in the 1960s television show *Leave it to Beaver* (Taylor et al. 1995).

> *Louise [Aged 40]: [As children] ... we didn't go on ... the sorts of holidays that* 'Leave it to Beaver'*'s family went on.*

The finding in the present study that the women and girls, for the most part, experienced happy childhoods contradicts what Walkerdine (1990b) refers to as "this terrifying fiction" (p.117) produced by family and school that childhood is a time of freedom, safety and happiness. Walkerdine (1990b), in her study of schoolgirls, found that the sanitised desexualised fiction of the child was intersected by the popular cultural discourses of romantic heterosexuality. In the present study these discourses were emerging at age 12 especially amongst the current 12-year-olds. The current 12-year-olds were not naïve girls. Amidst discussion of holiday experiences, the girls in a number of groups sang pop songs, discussed movie stars and boys and spoke provocatively. These girls were denying the sanitised version of childhood but at the same time presented a happy experience of childhood. Although these girls found no difficulty recalling a negative experience, these experiences related primarily to *my* "hurting body" rather than a gendered experience of childhood which threatened the sanitised version.

Nor are the findings from the present study consistent with those of Crawford et al. (1992) who, in looking back to childhood, concluded, "Our experience of holidays did not match the pleasure we were expected to find" (p.141). Crawford et al. (1992) resolved:

> A mythology is perpetuated about children's carefree holiday enjoyment, yet the supposed freedom is curtailed by imposed restrictions and by enforced intimacy with other people. Furthermore, we as female children (would it be the same for boys?) are held responsible for the well-being of others. And we are expected to be

> grateful. Hence as adults we generally do not remember childhood family holidays with much enthusiasm, despite the pleasures involved. (Crawford et al. 1992, p.142)

Crawford et al. (1992) claimed that there was "a sense of being constrained, of being expected to do something with or for others that we did not want to do – worse, of being expected to enjoy it" (p.141). The only account in the present study which supported the findings of Crawford et al. (1992) came from a 20-year-old in recalling her girlhood holiday. She may have been resisting the feminine discourse of the caring responsible girl by citing the following as a negative experience but her apologies and justifications weakened her resistance.

> Amanda [Age 20]: *I felt like a spoilt brat when I was talking about this. But it's the only negative experience I could think of* ... The negative experience that occurred to Amanda was in a sense a working holiday, for an 11-year-old. The family went to a beautiful 5 star resort in Surfers Paradise which was the Hyatt Regency, Sanctuary Cove with the potential for a perfect holiday. Two families went away for a week … Amanda spent the entire week baby sitting … Her two brothers had friends staying in the nearby hotel. So every day they all went out together. The parents of both the families were out relaxing all day around the pool and in the resort shops. Amanda was stuck in the hotel room which contained two single beds, a television and a bathroom. The only thing to entertain Amanda was to watch *Ace Ventura Pet Detective*. (You know I hate that movie, because I watched it about eight times. It was just over, and over and over and over and over again.)
> Later
> *Amanda: And I'd never changed a nappy before ... I had no idea what to do. I actually rang up the hotel and got someone to come and help me ... change their nappies 'cause I had no idea what to do. I couldn't contact my parents. I had no idea where they were (Other: Uhuh). Oh, bad holiday! But it was such a nice hotel. It was beautiful.*
> *Claudia: A waste!*

The group above was in agreement that this was unfair treatment of Amanda.

> *Hannah: I would've refused.*
> *Kylie: Exactly. There's no way I would've gone on holiday and not doing anything ... [I would have] just said, 'Well if I have to do it, then my brothers should do it just as much'...*

Crawford et al. (1992) found that a reason for the women's disgruntlement was that parents organise holidays for children without consulting the child. There is conflicting evidence of the part children play in family holiday decision making. In the child-centred society of today, children might be consulted more than they were in the past but this does not explain the very positive holiday memories of the older groups of women in the present study whose lives corresponded to the historical period of Crawford et al.'s (1992) women.

Margaret [Age 65+]: Yes, I think that it was all such a good time (Other: Yeah; Leonie: It was, yes) ... sometimes something could go wrong there (Other: Mmm) but mostly, the holidays were very good.
Lorna: The holidays were lovely. It was just a lovely free time of our lives.

AND SO TO AGE 20 ….

The women and girls at age 12 were leaving their girlhood of primary school and moving into their developing years of womanhood. Frith (1985) recognised in the girls she studied an awareness that there were temporal limits to the freedom of girlhood, that this is a stage and a girl must refashion herself. "Like Alice in Wonderland, if the house is too small or too large, she must change her size to fit it" (p.123). Hancock (1989) explains:

> The feminine mandate to care for others persists beneath the modern whitewash, stifling her impulse to climb, to run, to scale a ridge – and to otherwise follow her active pursuits … Previously abroad in the world of nature, the older girl must come inside. (Hancock 1989, p.19)

"Fun" is seen at odds with caring. Gordon and Gaitz (cited in McGuire, Boyd & Tedrick 1999) claim that those engaged in hedonistically pleasurable leisure activities are younger, rather than older, individuals. The researchers interpreted this as older individuals trading these activities for more sedate leisure. McGuire et al. (1999) argue, however, that lack of opportunity and/or a lack of previous experience rather than a lack of desire might be more appropriate explanations. The current 20-year-olds compared holiday experiences at ages 12 and 20. Although sharing the experience with another child was important at age 12, it was the physical activity which was foregrounded. By age 20, social relations came to the fore.

Elissa [Age 20]: I guess we were active, when ... younger. Like they're always full on, like you're doing activities ... whereas now you're sort of quite content to sit around.
Edwina: You're content to sit around and just talk to your friends.
Belinda: Watch soaps on TV.
Elissa: Just sit around ... lie on the beach, go for coffee whereas when you're young you just (Other: It's got to be all action), you don't lie on the beach ...
Edwina: ... play, build a sandcastle (Other: build a sandcastle), yeah.
Elissa: You make more out of them I think.
Alice: Take your boogie board.
Edwina: Yeah, you don't just lie on the sand (Other: No) and get suntanned.

> *Stephanie [Age 20]: So activities and sporting and water had a lot to do with,*
> *Crystal: Probably (Paula: having fun) more of a key role when you're younger.*
> *...*
> *Paula: You don't care who you're with, or ... whatever. You just want to have fun.*
> *Tania: Yeah, while when you get older the company you keep is more, much more important.*

In studying girls' literature, Frith (1985) questioned why girls gave up the good life of the school story to take up the feminine ideology of older girls' literature. Why did many of the women in my study give up the holiday fun and physical activity with a girlfriend at age 12 to take up the heterosexual relationship at age 20? Walkerdine (1990b) maintains:

> That the girl appears willingly to accept the position to which she is classically fitted does not, I would argue, tell us something basic about the nature of the female body, nor the female mind, but rather tells us of the power of those practices through which a particular resolution to the struggle is produced. (Walkerdine 1990b, p.88)

The significance of the decline in physical activity as girls leave childhood is not only the detrimental effect on their physical health but also the loss of enjoyment in physical movement and the right to physical space. Frith (1985) asserts girls' desire to experience a world where "to be assertive, physically active, daring, ambitious, is not a source of tension" (p.121). That the current 12-year-olds were more inclined than their elders to resist the caring element of the feminine discourse at age 12 suggests that when they reach age 20 they might also resist the feminine discourse which requires them to contain their physical energy.

CHAPTER 9: HOLIDAYS AT AGE 20 - THE SOCIAL US

INTRODUCTION

The title of this chapter reflects the theme of sociability and social connectedness of holiday memories at age 20 which resonated strongly amongst all the groups of women. Relationships with other people were reflected in both the positive and negative holiday experiences. Chapter 9 is divided into two parts. Part A presents the voices of the current 20-, 40-, and 65+-year-olds recalling good and bad (or not so good) holiday experiences at age 20. Part B is my further interpretation of the memories in which I, informed by the literature, attempt to theorise holiday experiences at age 20.

The historical time in which the 20-year-olds were aged 20 was the late 1990s. The current 40-year-olds were aged 20 in the 1970s and the 65+ age group from the early 1930s to the late 1950s.

PART A: HOLIDAY VOICES AT AGE 20

> Stephanie [Age 20]: The week Stephanie spent in Rome was bliss. She didn't bother with the sights; she had seen them all before. Most of the time was spent [with her friend, Isabella] driving around Rome, as you may imagine, eating gelato and talking until her mouth was dry. At night the two partied with a group of friends who were thrilled at the thought of meeting an Australian. Strolled through the piazzas which were packed with people, and had water fights, using any fountain in sight. As they say, when in Rome! It is amazing how when two girls are together, the world seems to be perfect, not a sad moment is shared. Isabella and Stephanie made promises they would keep forever and went on to eat more gelato!

At age 20, many of the holiday activities were similar to those experienced by the women at age 12 – swimming, walking, skiing, camping. Theme park rides were still popular with the current 20-year-olds. At this age, however, less energetic activities were emerging such as sunbaking, talking and drinking.

> *Other (Kristen's group) [Age 20]: ... we had the best time just (Other: Mmm) sitting on our balcony making cocktails and,*
> *Other: sunbaking, I assume.*
> *Other: For sure, there was much sunbaking in the sun (Other: Mmm).*

As at age 12, the stress was on "excitement" and "fun". At age 20, there was a strong focus on laughter.

> Frances [Age 65+]: There were beach concerts where anyone who was game would sing a song or do a dance, or a group would act a short skit or a play, which involved much hilarious play writing and acting.

Sociability/Social Connectedness

Although sightseeing and learning about the destination were of interest to some of the women, these were not dominant themes for most of the women at age 20. Since the women now tended to have control over their holiday activities, "boring" and "uninteresting" activities were less likely to be encountered at age 20 than they were at age 12.

> *Other(Kristen's group) [Age 20]: You can't be happy with a holiday where you have to ... learn something.*

> Jenny [Age 40]: We did a bit of a token tour of the island, but it wasn't what we were interested in really … so we ended up going to the beach and going to the pub and just hanging out with our new-found friends.

The dominant theme for all age groups at age 20 was social interaction. A few memories related to social interaction with the hosts at the destination.

> Clair [Age 20]: Clair enjoyed the entire two days of the trek [in north-western Thailand] but the highlight of the trip was the evening they spent in a hill tribe hut nestled in the Thai mountains … Clair was so surprised that they would allow her, a stranger, to sleep in their house along with her friends as well. Their hospitality amazed Clair. She was also delighted and very appreciative of the fact that she could have a small glimpse into this family's lives … Clair had never seen such a warm and loving family before. She couldn't help thinking about how different their lives were to hers, and how materialistic Western society is … Clair fell asleep that evening to the sound of the family singing together. The sounds were so beautiful. Clair thought it was one of the most peaceful moments of her life.
> *Other: Oh isn't that beautiful.*
> *Other: Ohhh, unique ...*
> *Other: So lovely.*
> *Clair: It was beautiful, it honestly was (Other: Oh). It wasn't staged at all either. It was not. It wasn't like it was a staged event ...*
> *Other: Mmm.*

Most of the memories, however, related to relationships with travel companions, usually girlfriends. In many ways the memories of holidays at age 20 read like those at age 12: fun and exciting activities in the company of friends. The difference between holidays at age 12 and 20 was in the emphasis. At age 12 the activities

were foregrounded; at age 20, the dominant theme was the people. In many of the 20- and 40-year-old groups "other people" was recognised as an emergent theme from the discussion. *People* (and usually travel companions) could "make or break" a holiday.

> Edwina [Age 20]: *We've all said "people" things, haven't we (Others: Yeah, Yeah, Mmm). It wasn't like seeing something.*
> *…*
> *Alice: Interaction with people.*
> *Edwina: Yeah, interaction with people.*
> Later
> *Alice: … bonding with people as well, like (Other: Yeah) improving your friendships or whatever.*
> *Other: Mmm.*

> *Cara [Age 20]: I guess a main theme going through them all [written memories] (Other: Mmm) was the presence of people (Others: Yeah, Yeah) and how that made such an impact (Other: Mmm), like had such an impact on us all (Clair: That's true, yeah). Every single experience had people as the main focus.*
> *Monica: Mmm, it's true.*
> *Clair: … really different types of people too.*

> *Stephanie [Age 20]: … the people we're with made the trip.*
> *Tania: Either make it or break it.*
> *Stephanie: Make it or break it.*
> *Crystal: Mmm.*

> *Roberta [Age 40]: I noticed that friendship was a great thing*
> *Marie: Between friends, yes.*
> *Roberta: Yes, the friendship was very important … being with friends and enjoying it together … that came out.*

The quotations below highlight the significance of friendship in the holiday experience and the feeling of shared bonhomie.

> Alice [Age 20]: … Alice's positive experience was when she was on holidays with a group of uni friends at the snow in July last year … one evening we had a few more drinks than usual at home, and we sort of started to play a few drinking games and you know we sat around in a circle and we were being really silly and we were just chatting and we turned up the music … everyone's getting really into it and it was just fun … And so instead of like going out and losing each other in like a crowded bar, we stayed in the like nice warm room … content with each other's company and laughed and joked and got on really well together and sort of like bonded …

> *Other (Kristen's group) [Age 20]: … you go away and you're with your friends so … you don't feel like you have to go skiing.*
> *Kimberley: Yeah, like you don't have to do anything.*

> Roberta [Age 40]: In the evenings they ate a meal at a wooden table in front of the fire in the dining room, then sat drinking red wine, laughing and talking till very late.

> Lou [Age 65+]: [Friend] Mary asked Lou to go with her to the family property … During the evening of the first day, Helen, Mary's older sister, arrived with several friends she had met on her way back from a world trip which she had taken at the conclusion of World War II … Helen had brought her some new records including *I've Got a Lovely Bunch of Coconuts* which was played over and over. In fact a great time was had by all.

Structured social activities were more apparent in the memories of the women aged 65+ at age 20 than they were for the younger age groups at age 20.

> Frances [Age 65+]: Everything you did (races, concerts, dress-ups, jiving, ten-pin bowling) would become a contest between guest houses because a plaque would be awarded to the house with the most win points each week. There were weekly photos taken of everyone in the guest house, in 1957 at St Leonards, one house photo has 75 people … As well as all the singles there were a few young or older marrieds, but everyone got on well together.

> Eleanor [Age 65+]: At Greenmount, the top beach at Coolangatta, we had great fun with games on the beach. It seemed to be organised by a man (he was a funny man) who was a well-known identity at that time. I think we had games like the hokey pokey. Oh gee, it was funny, we did have a lot of fun then.

> Susan [Age 65+]: The summer of 1933 … an invitation from her friend, Jane, to share a fortnight's holiday at a cabin owned by Jane's uncle, in the north woods of Wisconsin … And what did they do all day? They enjoyed having the time to peruse their various hobbies. It was much too cold for swimming, but hiking and exploring trails ... was something they'd all enjoyed … There was wild life to enjoy, squirrels, wood chucks, skunks, even deer and bear. But the bears kept out of sight … Photography was an interest of Susan, and several of the group … Nature study appealed to others and notebooks were filled with pressed specimens of plants and flowers. They all did a lot of craft work, making birch bark picture frames, napkin rings etc. And they boiled pinecones with different chemicals to burn in the fireplace where they gave off various colours. And they dipped candles and dyed pine needles with natural dyes. And some of them whittled … big event was a Christmas celebration … it was decided that they would each spend the day in solitude, out in the woods, returning in the evening with a gift to place under the tree, and an original poem … All this was great fun. The wonderful experience in group living …

The above group recognised that what they perceived as fun at age 20 would not appeal to young women today:

> *Jane [Age 65+]: I think you were very inventive (Lou: Yes). I have an idea that it would be hard to find a group of 20-year-olds now that would be willing to do that (Amelia: Yes, I would think that) unless they were directed to do it.*
> *Lou: It's really unsophisticated, isn't it?*
> *Susan: Well as I say, I thought afterward, you know, this sounds awfully childish to read out, you know, about what we did at 20.*
> *Amelia: I think it sounds fantastic.*

Although the activities of the 65+ group at age 20 may have been different to those of the current 20-year-olds, sociability remained the focus. Of all the women participating in the study, no one travelled alone at age 20. Sharing the experience with another was important both during and after the holiday. Although a couple of the current 20-year-olds claimed they would like to *try* travelling on their own, there were many women for whom a travelling companion was considered essential. Gender differences in solo travel were perceived by some of the current 20-year-olds.

> *Hannah [Age 20]: ... my boyfriend wants to go [overseas], and just go by himself. He doesn't want anyone to come with him. And I don't understand that.*
> *Kylie: Yeah, I don't understand that either. Like I'm a person who always wants people around me.*
> *Hannah: Same.*

> *Nicole [Age 20]: I think girls go away to be with their friends and boys like going away… by themselves a bit, I think. 'Cause you know when boys go on holidays they go, 'Oh let's go fishing'. So they go and sit on the end of a pier by themself [sic] all night.*
> *Other: Oh yeah, ok, I know what you mean.*
> *Nicole: Do you know what I mean?*
> *Other: Yeah, yeah.*
> *Nicole: Like I couldn't sit by myself on a pier all night (Other: True). I like going away and still being with my friends.*
> *Other: ... yeah, yeah I agree with that.*
> Later
> *Barbie: I could never go away by myself, though. I think that'd be shit scary.*

Holidays provided a site for making new friendships. As one of the 40-year-old group said about age 20, "That's the time of your life when you're meeting people".

> Hayley [Age 20]: … we met some of Susan's friends, by sheer accident like underneath the Eiffel Tower (*Others: Wow!, How cool is that!*), Bastille Day, yeah we met up with them.
> …
> Hayley: Got a bottle of champagne. Got really maggot [drunk] on Bastille Day, no, it was really good …
> Later
> *Hayley: The positives … like you get to meet heaps of people.*

> Barbara [Age 65]: [At a guesthouse in Coolangatta] … a good crowd of young people made for an enjoyable time as everybody joined in singing around the piano, dancing to records. We went in a group to the Tweeds Head pictures … Friendships were forged which lasted for many years.
> Later
> *Barbara: ... we all went to meet our own age group.*
> *Lorna: Yes.*
> *Frances: That's right.*

Social Discomfort

With sociability so important for the success of a holiday, it was not surprising to find lack of companionship and disagreeable travel companions as negative experiences.

> *Other (Kristen's group) [Age 20]: The major downfall was definitely like people not getting on.*
> Later
> *Other: It definitely affects a holiday, I reckon, like if people fight (Other: Yeah ...) which makes it so awkward.*
> *Others: Mmm, Yeah.*

> Claudia [Age 20]: … she [travelling companion] was so awful to me sometimes. Like I'm pretty easy going and stuff but she was really, you know, 'everything has to be right and everything has to be done this way or it's not good enough'. We kept travelling together 'cause I … didn't have anyone else to travel with.

> *Kylie [Age 20]: ... I suppose you find out ... a lot from people like when you're travelling.*
> *Claudia: Definitely see their true colours.*

Puerile, drunken and boorish behaviour were not the components of group fun for a number of women.

> *Crystal [Age 20]: [On a Contiki tour] ... there was myself and two other people who didn't sleep with someone else on the tour (Tania: Oh yuck!) out of a group of thirty people.*
> Later
> *Crystal: I was on the tour with someone who wore a tee shirt all the time with 'Shit Happens' on it. That'll give you a very perceptive insight of what type of people I was travelling with. Morons, common morons.*

Girlfriends could be obstructive in women's relationships with men. There was an understanding amongst the women of unspoken rules of appropriate behaviour between girlfriends in terms of relationships with men. When these rules were violated an unhappy experience resulted.

> Karen [Age 40]: A fairly nice man asked Karen to dance. Karen felt good. (She'd been aware of each of … [her friend's] relationships with men during the trip … Thinking back the others, in Karen's mind, had had more male attention than she had. Perhaps not a great deal, but for some reason, Karen was conscious of it. (She felt uncomfortable sitting on her own if the others were up dancing …) Anyway, Karen felt happy; this fellow was a nice guy. But then the guy … asked her friend … to dance. And he danced with her the rest of the evening. And this girl was always seducing men.

The group responded:

Jean [Age 40]: And it would have been a really serious thing, wouldn't it, between girlfriends for her to have been that insensitive to have taken him?
Karen: Yes, yes.
Other: Mmm.
Jean: I mean that becomes a big issue, doesn't it?
Other: Mmm.

Liz [Age 40]: We met the Algerian Ambassador and his friend and … they were quite charming people. The friend didn't speak any English, he only spoke French. And the Algerian, he was a bit keen on my friend, Susannah. And the Algerian Ambassador was a bit keen on me. (Mind you, I think there were a wife and family at home.) So, you know, we were right for the picking. But I was probably a bit interested. And, oh God, Susannah became like Mother Teresa and squashed any opportunity of anything occurring.

Commonalities amongst the women were awkwardness, embarrassment and humiliation with others at the destination. The women were not in control.

Tania [Age 20]: Everything was going well for Tania and Renee until Paul [ski instructor] encouraged them to ski Pleasant Valley. But Tania responded that she didn't think that she could do it. Unfortunately for Tania Renee picked up the basics of skiing very quickly … unlike Tania, so Renee sped ahead while Tania was falling over constantly and having a difficult time getting up. And had to get Paul to ski back to her every time she fell. Tania felt particularly stupid because she couldn't ski down what was reportedly the easiest run in all of Perisher.

Crystal [Age 20]: [At a sex show with a Contiki group] I remember when I went to Amsterdam on the Contiki Europe trip ... I went to that sex show 'cause everyone in the Contiki group went to it. And I was sitting right up the back, 'cause I knew that they'd pick someone from the audience. And anyway, he got off stage and then went straight to me, like I was some magnet.
Paula: He could probably see that you didn't want (Crystal: go up on the stage).
Stephanie: And what did you have to do?
Crystal: I had to rub this stuff on his bottom ...
Stephanie: Yuck!
Crystal: Yeah, he was huge.
Tania: I can't imagine anything worse.
Stephanie: How scary.
Crystal: It was terrible, 'cause it was just, you know, it was bad.
Other: Aghh!
Tania: That would have revolted, seriously repulsed me.

Marie [Age 40]: Marie was very nervous and she had only met Tom (fiancé's brother) once and he seemed quite stand-offish and a snob! …. Marie sprung [sic] up from her chair and offered to make the tea. Into the kitchen she went and fumbled around to find things. She wanted to make an impression. Tea made she went back into the sitting room. Three cups of tea on a tray. On handing the mug of tea to Tom she could see his face drop – 'I take mine in a china cup and saucer!' Time for bed did not come quick enough. Marie went upstairs to the cold bedroom and got into the single bed. She hoped Tom would be gone to work before she woke and had to make breakfast in the morning.

Anne [Age 65+]: [On a touring holiday with friends and a friend's father and his 'cousin'] Some of the confusion and awkwardness became apparent on the first day of the trip. The cousin of her friend's father was not a cousin, but a lady friend. This was not a social situation which she had encountered before at first hand. And although it was not talked

about by Mr T and the so-called cousin, there were times when it was embarrassing to the rest of the party. And the friends did not talk about it amongst themselves either, all very strange.
Later
Anne: ... It was awkward, I mean, I never sort of got into the morality of it. But it was awkwardness of the situation. We felt sorry, we felt awkward for Carl [the son] as distinct from – this is not a good thing to be doing ...
Later
Cordelia: ... it was never talked about. We were very good at keeping those secrets, weren't we (Anne: Yes) even though we knew? And you never talked about it.

Lou [Age 65+]: [Staying on friend Mary's family property] Mary had suggested to Lou that perhaps it would be a good idea to return to Melbourne on the train before dinner as her father sometimes could be difficult and embarrass young guests. But there was not a train until 8p.m. So Lou had to stay. After drinks, in the drawing room at 6.30 p.m., they all went to dinner and Mr Simons asked Lou to sit on his right. She was quite terrified but really managed well and was asked to return sometime soon.
Later
Susan: Well I remember a lot of fathers; I was always (Jane: Yes) very timid with my friends' fathers (Jane: Fathers, yes; Other: Mmm)

Boyfriends

While there were commonalities amongst the different age groups in terms of their social relations with girlfriends, there were differences between the age groups in terms of heterosexual relations on holiday at age 20. Amongst the 65+ age group there were no written or discussed references to romance by any of the women. Even the two women on their honeymoon[1] did not write about or discuss their relationship with their husbands. They just referred to their holiday as a "special holiday". Another woman mentioned holidaying near the workplace of her fiancé as it was not permissible at the time to cohabit prior to marriage. Surprisingly, of the twenty-five participants who were currently aged 20, only two holidayed as a couple with their boyfriends. In a few cases the boyfriend was part of the travel group. In mixed travel groups of current 20-year-olds, there was often a platonic relationship between girls and boys. One group of 20-year-olds described boys in their holiday group as being "sort of girls". An incident on a skiing trip describes the platonic relationship of one current 20-year-old and her male travelling companion.

Elissa [Age 20]: [On the ski chairlift]... we just introduced ourselves to the other couple in the chairlift and we [male friend and I] just started back into old habits and started like arguing, kind of playfully whatever, and they [other couple] sort of turned to us and said,

[1] The earlier age of marriage for a number of the older women meant that a holiday at the specified age of "around 20" included a husband.

'You two must be brother and sister'. And we just laughed (Other: Ohh). And then he [other guy] thought he'd made the biggest boo-boo and said, 'Oh are you married then?' We just went, 'No!'
Edwina: It was brother and sister type of fighting.
Elissa: It was so funny, oh my God!

One group of 20-year-olds debated the advantages and disadvantages of travelling with a boyfriend.

Kylie [Age 20]: If you want to have more of an adventure of a holiday, it's probably good to go with guys as well (Other: Yeah)…
Hannah: They can encourage you (Kylie: Yeah) say, 'C'mon let's go do this today' and stuff.
Claudia: 'Let's go swimming naked at sub zero temperatures, come on!'
Amanda: We did a 15k bike ride (Other: Oh) with the guys. I would never have thought of doing that …
Later
Hannah: I think girls compromise too. Like if you were with your boyfriend on the holiday, you'd go, 'OK, well, we'll do your thing if we do mine' … Whereas, I think he'd go, 'No, let's just do my thing (Other: Yeah). I don't want to do your thing' …
Kylie: … such is life!

One 20-year-old woman, when asked about her reasons for taking a Schoolies Week cruise, appeared to sum up the view of many of her peers:

Tania [Age 20]: … did you go there like with this *specific intention to meet guys and stuff …?*
Stephanie: Nah, Just wanted to be with my friends.

For the 40-year-olds at age 20, men were a significant theme of holiday memories. Holidays were a site for meeting men. However, there were suitable and unsuitable men. The women differentiated among men according to social class and nationality.

Annie [Age 40]: [In Greece] Ours [men met at the Naval Academy] were classy.
Carly: Oh, no, ours were not! Ours were like fishermen and your mother would have had a fit -fishermen, waiters, firemen! …
Annie: Oh yes, we probably had a few waiters too …
Carly: … one holiday on one [Greek] island we were sitting having a drink, right on the water's edge and all the yachts came in and there was this yacht and there were a lot of young men … on it. And they, eventually after a few hours of us eyeing them and them eyeing us, they came over and asked if we wanted to come and have a drink on this beautiful yacht that was tied up right there. And we said, 'Oh yes, we would like to'. And it was one of their father's yachts … They were university students … you felt as if they probably weren't going to end up as waiters … (Others: Mmm, Mmm). But they were still very Greek, I can tell you, they had hands everywhere, ohh, everywhere!
Later
Carly [Age 40]: … we used to go on these holidays with just girls. They'd leave their boyfriends in London

> ...
> *Carly: And we'd all be terribly unfaithful to our boyfriends. Well, not badly unfaithful, you know, kissing other waiters.*
> *Susie: Didn't count when it was a Greek waiter for goodness sake!*

A number of 40-year-old women had holidayed with their boyfriends at age 20. Their positive holiday memory was romance and, for a couple, a sexual relationship (alluded to but not discussed).

> Rachel [Age 40]: The time was very special. Rachel and Paul enjoyed each other's company and were very much in love. Rachel felt at ease and a little less guarded about her affection towards Paul than she usually was.

> Sarah [Age 40]: They drove up from Canberra through Tamworth and Inverell, staying in country motels and talking all the way … the two of them got on so well because they'd been friends for five years and the nights between the sheets were an added bonus (*Others: Oooh! Laughter*).

> Lizzy [Age 40]: Romance was in the air (*Other: Ooh! Laughter*) and their time together was very special … They had all morning to laze in bed or wander along the beach at their leisure and it was so romantic. One day in particular, the sand became too hot to walk on and Howard swept Lizzy off her feet literally and carried her off to the motel for an afternoon of passion (*Others: Laughter*). I remember that. It was wonderful.

Relations with boyfriends, however, were not always happy. For the 40-year-olds, a significant negative experience at age 20 concerned boyfriends.

> Ruth [Age 40]: What she hoped would be a weekend of reconciliation and renewing of their relationship turned into a nightmare on the trip home when he dropped the bombshell that he had been seeing someone else and was seriously thinking about moving north to Queensland. She was devastated. Here was her first serious boyfriend throwing her over when she had been so supportive during his time as a conscript and so financially supportive on his discharge. For many years afterwards she could not visit Port Stephens without feeling miserable and rejected and wondering about 'what might have been'.
> *Others: Aaah.*

> Roberta [Age 40]: They packed their things and drove home … and having an argument about what, Roberta can't remember. They didn't speak to each other for days after this disaster [holiday] and twenty-five years later both still have no desire to return to Orange.

Holidays with a boyfriend could be isolating. The boyfriend might go off and "do his own thing" or not provide the emotional closeness desired by the woman. Relationships with men also had a moral dimension. As with men casually met, there was an understanding of the right kind of boyfriend and the wrong kind of boyfriend. One woman aged 40 was quite distressed in recalling her negative experience at age 20, claiming, prior to reading her experience, that it was "really

embarrassing". She needed to reassure the group that her holiday behaviour was "out of character", asserting, "This is not me, it's absolutely not me". She had gone to visit her boyfriend's family who lived in a working-class town. She described her boyfriend.

> Megan [Age 40]: He seemed so exciting and exotic. He was from German parentage, was very good looking and rode a Harley Davidson motorbike.

But … her boyfriend worked as a "navvy" on the roads.

> Megan [Age 40]: She certainly saw no future in a man who returned home filthy (I mean he was just so different).

There was much discussion about Megan's experience. The group tried to interpret Megan's experience in a positive light to reassure her that her behaviour was not inappropriate.

> *Megan [Age 40]: He worked on the roads. He was a nobody. Oh, I shouldn't say that … that's very elitist.*
> *…*
> *Megan: I have never gone out with anyone like that. He was so different!*
> *Jean: But a lot of young men did get jobs on the roads …*
> *Other: Yeah.*
> *Megan: He was so uneducated, he was just nothing. I shouldn't have said that.*
> *Karen: … but obviously there was (Megan: … he was gorgeous) physical appeal.*
> *Megan: Oh, he was gorgeous. He was so different, that was my regret.*
> *…*
> *Megan: I can't believe I did it … just off for a week with this person (Others: Mmm).*
> *Jean: Well, at least you were adventurous …*
> *Joan: Yeah, that's good.*
> *Megan: Very adventurous.*
> *Jean: Nothing ventured, nothing gained (Joan: That's right) and you obviously learnt something about (Others: Mmm) another kind of person and (Others: Mmm) decided it wasn't for you.*
> *Megan: … Oh, yeah. It was quite different (Others: Yeah). I mean, I had actually nothing in common, not a thing.*
> *Jean: Yeah.*
> *Rachel: I mean, you can see that that experience helped you develop as a person (Joan: Mmm).*
> *Megan: I mean I was going to Uni and I think he was like, you know,*
> *Jean: But physical attraction is really strong (Joan: Yeah, that's right; Megan: Mmm, mmm).*
> *Karen: … you just look at any movie, the heroes and working-class men on the road (Joan: Yeah, yeah, that's right, Others: Yeah, Yeah) … the physical, yeah, I can see what you mean, the heroes.*
> *Megan: I used to walk down the street holding his hand and think 'ohhh', 'ohhh', and look at him … on his bike and sort of 'ohhh' and I kept just, 'ohhhhhh'.*
> *Jean: Well, that's pretty exhilarating isn't it riding a bike! (Joan: Yeah, that's right; Megan: Yeah, yeah) I mean that would have been something exciting.*

Megan later explained that she wasn't "rebellious", just "putting her feet in a few different ponds", "testing the waters".

There were a number of references in the memories of the 40-year-old women to their parents' attitudes to the daughters' holiday behaviour at age 20. Being absent from the family over Christmas was a cause of conflict. However, most parental disapproval was directed at their daughter's relations with a boyfriend.

> Megan [Age 40]: Megan's parents barely approved of Herbert [boyfriend] but when the brother arrived to pick her up, they were visibly upset.
> *Megan: ... we actually drove from there back to Sydney on the bike and my parents just freaked (Joan: Mmm; Karen: Yeah), just freaked.*

> Lizzy [Age 40]: It was to be a quick trip to Boggabilla to visit her boyfriend's grandmother. As this was to be her first trip away with her boyfriend, Lizzy's parents were not too happy about them being alone together. They decided that Lizzy's girlfriend, Sharon, would go too and that they would all stay with Sharon's dad on the way.

> *Rachel [Age 40]: ... I got all the advice ... having separate rooms. [I said to Mum] 'Oh no, Paul [boyfriend] can't afford that, mum. Don't worry there's two beds in the room'... I had to ... be very reassuring to them, that all was going to be OK (Others: Mmm) and I mean, that was the main thing they were worried about – sleeping together and the consequences ...*

It was agreed that parents were concerned with social appearance, concerned that their daughters would look "cheap".

> *Rachel [Age 40]: Well, I don't think my parents would have told anyone where I was ... (Karen: Yes) I'm sure they wouldn't have (Karen: Yes).*
> *Rachel: Because they would've been too ashamed to admit (Karen: Yes) that they'd let their daughter (Joan: Mmm) go off with a guy and you know, 'Where are they staying?' 'Oh, in a motel' (Karen: Yes; Other: Mmm) ... Mum certainly wouldn't have told her mother (Other: Yes). I think that was something I was told, 'Don't tell Nanna' (Karen: Yes; Other: Mmm). I don't know if she told her sisters. But you know I think it was very taboo (Others: Yes, Mmm).*

Some of the women whose parents "permitted" them at age 20 to holiday with a boyfriend considered that their parents feigned ignorance of their daughters' sexuality.

> *Jean [Age 40]: But surely they must realise that if you're travelling together you've got an opportunity.*
> *Joan: That's right.*
> *Karen: Yes ... actually we were very good but obviously the opportunity was there ...*

Rachel: Well, I could say we were very good too … even though we stayed in the same room.
Karen: Well, I mean, maybe your parents saying it, was enough to stop…

The memories of the 40-year-old women at age 20 were contradictory. There was a tension in the pleasure of being with their boyfriend and breaking taboos but at the same time feeling guilty that they were "doing the wrong thing".

Karen [Age 40]: …. There was a positive and a negative … it was that sense of excitement about doing something you hadn't' done before but the negative part was perhaps that guilt or the weight of what the rules were (Others: Mmm, Yeah), that you weren't totally free (Other: Yeah, exactly) …
Jean: But, in a way, if you hadn't of gone, you would never have become an adult. You would never have freed yourself from parental control. And I guess that's what growing up's about, isn't it? Making your own decisions (Other: Mmm) and trusting yourself (Others: Mmm, yeah).

Lizzy [Age 40]: Slight embarrassment in Lismore when her father's friend put them [Lizzy and boyfriend] in the same room even though this was exactly what they wanted.

Carly [Age 40]: I didn't tell my parents everything, that's for sure (Annie: Oh, no; Sarah: Oh, no, certainly didn't, no …). I was sprung when I had a boyfriend in Switzerland. (Annie: Oh wow) … I think I told a little white lie and I said I was going somewhere else. And my father found out. And he tracked me down in Switzerland. Oh, it was just horrific coming back. It was horrific. He met me at the railway station. Oh, I felt so ashamed. So bad!
Others: Mmm, Mmm.

None of the women aged 65+ holidayed with a boyfriend at age 20. There was no ambivalence in their memories. Their holidays were seen as "good", "clean", "harmless" and "innocent" fun. Morality was not an issue.

Gillian [Age 65+]: This was the best holiday Gillian had ever had. Such fun. Milking, up early to harvest the lucerne whilst still some moisture on it. Driving the tractor, killing the sheep to eat, and then the girls having to prepare it … Although the girls were not so green, the boys teased them … we all used to roll around the floor laughing … And oh, it was just such fun! Very harmless but full of fun. All very innocent. Not one bit of nonsense or promiscuity or pairing off.

While all the different age groups spoke of "fun" at age 20, there was a different meaning of the term amongst the groups. The implication in the discussion of the 65+-year-old women was that holidays for 20-year-olds today were not as wholesome as they had been in the past, in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s.

Gillian [Age 65+]: It was good clean fun (Eleanor: Yeah), good clean fun.

Eleanor: Yeah. It was just great … Oh it was just a lot of fun, like it was just wonderful. There were no drugs. I can't remember any alcohol, just fun.
Mary: But there probably wasn't.
Eleanor: No.
Other: No.

Other Themes

Security and Safety

Security and safety was a significant theme at age 20 for all the age groups. Illness, accidents, being lost and terrorist bombs were some of the reasons the women felt insecure and unsafe. However, the greatest source of fear at age 20 for the current 20- and 40-year-olds was men. Emotional security was also threatened in environments which were culturally and physically very different from home.

Carly [Age 40]: … [in the Greek Islands] And the first morning we woke up, I woke up earlier than anybody else. And outside our bedroom window was a balcony. And peeping around the corner of the balcony into the bedroom was the man of the house (*Susie: Ohhh; Annie: Ooh*), a 'Peeping Tom' (*Annie: Ooh*). And I woke up Zoe … 'Zoe, he's looking in, he's looking' . And by the time Zoe woke up, he'd gone because he realised that something was afoot. Well, this went on for mornings and mornings and mornings. Every morning he'd come and … I'd hardly sleep … He was just a really slimy Greek man … And nobody else woke up ever in time to see him. And nobody believed me. They thought it was a figment of my imagination. I didn't sleep for two weeks. Is he going to come in … just awful. Anyway that was my negative experience. It was scary, horrible.
Annie: Ooh!
Other: Yuck!
Later
Carly: [At the end of the holiday] And everybody else said, 'Oh thank you very much, lovely house'. And I didn't know what to say to this man. It was just disgusting (Other: Mmm) … it was sort of the polite thing to do but he was just - ugh!

All of the 20-year-old groups referred to fear for their physical safety in their negative memories.

Clair [Age 20]: [In Thailand] They boarded a shuttle bus into town. One of the sellers had boarded the bus and came to question them about what they were doing, where they were staying, etc., etc … They got off the bus, and he came to help them with their luggage. This both worried and frustrated Clair. She told him politely that they were fine and crossed the street to the guest house. Walking up the stairs to the reception, she realised he was still following them. By this stage Clair was feeling very ill at ease … Clair knew this man was a con artist and was ripping them off, and adamantly repeated, 'No' to everything he said. She was frustrated at the fact he was so persistent and it annoyed her he was playing on the fact she was female. She was also scared and felt uncomfortable … The experience left Clair feeling a bit uncomfortable and she was more hesitant about walking around the streets that night when they went out to get dinner.

Alice [Age 20]: … I'd be so dubious in like international, like overseas countries and things like that (Other: Mmm). You hear so many stories (Others: Mmm, Mmm). I'm going to be

> *so paranoid, I'll just be like, 'No thanks, I'm fine', you know, if anyone ever offers me anything or (Other: Mmm) or suggests something, I'll just feel like errrr.*
> *Other: Yeah.*
> *Edwina: Safety is a big thing (Alice: Yeah) when you're a female ...*

One 20-year-old, when asked by the others in her group if she ever felt unsafe travelling around Europe, replied:

> *Hayley [Age 20]: Mmm, actually I'd have to say, most of the time. About ninety percent of the time (Other: Oh, that's bad) because, I mean ... virtually two girls (Other: Yeah). I was travelling with Susan ... if we felt we were going to be in danger, we wouldn't go out. (Other: Yeah) but then again, we were like 'Oh, stuff it', we'll see what happens, sort of thing (Other: Yeah).*

In none of the above cases did the women appear to be taking outstanding risks, and yet they could not avoid fear for their safety.

Independence

At age 20, the women were often experiencing their first taste of independence, holidays without the family. Social connectedness was with the peer group, friends of the same age.

> Monica [Age 20]: … a combination of total security and freedom. The warmth, the sunset, and the friends, combined to make Monica feel completely self-conscious and like she was actually growing up and able to be independent from her family and study. Essentially, Monica felt physically warm and comfortable, and emotionally free.

> *Claudia [Age 20]: We enjoy it more because we're more independent.*
> *Other: Yeah.*
> *Kylie: Yeah, and we can do what we want to do when we want to, sort of thing.*
> *Later*
> *Amanda: ... general freedom, the ability to do whatever.*

All the groups referred to independence at 20 but it was the 40 and 65+ age groups for whom independence was most striking as a theme. For them, holidays at age 20 often included first-time experiences. They stressed the freedom, excitement, fun and adventure.

> Jenny [Age 40]: … I was footloose and fancy free temporarily and was looking forward to having a bit of a break … This holiday I particularly love[d] because of the freedom of it and there were no constraints or expectations or judgement.

> Rachel [Age 40]: There was an air of excitement. Here she was doing something that was totally different. Almost taboo. She was brought up as a strict Lutheran and had very strong convictions herself. To go away with her boyfriend even though it was to stay with relatives was almost revolutionary. Her parents had let her go, although with some reservation, no doubt, along with appropriate lectures. She felt independent, grown up, almost adult and in love. They stayed with an aunty and uncle and four cousins. The lifestyle that the family led was different from one Rachel knew. They were here and there and everywhere. Rachel was an only child and her family did most things together. Her mother would have worried for days about the house, food and two houseguests. But Aunt Nancy was out playing golf. [Boyfriend] Paul's cousin opened two tins of spaghetti for lunch. We only ever open one to share between three people. Fancy serving tinned spaghetti to visitors! Rachel's mum would never have done that.
>
> *Ruth [Age 40]: ... It was the first time I'd actually been away without my parents (Other: Mmm). It was just 'heaven'!*
>
> Jane [Age 65+]: … off they went, assuring friends and family that they expected to (quote), 'Cover Dixie like the dew'…
>
> *Cordelia [Age 65+]: ... it's that sense of self (Anne: Yeah). That's the first sort of inkling when you see yourself as an independent person in your own right, I think. I am 'me', you know.*
> *Anne: Mmm, yeah.*

For several of the women, a taste of freedom was "overwhelming" and intoxicating.

> Roberta [Age 40]: Roberta felt she was worldly and independent. She was away from her 'other' mundane self. For the first time in her life she felt excited at the prospect of travelling even further in the future, she felt on the edge of something.
> *Others: Mmm.*
>
> Ruth [Age 40]: She had an absolutely fantastic time and vowed this would be the first of many future independent holidays.

As with the memories of holidays at age 12, memories of holiday experiences at age 20 as "first time" experiences (new forms of transport, accommodation, destination, travelling companion/s) were more common with the current 40 and 65+ age group than with those currently of that age (age 20). Perhaps novelty is more apparent at a later age or more readily admitted or, perhaps, 20-year-olds today are more experienced in their travels by age 20 than their mothers and grandmothers were at that age.

In discussing the commonalities of the written memories at age 20 freedom was recognised as a theme, although, as one group said:

Carly [Age 40]: I think I always knew I could phone my parents (Annie: Mmm) if I was really stuck and say, (Annie: Mmm) 'Can you wire me some money?'
Susie: I think that's what we all did.
Others: Mmm, Mmm.

For the 65+-year-old women, there was still a degree of supervision.

Susan [Age 65+]: Difficult as it is to believe in this day and age, these girls all had to get parental permission for such a jaunt. We were 20! … (*Jane: Yeah*). We didn't go off on our own without mother saying 'OK' (*Other: Mmm*). All their previous camping and trips included some adult over 25, whom the girls would invite to join them. In this case, Jane's aunt and uncle were in a cabin not far away. So that was going to suffice … Being on their own with no adult supervision was great, even though their chaperones had always been people whom they liked.

Frances [Age 65+]: We were about the age of twenty-two (Lorna: Yes). We weren't allowed to go before (Other: No), whereas my daughter, we let her go at 18.
Lorna: Yes. But it was very much family. Always family. Everything you did was with the family (Frances: Until that holiday…) until you got to that age then you,
Barbara: And then it was mainly guesthouses.
Other: Yes.
Lorna: Yes, it was and then you branched out.
…
Frances: … They were very, very strict … They made sure the girls kept to their own bedrooms and the boys kept to their own bedrooms (Lorna: Oh yes). Very strict they all were (Lorna: Mmm).
Barbara: But I don't think there was as much shenanigans.
Other: No.
Lorna: No, there wasn't.

An overpowering theme in the memories of the 40-year-old women was the *lack* of responsibility at age 20 compared to the responsibilities they currently had in their holidays at age 40.

Helen [Age 40]: … [At age 20] we had no responsibility.
Other: That's right, yeah.
Other: Mmm.
Roberta: Yeah that's true, when you think about the other holidays (Other: Mmm) when we were older [at age 40].
Helen: None of us had any responsibility.
Marie: We talked about everybody else [In the previous discussion of holidays at age 40].
Roberta: It was all responsibility. (Other: Yeah, yeah, that's true; Other: Mmm) Here the freedom!
Marie: It sounds good.
Other: Yes, Woooh!
Roberta: The freedom! You know, eating and doing what you like.
Other: Yeah.
Lizzy: Being able to please yourself without really having to worry about anybody else.

The current 20-year-olds were more likely than the older women to be holidaying with family at age 20 and, for them, lack of independence was significant and

resented. Holidaying with family at age 20 was constraining and generally a negative experience. Mothers were seen as the instigators of family holidays in which the 20-year-olds participated.

> *Stephanie [Age 20]: ... my mum especially is big on, you know, 'Let's all go on a holiday 'cause we used to and we should still go' (Crystal: Mmm, mmm).*

> *Monica [Age 20]: ... a big factor of family holidays – like everyone (Clair: Mmm) wants to take a break but your mum wants you to take a break all together (Clair: Yeah). And so it just doesn't work sometimes*
> *Clair: Community affair!*
> Later
> *Clair: Pressures because you've got to do it as a team thing (Others: Ohhh, Yes). If you were by yourself you could do what you wanted.*
> *Louise: Yeah and I think my sister and I are just getting beyond the family holiday now (Other: Oh yeah). I think this has to be the last.*
> *Other: Oh definitely, yes ...*
> *Monica: ... after this holiday she [my mum] said, I'm never taking you away on holiday again'. And she's serious!*

> *Nicole [Age 20]: Because they [family] want to have such a good time (Other: I know) that they're expecting you to contribute to their good time (Others: Yes, Yes) ... because they haven't spent time with you for a while (Others: Yes, Yes). 'OK, we'll go on holiday so we can spend time with Nicole. Oh, well, Nicole doesn't want to spend time with us. Well, we'll try and* ***make*** *her spend time with us'.*
> *Others: Yes, Yes, Yeah, that's so true.*

Having to answer to parents (or someone else) and thus not being in control when "it's your holiday" was a negative experience.

> *Barbie [Age 20]: Because they [parents] still expect you to do the dodgy little things you used to do when you were about 10.*
> *Others: Yeah, Yeah ... Yeah.*

There was a tension between the desires of the 20-year-olds and the expectations of others. Caught in the middle they professed feeling guilty for their "selfish" behaviour.

> Monica [Age 20]: The most negative memory of Monica's about this trip was when she was sitting on the lounge in the house, having just argued with her mother for the umpteenth time. Monica felt hot and bothered in the humid rainy weather. She felt annoyed that she may be missing out on the fun … she saw that all her friends would be having while she was stuck in a crumbling house in the rain. Every noise seemed to irritate her, from the chirping of the birds, to the grating sound of her mother's voice. And there could not possibly be a holiday experience more dreadful. Monica felt that tiredness one feels when there are just so many things seem to get in ... seem to get on one's nerves. She saw herself as the only one in the family who seemed to be dissatisfied with the situation and hence … selfish and guilty. In essence, that particular afternoon Monica was left feeling rather sorry for herself.

> Nicole *[Age 20]:* … her parents were getting concerned about her not spending enough time with the host family and with her family. This started to bother her and put a strain on the holiday experience.
> *Nicole: … But there were things I should have been doing, because that was what,*
> *Lucy: they wanted you to do.*
> *Nicole: Yeah and that was what I was supposed to do (Other: Yeah). So it was a bit tense (Other: Mmm)…*

> *Paula [Age 20]: … travelling with the family, like, I mean, you don't mind it. But my sister and my parents don't get on … (Tania: Oh really? You know, I think I'd have trouble travelling with my family). Then you've got to pacify her and then try and get on with them …*

Amongst the current 20-year-olds (and even 40-year-olds who defined age 20 as a time free of responsibility) there were memories of "emotional work" in their holidays at age 20 when the women were constrained by their responsibility to others. The women's ethical concerns were evident in their anxiety and care for another. These concerns were not evident in the memories of the 65+ age group at age 20.

> Hannah [Age 20]: … [With boyfriend, bogged on the family property] I was just getting so frustrated that we couldn't get out … I'm thinking, 'Oh my god, we're going to spend the night here' … I wasn't thinking, 'Oh my god, we're going to die or whatever'. I was just always thinking of my parents. They're going to be going, 'Where the hell are they?'… (*Amanda: Yeah*). I was worried, 'cause they would be worried. And my boyfriend didn't understand why I was being such a blubbering idiot. Like… he thought that I had it in my mind that we were going to die or something. And I'm going, 'No, like I'm thinking of my mum'. Like she would just be sick with worry (*Kylie: Then she'd be waiting up all night* …). Yeah, and my mum is the biggest like worrier.

> Rachel [Age 40]: [On holiday] On Sunday afternoon, Paul [boyfriend] began to do some study. After all, if he didn't pass, he'd have to do the year again. He spent some time, for about half an hour, studying but then Rachel's cousin's kids came outside and started playing. They were boisterous and noisy. Paul was distracted, he couldn't concentrate. Rachel was upset. She felt badly because she persuaded him to come, possibly against his better judgement. She went out to have words with the children and spoke to them nicely, asking them not to be so rowdy. Within minutes, they became loud again, typically unthinking children. Paul was unable to study. Rachel tried to comfort him, but also experienced and shared his frustration. She went outside to play with the children, hoping to distract them and quieten them. She succeeded for a while, but felt the need to be back inside with Paul, helping to share the frustration. Despite her attempts, Paul was overwrought, fearing failure.

Spontaneity

The experience of freedom at age 20 was associated not only with independence from the family, but also with a flexible travel schedule.

> Lisa [Age 20]: Having no set destination, time limit etc., it was great. Lisa felt like a different person with no worries and the fun and adventure ahead. Plans, to discover places

she'd never been before, were unfolding as they both flicked through the tourist books and maps. To swim at at least three different beaches a day and stop at every cute little town, taking in all the beauty of the south coast was the plan … Lisa and Olivia pretend[ed] that they were Thelma and Louise looking forward to the adventure ahead. Driving on an open road in unfamiliar territory, stopping to buy fresh and cheap orchard fruit on the side of the highway was freedom.

Hayley [Age 20]: … good in a way, 'cause … nothing's planned. You never knew where we were going to stay. And, yeah, sort of like anything could happen …

Carly [Age 40]: We'd get to the port with no specific destination in mind. It completely depended on which ferry was leaving the soonest.

The unplanned nature of holidays at age 20 was compared to holidays at age 40.

Jenny [Age 40]: Yeah, going away as a young person, I didn't think through what it was going to be like at all. It was just, it was happening (Others: Mmm, Mmm). And you were there, you like lived in the moment (Maureen: Yes) whereas now,
Sue: everything's planned…
Jenny: Yeah but even if it's not planned … I already have within me an expectation of what it would be like (Sue: Mmm). I didn't have that at 20 (Sue: No; Liz: No). It was like a vacant lot… it just wasn't there that sort of internalised view of what the holiday would be like (Sue: Mmm). And whilst I might not consciously think it through now, I think I do have a bit of a map of what it's going to be like (Sue: Mmm) if I go somewhere.
Sue: You'd have to.
Liz: Well, I think for me now, I would say that the pleasure is in the planning (Other: Mmm) … I like to plan it. But I didn't do a lot of that sort of stuff when I was younger (Sue: Mmm, mmm). You know I was quite happy just to go along (Sue: Mmm).
Fran: Pack your bag the night before (Sue: Mmm; Liz: Yeah) or that morning (Sue: Yeah; Liz: Yeah).
Jenny: And now, I mean I like the planning now too because I actually don't want to miss out on anything now … I know that there are lots of places to see and do …
Sue: You want to see everything on the way.
…
Liz: Well, I guess in those days there seemed to be plenty of time too (Jenny: Yeah) … and you know … this sounds like doom and gloom but I do actually think to myself there's limited time left now … I may never go to that place again (Other: Yeah). Whereas when you're 20 you think, you know, (Fran: I'll be back) yeah, (Sue: Mmm).

While lack of planning at age 20 was seen positively, it often resulted in disappointment and hardship. The following groups of 40- and 65+-year-olds recognised that their negative experiences were the result of inexperience and immaturity. They did not anticipate anything going wrong.

Roberta [Age 40]: Little money, no planning … you just think you're going to find a cheap motel that's going to be wonderful. You'll walk straight in and they'll have a room for you … Perhaps we watch too many Hollywood films where people seem to just get in a car … find a country town and there was a motel with a nice room.

Jane [Age 65+]: … Jane and her roommate, Suzie, sailed through their two years of college with no obvious academic accomplishments … they obtained permission from the college to

take a bus to St Louis where they knew several former classmates, each of them, they were sure, would be glad to see them, feed them and house them. With bags packed and high expectations, off they went, assuring the college who they would be with and that they would return in three days' time. It was all expectation during the three-hour bus trip and as soon as they arrived they headed for the telephone in the bus station. They phoned a whole list of people who were either away from home, were pleased to hear from them, and hoped they would contact them at a later date, but no one invited them to come for a night or two to stay. The girls used quite a few five-cent pieces in the phone, and their resources in no way extended to a hotel room and, certainly, they knew the college would not approve of that (*Other: Oh dear*). So the only thing to do, was to quietly use the other end of the return trip ticket and get back to college as soon as possible (*Susan: Oh gee*). That great weekend turned into a great disaster.
Susan: .... Oh you didn't count upon sleeping at the bus stop.
Jane: We had you know unmitigated gall. I figured that everybody would just love to see and put you up you know (Susan: Well, we did the same ...). It really taught you a lesson.
...
Susan: I was in my early 20s and working in Connecticut and went down to New York and … I think my friends knew that I was coming. But I ended up at their place, quite late, it was after dark and they weren't there. So I sat in the car out in the front of the place, and … they didn't come home until about midnight and said, 'O*h, was it to-day you were coming … we thought it was next week-end*'*… I was just thinking ... I'd just have to sleep in the car. Because ... you didn't have money for any accommodation (Amelia: No).*

Physical Discomfort

Although not as prominent a theme as it had been at age 12, physical discomfort was a negative experience at age 20. Hot weather and illness were negative experiences mentioned by the 65+ group. One woman wrote of the physical discomfort of having her period on holiday.

Frances [Age 65+]: Ok, my worst holiday experience was the same holiday at Coolangatta … wasn't just this holiday, but this was the very worst. Happened in most holidays in my whole life. Two days after Frances and Maureen arrived, Frances awoke with crippling stomach cramps which was the usual start of her period, but it was two weeks early. Something which had never happened since her periods first commenced when she was 11-years-old. The first time. Changing climate had brought on an early period. What a horrid start to a holiday. So that day, Frances ate a very small breakfast, had a hot drink and Veganin tablets and told Maureen to go and enjoy herself and returned to bed with a hot water bottle and more Veganin feeling sick and sorry for herself. That was one night she didn't go dancing but returned to bed straight after dinner with more Veganin and a hot water bottle, and eventually slept until morning. The next few days Frances didn't swim but at least felt nearly human and able to lay on the beach in a loose Muu Muu style beach dress, or beach jacket *(Others: Mmm, Mmm).*
....
Frances: I tell you what, I could have taken the whole damn packet and it wouldn't have made any difference to me (Laughter). The bane of my life (Others: Dearie me, Mmm). When you think of the things you tried. I tried those and then I tried something else. And, oh, nothing worked. Poor old hot water bottle was the first thing I ever packed.
Later
Lorna: I think your point 'every month', I think that's happened to us all on holiday.
Frances: Oh that was the curse of my life.
Lorna: It always, you know you plan on a holiday and bingo (Other: Oh yes)! That's it!

However, the age group for whom physical discomfort was most dominant as a negative experience was the current 20-year-old group. Sunburn was the most common illness experienced. Seasickness, sunstroke, bluebottle stings and food poisoning were other causes of illness. Physical discomfort was experienced in other forms, fatigue, heavy backpacks, uncomfortable sleeping facilities, lack of seating space, hunger and bad smells At age 20 some of the discomforts were the result of travelling "on the cheap".

> *Hayley [Age 20]: ... the travelling on the trains ... that was definitely a negative ... If you'd have to travel overnight (it'd be too expensive to like get a bed) ... you'd have to always share a carriage with at least about six people. Like you'd have to sort of sleep sitting up. And you'd be buggered the next day. But you still sort of got up and went ...*

> Sarah [Age 40]: We were all broke so they all had to sleep on the beach which was not pleasant for Sarah as it was cold and the sand was damp and hard.

While, the current 20-year-olds had powerful negative memories of physical discomfort, the current 40-year-olds recalled discomfort but did not attach much importance to it. Positive social relations at age 20 "neutralised" what otherwise might have been a negative experience.

> Roberta [Age 40]: … Roberta started to freeze somewhere near Goulburn and by Canberra she couldn't feel her toes. Alex's 1954 EH Holden didn't have heating … The cold, however, didn't dampen anybody's spirits, instead it just added to the excitement.

> Helen [Age 40]: The motel was probably 3 star. It was dark, noisy and very small. But this did not really matter to them. They were having so much fun.

> *Megan [Age 40]: The snow was dreadful and hard ice, and spring slush. But Megan had a wonderful time.*
> Later
> *Megan: When you're sort of young ... it's all an adventure and you do it.*
> *Karen: That's right.*
> *Joan: Mmm.*
> *Rachel: It probably made the holiday more exciting in a way.*
> *Megan: ... It sort of did actually. I mean, maybe the harsh conditions sort of added to it a bit.*
> *Karen: Yeah.*
> *Rachel: That's right.*
> *Joan: Yeah.*

Neither was illness necessarily a negative experience.

> *Jean [Age 40]: ... For about five days I was really sick but it didn't seem to matter.*
> *Others: Mmm, Yeah.*

Karen: That's right ... another time in your life that might have been the negative (Joan: That's right) experience.
Joan: Yes.
Karen: But it wasn't.
Jean: ... I would often stay in bed all day and then about six o'clock at night I'd get up, you know, have a shower, get dressed and we'd go out for the night to these pubs that stayed open all night ... and come home sick as a dog next day. No wonder! I mean I was probably wearing skimpy little cotton blouses (Others: Yeah, yeah) ... in Hobart. And it was freezing (Karen: Yeah) and it didn't matter (Other: Mmm). I was just so excited. It was so new ...

The above women compared holidays when they were younger to holidays at age 40.

Rachel [Age 40]: [A camping trip when younger with her new husband] We spent three weeks going around Western Australia with just an Esky,(Joan: Mmm) a small tiny box with food in (Joan: Mmm) and a bag for our clothes. I think we had a camping stove. That's all we had. And I mean we didn't have tables and chairs ...
Joan: No, you didn't have, yeah, that's right ...
Rachel: And just a tiny little tent.
Megan: You had each other, maybe. Maybe you looked after each other more in those days, doing things, I dunno.
Joan: We probably did.
Megan: Fussed over each other a bit more.
Karen: Yes
Rachel: I'm sure.
Megan: ... but now we sort of, we want ... all the [physical] comforts because we may not get all those [emotional] comforts.

Bodily Appearance

The women were aware of how they presented themselves to others at age 20. Clothing, hair styles and suntanned bodies were recalled. Bodily appearance was not significant in the memories of holidays at other ages. In holidays at age 20, clothing was more likely to be recalled by the 40 and 65+ age groups, reminiscing about the fashions of their youth than it was by the 20-year-olds for whom the clothing worn was the contemporary fashion. Clothing which made the women "feel good" was important.

Frances [Age 65+]: Frances has photos of herself sitting on the shoulders of a bronzed chap on an aquaplane and also of herself alone on an aquaplane in a two piece (pants covering the navel) swimsuit made from leopard skin print material at Paula Stafford's of Surfers. Paula Stafford was a shop where swimmers were made to your measurements and if you went in the first week of your holiday you would have them to wear by the second week. They were different to anything you could purchase in Woy Woy, Gosford or Sydney. The materials were glorious colours and you could have reversible swimmers, so that each pair of swimmers was really two outfits. They always fit perfectly and had proper bra-shape tops, which were lovely to wear and never moved, no matter how long you body-surfed.

The "bikini" appeared in the memories of both 20- and 40-year-old women.

> Barbie [Age 20]: Once settled, sunscreened and sexy in her new bikini, Barbie made her way proudly to the surf. However, she was taken aback at the size of the waves. Ken had no hesitation and dove straight into the water, and Barbie riskily followed. She was soon overawed at the sight of her bikini still on her body having survived a major disaster of a massive wave. This added security of non-moving swimwear made Barbie positively delighted. Her confidence was radiating and even Ken described her as 'captivating'. It was the only time in her life Barbie felt the absolute centre of attention and confident in a swimsuit!

> *Carly [Age 40]: We'd have ... the inciest, winciest, tiniest, weeny bikini (Others: Yes, Mmm) ... remember the ones ... they're just strings (Other: Mmm, mmm). It was an Indian cotton one (Other: Yeah) and it was just strings and had those little dingleling bells on the back (Others: Mmm, Yes).*
> *Susie: I'm sure we had those.*
> *Carly: And the bra the size of an egg cup.*
> *Annie: Yes, nothing.*
> *Sarah: That's right, very, very brief.*
> *Carly: Wouldn't fit on my big toe now!*
> *...*
> *Carly: Did you go topless? We always went topless.*

> Liz [Age 40]: I recall buying bikinis for something like 50 cents a bikini and I brought … like three bikinis back for just about everybody I knew. And they were really, really great, batik sort of things. It was a very strong positive memory.

The same woman in her negative experience wrote:

> Liz [Age 40]: … I had bought myself a bikini. They were actually pretty big in my life, clearly at that point. (*Sue: Small from what I can remember, Liz: Yeah, that's right.*) It was a sort of Thai silk number that cost me a lot of money … someone had actually slashed all the clothes (*Other: Mmm*) on the clothesline, including my (*Other: Mmm*) very expensive bikini. And I was absolutely devastated by that … And loving it in the way that I did and saving up for it and desperately wanting it and liking myself in it; it was quite distressing.

As well as the bikini, the sarong was another symbol of laid-back, holiday sensuality and relaxation. The level of detail suggests the relevance of clothes to the holiday experience.

> Roberta [Age 40]: She vividly remembers what she wore – flared denim jeans, a new tightly-fitting jumper which had red, black and yellow panels (bought at the Inn Shoppe), a khaki felt wide brimmed hat (with a scarf around the brim) pulled down over her waist-length hair, and a pair of lace-up black boots.

> Frances [Age 65+]: The shoes and high-heeled sandals purchased in Surfers [holiday destination] were absolutely gorgeous, beautiful soft leather, pale pink, blue, all the colours of the rainbow, with beads or pretty decorations and when worn to dances at home were the envy of every girl who saw them … Frances purchased a pair of … gorgeous, silver dance sandals for herself which were very stilt and just a small ¼ inch strap around the heel and across the ankle and a ¼ inch strap across the toes with rhinestones across the strap. They

were beautiful shoes, and danced in for many years. From when she first purchased those silver shoes, Frances felt like Cinderella every time she wore them.

Lorna [Age 65+]: [Travelling to Lord Howe Island] The fashion of the day was hats, gloves, dress, stockings, high heel shoes, and my partner [husband] that I went with was dressed accordingly in suit, tie, shoes, socks – very formal. Not like today.

Susan [Age 65+]: 1933 was the height, or rather the depth, of the depression and Susan had to quickly get a job that paid to raise some money for the trip and to replenish her wardrobe. This achieved and thanks to Army-Navy Surplus store, Susan acquired the outfit favoured by her peers – corduroy knee breeches, a check lumberjack top and lace-up knee high leather boots, plus a beret (*Jane: Mmm*) … we just had different coloured breeches, you know.

While the women reminisced fondly about the clothes of their twenties, clothes were also remembered as problematic. They could be physically uncomfortable if one were sunburned or if inappropriate for holiday conditions.

Topsey [Age 65+]: [On arrival at a tropical island, walking from the jetty to the guesthouse] It would have been a lot more comfortable if Topsey and Marina [friend] had worn more suitable shoes as they tripped along in their flimsy, black, patent leather, strappy sandals and both in nylon stockings. Can you imagine, in 1955!

Clothes might not offer the cover required for decency.

Jean [Age 40]: [At a 1970s music festival] She remembers the women's toilet in the middle of a paddock. Just a row of wooden dunnies protected by shoulder high hessian walls. There were no partitions between the toilet seats, so it was a peculiar affair … Jean remembers being really uncomfortable (*Megan: I'm not surprised*). I mean, could you use your bowels in front of five or six people? (*Megan: No, no, I don't think*).
…
Karen: … it was the row of toilets and having to go in and (Others: Mmm, mmm) I don't know what I did but I remember finding it really traumatic (Other: Mmm).
Later
Jean: And if you're wearing jeans, you have to take (Megan: take everything off; Joan: Yes). You were fairly exposed. Whereas if you'd worn a skirt or something (Joan: That's true) at least you're covered.
Other: Skirts weren't in, in those days …

Not having the appropriate clothes could lead to social discomfort.

Jean [Age 40]: [At the above music festival] … anyone who was anyone wore a suede leather jacket and bell-bottoms and beads and lots of hair. Jean never did have lots of hair and nurses' wages never quite stretched to leather jackets or John and Merivale clothing. So she felt a bit out of it on that account.

One could misjudge the occasion and "nearly die" if inappropriately dressed.

> Lou [Age 65+]: On one night she was invited to a dance in the local hall. She went in a long dress and looked totally out of place. Others were not dressed up as they said. So that was a big mistake.
> *Other: Mmm.*
> …
> *Susan: But, you know, how dreadful in those days if you were dressed incorrect (Amelia: Yes; Other: I know). You see nowadays it doesn't matter.*

However, such embarrassment was not apparent in the memories of the current 20-year-olds.

> *Kimberley [Age 20]: … like I rock up and like, yeah, I'm in my jeans OK, it's OK, and everyone's in their North Sydney gear, like, (Other: Yeah), the tight black pants, big heels, little boppie tops, like leather jackets (Other: No way!) and stuff. I was just sitting there going … I'm a sloth' … and it was all the people from like North Shore (Other: Yeah). It was just unbelievable. It was just like going to North Sydney (Other: Mmm). It was just ridiculous you know. All the girls there, you know, trying to pick up and stuff. All the guys were leering at them and stuff.*

Clothes in the 1950s required maintenance.

> *Carmen [Age 65+]: On holiday, I don't remember, but we must have had to locate the hotel ironing rooms.*
> *Frances: The petticoats were the worst of all (Others: Yeah, Mmm). Oh yes, it was the first thing we did when we got on holidays (Other: Yeah). You took your clothes out and ironed everything you owned (Others: Yes, Mmm) and hung it up so you didn't have to iron the rest of the holidays. You can get changed quicker then!*

Nonetheless, the above women were critical of the fashions of today.

> *Frances [Age 65+]: Oh, it was a wonderful time for young people then [in the 1940s and 1950s].*
> *Lorna: Yes (Other: Mmm) and everything was pretty and feminine.*
> *Other: Mmm.*
> *Frances: It was, it was lovely.*
> *Lorna: Not like some of the things today (Other: No) …*
> *Frances: And girls looked like girls.*
> *Other: Yes.*
> *Lorna: They looked like girls.*
> *Frances: They didn't look like blokes or dags (Other: No) …*

In addition to discussion about clothes was discussion of a suntan. A "suntan" is associated with a holiday, and even amongst these Sydney women, who did not need to go on holiday to "get a tan", this bodily feature was part of the holiday experience at age 20 for the current 20-year-olds. It was not part of the holiday experience for the older women at age 20.

> *Nicole [Age 20]: Nicole enjoyed sunbaking and had decided that she would work on her tan this holiday. For the first week, Nicole went to the beach every day in the morning. She would alternate between swimming and sunbaking, before heading home for lunch. Then she would stay home all afternoon reading before heading out for some exercise in the early evening.*

Not managing their tanning could lead to the negative experience of burning.

PART B: THE SOCIAL US – AN INTERPRETATION

Youth is described as:

> a stage in the lifecycle which allows greater disposable time, a relative absence of responsibilities and a lack of either physical or mental constraint. Many young people are relatively affluent with few commitments to either housing or children. (Clarke, J. 1992, p.322)

Although such a description does not apply to all youth, for the women in the present study it appropriately positions youth relative to other age groups (ages 12, 40 and 65+ years). Nonetheless, there were cohort differences and differences within cohorts as to constraints in holiday taking at age 20.

At age 20, the women (with two exceptions) were unmarried. They were not obligated to a partner or children. Free from responsibilities they might have holidayed alone at this stage of their life. None, however, chose to be the intrepid, independent "lady traveller" as described in Chapter 2 or the modern-day solo equivalent discussed in Chapter 3. Travel companions were an important part of their holiday. The dominant theme which emerges from the women's holidays at age 20 and which links the women's experiences of youth, despite different historical times, is the women's sociability, the pleasure they experienced from social connectedness. The women demonstrated in their holiday behaviour what others have attributed to youth, the importance of peer group companionship outside the family (Lawson 1991, World Tourism Organisation 1991; Clarke, J. 1992). Leisure activities, including holidays, are an opportunity for such interaction (Hendry et al. in Patterson 2001). Commenting on Swedish youth, Reimer (1995) claims that:

> Outside of the fixed parts of daily life comprised by school and the workplace, most young people want to have fun. They want to amuse themselves and meet friends. Interest in pleasure is stronger for the majority of youth than interest in more serious activities, and pleasure is more important for youth than it is for adults. This orientation *unites* youth: it exists almost independent of socio-economic background. (Reimer 1995, p.135)

The importance of sharing the holiday with another which was evident at age 12 becomes even more paramount at age 20. As Green et al. (1990) say:

> In adolescence, as in adult life, a common and highly valued form of female leisure is the maintenance of social relationships with other women … It may be denigrated as 'gossiping', 'chatting', 'neighbouring' or 'calling' by men, yet provides many girls and women with some pleasure and autonomy within the contexts of their lives. (Green et al. 1990, p.151)

In the present study social interaction was with other tourists, usually the women's travelling companions. Although the World Tourism Organisation (1991), in its final report on the International Conference on Youth Tourism, states that "many like to immerse themselves more actively in the host culture" (p.6) and "interact with their hosts" (p.8), there was little evidence in the memories of the women at age 20 in the present study.

The social interaction between tourist and tourist as stressed in the tourism literature on backpacking, the American Spring Break tradition and media articles on the Australian Schoolies Week came closer to portraying the experience of the women in the study, particularly the current 20-year-olds. The women approximated the general "Action Seeker" role described by H. Gibson and Yiannakis (1999). However, the media (and, at times, academic) image of student holidays as involving excessive drinking, drugs and casual sex (and the associated health risks) was not a theme for the current 20-year-olds (nor the older women at age 20). The "moral panic" (Cohen, S. 1987) associated with youth and holidays was unjustified in my findings. Drug taking was not evident in the memories. There was some evidence that the current 20-year-olds were consuming more alcohol than the 65+ age group had done at their age, but they appeared to be in control of their drinking.

If there were sexual behaviour, it was with their boyfriend with whom they were travelling. There was no evidence of casual sex.

Holidays can be seen as a rite of passage for young adults with the first independent holiday a milestone in a child's development of autonomy (Schmierer & Jackson 1998). Commenting on the influence of life-cycle changes on tourist behaviour, Crompton (1981) found the critical life-cycle change was the "transition from the parental home to a different milieu" (p.558). Although most of the women in the present study were permanently residing in the parental home at age 20, the holiday offered many of the women an opportunity temporarily to leave the family and holiday with their peers. Interestingly, the current 20-year-olds were more likely to refer to family holidays undertaken at age 20 than were the older age groups. Nonetheless, for those current 20-year-olds who did holiday with the family, the situation was often not ideal. Pleasures in family travel which might have been expressed in holidays at age 12 were absent in the memories of all age groups at age 20. Especially for women living at home at age 20, the holiday, even if temporary, offered a space and time for independence and freedom, a means to escape familial boundedness. Free from their families, the women at age 20 were able to explore their identity and social relationships with their peers. Their lack of planning could give them the freedom to be spontaneous and live by the moment. They were the decision makers and they were in control. The women reported the same positive cognitions and emotions that Schmierer and Jackson (1998) found in their study of first independent holidays. Notable amongst the 40-year-olds at age 20 was the opportunity to "live" with a boyfriend on holiday. Although the parents might not approve and might not tolerate the situation at home, it seemed that parents could turn a blind eye and go into denial that a daughter could have a sexual relationship. Boëthius (1995) says,

> Patricia Meyer Spacks (1981) is of the opinion that conflicts between generations can be as powerful as those between the sexes. Children and youth often feel (as do women) dependent, suppressed and bound (p.49).

It is often difficult for young women to break those bounds. Enloe (1990) refers to the lure of the military for women – a reason for women to respectably leave home.

One group of 65+ women who were young adults during World War 2 similarly claimed that joining the services was a means of escaping the ties of family. War was described as the "ultimate adventure". The holiday, while not as dramatic, can serve the same purpose.

While pleasure in social connectedness was constant across the cohorts, social connectedness at age 20 was constructed differently according to historical period. The construction of heterosexuality and women's position in relation to men has changed since the 65+ age group were young women. While the 65+-year-old women might have anticipated that womanhood meant a heterosexual relationship in the form of marriage, until that time holidays were undertaken in the company of girlfriends and for the oldest in the group, holidays were "chaperoned". The next generation of women (those aged 40) reached young adulthood at a time of profound social change – the late 1960s and early 1970s. The contraceptive pill had been introduced and ideas about mixed living and pre-marital sex were changing. These changes meant that a woman holidaying with a man outside of marriage was becoming more common and accepted. Amongst the current 20-year-olds, there were still some whose parents did not approve of their daughters holidaying alone with a boyfriend. Mackay (1997), psychologist and social researcher, while acknowledging diversity of views about sexual behaviour today, considers that there has been a cultural shift in attitudes of the current 20-year- olds (the Options Generation) and their parents (the Baby Boomers).

> Neither the males nor the females of the Options Generation appear to attach quite the same moral significance to sexual activity as their parents and, most particularly, their grandparents did. To people now in their late teens and early twenties, sexual activity is rarely likely to be regarded as 'wrong' even if it is engaged in with someone who is not regarded as a potential long-term partner … sex is a far less mysterious subject than it used to be and the decision to engage in sexual activity appears to be less significant than it was even for the sexually-permissive Boomers. (Mackay 1997, p.167)

Despite sexuality being more liberal today, the current 20-year-olds were less likely to holiday as a couple (with their boyfriend) than their mothers' generation. Perhaps

they had less need to do so. They and the 65+-year-old women were thus not subject to the romantic and sexual tensions that many of the 40-year-old women experienced at age 20. Life (and holidays) during the "Swinging Sixties" was not always as carefree as the media might have us believe. Balancing modern heterosexual relationships with the conservative attitudes of their parents' generation could be stressful. Although many of the women might be seen as resisting the discourse of respectability of their parents, they could not completely escape the feminine discourse of women as the object of the other's gaze. That the tension was recalled suggests the unresolved nature of the memory. The guilt and shame expressed by some of the women and the declaration by some that "nothing had actually happened" suggests that the "freedom" of this generation was part myth. As Green et al. (1990) maintain:

> The concept of respectability constitutes a key element in the construction and representation of women … ideological stereotypes of women in contemporary capitalism divide them into those respectable women who are or will be wives, mothers and daughters, and women who are beyond the limits of respectability as whores or 'fallen women'. (Green et al. 1990, p.115)

The issue of women's reputation in travel is not a recent phenomenon. M. Russell (1994) claims we should spare some sympathy for the freedom-seeking women travellers of the last century who "risked not so much their lives as their reputations" (p.181). Robinson (1995) similarly warns, "And you need not think that rich young spinsters have the world to themselves, meanwhile: there is one's future to think of, after all. And always, always, one's reputation" (p.xv).

Those 40-year-old women who, at age 20, claimed to be 'good' while travelling with their boyfriends perhaps are examples of Walkerdine's (1990b) claim that "The passive little object of the male gaze covers over the possibility of the actively sexual woman, the strong and powerful woman" (p. 153). Walkerdine suggests that is still easier in some ways to remain passive than take on the negative fantasies. It is less risky.

Although the women might have been rebelling from the constraining social discourse of the time, "this in no way negates the constant presence of myths on a totally different, unconscious level" (Kaplan 1992, p.10). The 40-year-old women understood parental expectations of appropriate behaviour and suitability of certain types of men. Despite freedom from parents, women had to work at their reputation even on holidays. It was apparent that social class was a determining feature of a suitable partner (and for some, culture/nationality).

There was a struggle between contradictory discourses. Holidays can be seen as a time for women to meet men. As J. Clarke (1992) says of the holiday, "For the young adult, the holiday may play a critical role in meeting partners of the opposite sex, creating an ambience and environment for the testing out of partner compatibility" (p.322). For the 40-year-old women at age 20, they needed to be the "proper" men. One woman, Megan, who had holidayed with her working-class, Harley-Davidson riding boyfriend, was still struggling with her subjectivity at age 20 and her subjectivity today: "This is not me, it's absolutely not me". In the dialogue presented above in Part A, it is evident that a number of discourses are at play. The sexuality in the memory is strong, with the discourse on masculinity apparent – a working man, good-looking, riding a Harley Davidson. Megan's attraction to this exciting man is evident but the conflict is powerful as she was not following the feminine, middle-class discourse of the time for women not to associate with men of lower social class. In claiming he was "filthy", "a nobody", she is, at age 40, distancing herself from the Other and disowning the desire she had at age 20. There is a struggle with identity as she tries to disassociate her mind from her body. Even after twenty years it was an emotional episode to recall and one over which the struggle remains. Other women in her group recognised and acknowledged her physical attraction and desire for this man but in looking for an acceptable conclusion, in "rewriting" her memory, they colluded with the dominant discourse by reinforcing the mind/body distinction. They agreed her behaviour was not acceptable but it was a learning experience and helped her develop as a person.

The findings in the present study indicate socio-cultural shifts since the 1930s when the oldest of the women were aged 20 but the changes cannot be considered to be linear. In some ways the younger women had more in common with the older

women, their grandmother's generation, than they did with their mother's generation in terms of holidays. Nearly all the women in the older and younger age groups holidayed with same sex groups at age 20. Nevertheless, despite these similarities, there have been socio-cultural changes across the age groups in the meaning of heterosexual relations. Describing adolescence between 1920 and 1950 (when the 65+-year-old women were aged 20), Tinkler (1995) says that for British girls,

> a heterosexual identity expressed through monogamous marriage remained central to perceptions of mature womanhood; adjustment to heterosexuality was widely seen as essential to the formation of an adult woman's identity and the successful fulfilment of her 'natural' roles as wife and mother". (Tinkler 1995, p.3)

Through popular films and girls' magazines girls engaged in "lessons in femininity" (Tinkler 1995, p.7). The discourse of femininity for the current 40-year-olds at age 20 similarly stressed heterosexuality. McRobbie (2000), in an analysis of the popular 1960s and 1970s British magazine *Jackie*, identifies "'romantic individualism'" as the feminine culture of the teenage girl.

> The *Jackie* girl is alone in her quest for love; she refers back to her female peers for advice, comfort and reassurance only when she needs to do so or when she has nothing better to do. Female solidarity, or even just female friendship, has no real existence in the magazine. To achieve self-respect, the girl has to escape the 'bitchy', 'catty', atmosphere of female company and find a boyfriend as quickly as possible. But in doing this she cannot slide into complacency. Her ruthlessly individualistic outlook must be retained in case she has to fight to keep him. This is, therefore, a double-edged kind of individualism since, in relation to her boyfriend, she is expected to leave individuality behind on the doorstep. In the context of the romantic relationship, she has to be willing to give in to his demands, including his plans for the evening, and by implication, his plans for the rest of their lives. (McRobbie 2000, p.114)

The connection between the femininity discourse of the schoolgirl magazine focusing on female friendship and the discourse of femininity of the teenage magazines which stresses heterosexuality is, according to Walkerdine (1990b), the handsome prince who takes the girl out of her misery. The prince is seen as the

"*final* solution" (p.99). Walkerdine (1990b) explains, "It is because getting a man is identified as a central resolution to problems of female desire that it acts so powerfully" (p. 99). Walkerdine stresses that it is not enough just to change an image for girls as it is through desire and fantasy that we work through conflict. We need to deal with desire. Based on their British research in the 1970s and 1980s, Green and Hebron (1988) and McRobbie (2000) stressed the importance by late adolescence of spending leisure time with a boyfriend, at the expense of girlfriends. The examination of a popular 1990s magazine, *Just Seventeen*, demonstrated changing views from the previous decade.

> In *Just Seventeen*, as opposed to *Jackie*, the girl is no longer the slave to romance; romance is an absent category. There is love, there is sex and there are boys, but the romance category, which McRobbie had argued created a neurotically dependent female subject, is absent. Having friends of both sexes is given prominence and girls are encouraged to enjoy a more equal climate of sexual relations. (Wearing 1998, p.71)

Recent Australian research (Mackay 1997) which has investigated generational change in Australia between Baby Boomers, their parents and their children claims that for the current 20-year-olds (the Options Generation) "the group [has] eclipsed the pair as the social unit" (p.168). This generation has not "paired off" at the age their mothers did. Mackay's (2004) social research suggests that "30 is the new 20" (p.5); in other words, 30-year-olds today are where their mothers were at age 20. Mackay (1997) reports that 20-year-old girls today feel much more comfortable and relaxed with boys than their mothers did at their age and that relationships do not have to be sexual.

> … it has become characteristic of young Options women to speak with warm appreciation of the boys and young men who have become like 'extra brothers' to them, and to refer to the pleasure they take in socializing with boys who have become real friends without being tagged 'boyfriends'. (Mackay 2004, p.166).

Mackay (2004) considers that today's young women "love being female and feel more in control of their lives than their mothers did at the same age" (p.5). He

further claims that they "have truly found their feet. They are bursting with a sense of their own potential: they feel strong, optimistic and confident" (p.5). Warren (1995), in a study of two groups of young Australian women, similarly concluded that most of the women were resisting the discourse of passive femininity. While "guyfriends" were a positive feature of their lives, they were not relinquishing their girlfriends for "boyfriends" and the ideology of romance and marriage. Warren (1995) found that "Going out with young men was expected to be fun rather than part of the serious business of snaring a husband" (p.144). Warren (1995) explains:

> Economic changes resulting in a restructuring of the work force and extended education and training for young people as well as changes in attitudes towards marriage have all had an impact on the outlook of young women where romance is concerned. The young woman of the 1990s is unlikely to have the same attitudes as those of her counterpart in the early 1970s. (Warren 1995, p.144)

Wearing (1992) in a study of leisure and identity of first-year university students found that, if exposed to feminist discourse which stressed autonomy and individuality, women would "have greater scope for challenging traditional femininity and male domination generally" (p.337).

Social grouping for the current 20-year-olds is more tribal than heterosexual coupling. Hugh Mackay (2004, pers. comm., 5 July) claims that the relentless social turbulence of the last twenty-five years has led to the "intense tribalism of contemporary young adults". The herd or tribe is a heterosexual group. Warren (1995) refers to young women having "guyfriends". Mackay (2004) refers to the "New Bloke" and says of this bloke, "Some of his best mates are women, by the way" (p.5). In the present study one group of 20-year-olds called boys in their holiday group "sort of girls", suggesting a developing androgyny between young men and women. Wilkinson and Mulgan (1995) refer to a closing of the gender gap amongst British young people with men becoming more attached to feminine values, and women attached to masculine values. They report the findings that younger women (matching the current 20-year-olds in the present study) score higher on crude hedonism, seeking success and risk taking than men and older women. While these results might seem positive to feminists, the authors of the report alert the

reader to the "darker side of this attraction to masculine values" (p.29) with "a remarkable rise in attachment to violence among younger women". The authors found that caring values as opposed to individualistic values are more representative of women of their mothers' generation.

The findings of the present study indicated that, despite shifting gender relations evident in many of the memories of the current 20-year-old women, there was evidence of the caring values of a traditional feminine discourse. Both the 20- and 40-year olds wrote and spoke of feeling guilty and responsible for others' unhappiness. These findings support the contention of Henderson et al. (1996) that "Even in adolescence many young women in North American society seem to learn an ethic of care" (p.110).

Social discomfort was also prevalent in the negative memories. Many women reported feeling powerless to deal with awkward and embarrassing situations. A commonality was the presence of men in many of these memories, either as an intimidating, judgemental or emotionally distant identity. Unlike men, women were not threatening. Where one 20-year-old referred to a negative instance with a female teacher, the teacher was spoken about with disdain, rather than as someone to be feared. Only one group analysed the powerlessness felt at age 20.

> *Jean [Age 40]: [At a music festival with a man who was emotionally distant] It's amazing what I've learnt from writing that [negative memory of partner's coldness] down ... because if I was that uncomfortable ... and noticing this fellow's [partner's] emotional coldness, why did I stay there in that situation ...?*
> *Later*
> *Jean: ... It wouldn't have occurred to me to have got on a train which I could've walked to (Joan: Mmm) and gone home alone (Other: Mmm).*
> *Later*
> *Jean: The thing that is sticking in my head is the feeling of disempowerment. You know, like not having (Other: Mmm) the power to say that you didn't like a certain food ... when you were a kid or a feeling that you were stuck in certain situations.*

However, the group did not theorise the women's passivity in her uncomfortable experience. The impression from the discussion of the different age groups was that the women accepted their powerlessness in their uncomfortable experiences. None of the women attributed their negative experiences to their gender. It seemed that the 40- and 65+-year-old women interpreted and dismissed their experiences as

being a consequence of their age, as youth. One of the older groups also excused a male "perpetrator" (a powerful man in Australian business in the 1940s) of an intimidating holiday experience. In intimidation they saw strength.

> *Susan [Age 65+]: Well, you don't get to be ... famous and accomplish a lot without being strong*
> *Jane: Yeah.*
> *Lou: No.*

The relevance of examining women's embarrassment and awkwardness is not to point the finger at men for behaving inappropriately but to question how the women came to this position to experience and interpret particular situations as awkward. Where the men were older, the men had the advantage of age and gender on their side, a powerful combination. Traditional gender relations persisted which the women felt helpless to resist.

Women's anxiety for their physical safety also showed no sense of lessening for the current 20-year-olds. Similar to the holiday memories of their mothers' generation at their age, the 20-year-old women remained exposed to physical danger because of their sex. Indeed, fear of men was more prominent amongst the current 20- and 40-year-olds than the 65+-year-old women at age 20. While this might suggest changing attitudes to women (for the worse) it is also no doubt a reflection of the types of physical spaces visited by the younger age groups at age 20, the time of visitation and the lack of chaperonage. The findings in the present study reflect the observation by Wimbush and Talbot (1988):

> For young single women on holiday there may be greater social and sexual freedoms away from home and the policing patterns of parents, although unwanted predatory properties of men may be similarly less constrained. (Wimbush & Talbot 1988, p.xix)

Tourists in an unfamiliar destination do not have mental maps of the physical spaces which are dangerous. Women as tourists have not developed the complex methods of avoidance of certain spaces, at certain times, under certain conditions, that women develop in their familiar home region (Valentine 1989).

As with holidays at age 12, it is not possible to understand the construction of a holiday without taking account of the tourist body. At age 20, body presentation was more important than the pleasurable movement of the body. There was a sixty year span from the 1930s when the oldest of the 65+ age group women were in their 20s to the 1990s when the youngest group was aged 20. Fashions had changed but clothes remained a remembered feature of holidays and a source of identity. As Hopwood (1995) says, for women, physical appearance signifies femininity, sexual attractiveness, success and power. Social constructionists refer to the body project. Shilling (2003) describes this project:

> In the affluent West, there is a tendency for the body to be seen as an entity which is in the process of becoming; a project which should be worked at and accomplished as part of an individual's self identity. (Shilling 2003, p.4)

In the present study, this project at age 20 involved fashion for all age groups and suntanning for the current 20-year-olds. For women, the project is conducted within hierarchical observation, the male gaze. Foucault's (1979) adoption of Bentham's concept of the Panopticon (a structure which houses prisoners) is useful for understanding the surveillance of women by men. Women, like prisoners in the Panopticon, are watched by others. Hopwood (1995) describes the Panopticon: "This structure, with rings of backlit cells encircling an observation tower, isolates prisoners in individual cells and renders them continually and unidirectionally visible to the supervisor in the tower above" (p.69). The effect of the Panopticon, as Foucault (1979) explained, is

> to induce in the inmate a state of consciousness and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. So to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action; that the perfection of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary; that this architectural apparatus should be a machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it; in short, that the inmates should be caught up in a power situation of which they are themselves the bearer. (Foucault 1979, p.201)

The women in the present study could be seen to be the "bearers" of power in taking on themselves an agreed-upon bodily appearance which would be observed.

In a society which is obsessed with weight and body size, it was interesting that this did not emerge as an issue for the women in the present study. Nonetheless, references to bikinis might suggest an awareness of body shape. As Richards (2002) said, "The surveillant gaze may become even more crucial on holiday, as bare flesh is exposed to the view of strangers on the beach" (p.4).

Even for the older women for whom clothes might have been used to attract a husband, women's fashion can also be seen as a female project. There was a shared understanding of pleasure amongst women in reminiscing about fashion of the time. The meaning of fashion needs to be seen within a historical context. Tinkler (1995), in a study of girls and women's magazines from the 1920s to the 1950s (corresponding to the time at which the current 65+-year-old women were aged 20), refers to the importance of feminine appearance to the girl's place in the "heterosexual career". Comparing weekly magazines for young women in the 1970s and 1980s, McRobbie (cited in Ganetz 1995) noted that the emphasis had changed from heterosexual romance to pop music and fashion. Ganetz (1995) says, "McRobbie interprets this to mean that a girl's identity is no longer as strongly dependent on being someone's girlfriend" (p.91). Ganetz (1995) reflected on McRobbie's findings:

> Young women still dress to attract the male gaze, but this is no longer presumed to be that of a marriageable man; rather a purely aesthetic glance, which in its appreciation confirms the young woman's sexual identity, detached from the dominance-relations of wedlock. The male gaze – which must be interpreted as positional and not biologically determined – confirms individual identity as well as sexual identity. (Ganetz 1995, p.92)

Postmodernism with its contention of the weakening of norms and traditions implies an individualisation of fashion. Ganetz (1995) claims, "It is widely believed today that the pressure on the young to create their own identity is greater than it was only a few decades ago" (p.77). Referring to recent views of McRobbie, Ganetz says

"The androgynous element in some of the most recent youth cultures has shifted style boundaries for masculine and feminine" (p.80). The finding that one of the current 20-year-old groups expressed no concern in being dressed differently from others might indicate an individualisation of fashion today. On the other hand, this was the same group who, with great delight, discussed the shared pleasure of shopping for sarongs in their holiday destination. Perhaps fashion has become more individualised across society but, within one's core group, there may still be an adherence to a certain fashion code.

It was apparent in discussing holidays at age 20 that some of the older women were quite critical of what they saw as the androgynous appearance and behaviour of 20-year-olds today: "Girls don't look like girls". Boëthius (1995) discusses the ambivalence that adults have about youth:

> By criticizing the young … adults defend their own more disciplined way of living while trying to convince themselves that by becoming adults they have not lost or renounced anything important. (Boëthius 1995 p.50)

Clothing was a feature of the holiday identity at age 20 for a number of 40- and 65+year old women. The discourse which identifies women with the body rather than the mind and which favours the young woman's body over the older woman's perhaps explains the joy in recollection of clothes at age 20[2]. From the vantage

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[2] The meaning of clothes in holidays at ages 40 and 65+ contrasts with the meaning at age 20!

At age 40:

> Jean [Age 40]: At the bottom [of the hill] the pandanus palms were interspersed with large rocks. Here they undressed. Barbara was wearing black knickers and looked very fit and tanned. Jean was wearing most unflattering pink knickers which seemed to exaggerate her white flab but really she could not blame the knickers … They took photographs of each other. Jean felt a bit self-conscious of her out-of-condition shape, but Barb said 'It was art and not to worry'!

At age 65+:

> *Lou [Age 65+]: [Describing the dress she took when she travelled interstate for a wedding] … And it's in jersey, silk jersey.*
> *Susan: Oh lovely, so it travels well.*
> *Jane: Very attractive, yeah.*
> *Lou: And you can roll it up into a little ball (Susan: Aah!) and it just doesn't crush or anything.*
> *…*
> *Amelia: So that it would travel perfectly.*

point of the intervening years, the older women could appreciate what they had then and what is denied to them now. If the older women can dislike the fashions of young women today, then their loss of youth is not as painful.

Attention to bodily appearance was evident amongst many of the current 20-year-olds through the activity of suntanning. H. Gibson and Yiannakis (1999) similarly found the "Sun Lover" role prevalent at this age. They and other researchers (Towner 1995; NSW Cancer Council cited in Wood 2003) have confirmed that the incidence of sunbaking is higher for women than men. Rojek (1993) says:

> Successful tanning requires the consumption of sun-tan lotion and the abandonment of work. It is, quintessentially, a transformative activity. Often the process literally involves the shedding of skin to acquire a new look. Display and appearance determine tanning activity … the tan is one of the most accessible and universal signs. It instantly conveys health, leisure, vigour and sophistication. (Rojek 1993, p.190)

Although Rojek (1993) sees tanning as non-work, the body project does require effort. Competence can be associated with tanning. A common expression, and one used by one of the women, was "working" on a tan. The meaning of a suntan is socially and historically constructed. Although there is a shared meaning of the suntan in Western countries, it does not so clearly mean "holiday" in Australia as it does in northern European countries. Educational programmes about skin cancer have also changed the meaning of a tan, especially in countries with a high incidence of skin cancer such as Australia. However, many of the current 20-year-olds were resisting the medical discourse of the dangers of suntanning, in preference to accepting the fashion discourse of a tanned body. As noted above, there were cohort differences in the holiday memories. Achieving a suntan was not a significant memory of the older groups at age 20.

An analysis of women's holidays at age 20 leads to the conclusion that at age 20 a holiday without the family is, for many, a rite of passage. It was certainly remembered as such by the 40- and 65+-year-old women. However, the theme which bound the different age groups at age 20 and which emerged most strongly as

a theme at this age was sociability and social connectedness. That there is not *one* woman's voice on social interaction was evident in the differences between the cohorts in the type of social activities experienced (such as structured or unstructured) and with whom the women socialised (female friends or boyfriends). The social relationships need to be understood within the context of the time. Writing of women's contemporary experience, McRobbie (2000) claims:

> Women's and girls' lives have become visibly de-traditionalised. Completely gone is the kind of fatalism that used to exist, that women's lives would follow a predictable path, that this must inevitably evolve round husbands and children, and that women must subordinate themselves to fulfilling this role. (McRobbie 2000, p.210)

There is the view that young women of today are extending their girlhood. However, this might not be the experience of working-class (McRobbie 2000), non-white, or non-Western young women.

Holidays allowed women to experience an independence that they could not experience at home and yet holidays could still be considered gendered and aged. Amongst the negative experiences at all ages was a feeling of powerlessness. While some might argue that feminism has achieved its purpose, others consider that whatever detraditionalisation of young women has occurred, young women are still unequal. McRobbie (2000) agrees, and claims:

> it could be argued that while the material conditions of many young women's lives continue to militate against them achieving equality and independence, the decline and marginalisation of the political discourse of feminism limits the possibility for change. (McRobbie 2000, p.211)

Although she recognises that there is potential in the feminism of today to be more open to the many categories of women, McRobbie, coming from a socialist feminist position, warns against the "troubling prospect" of a contemporary "free-market feminism" with its emphasis on individuality "actively re-energising the right

through the seductions of individual success, the lure of female empowerment and the love of money" (p.212).

AND SO TO AGE 40 ….

Mackay (1997) in his generational research found that:

> Members of the Options Generation often remark on what they perceive as the joylessness in their parents' lives, often attributed to excessive busyness, but sometimes interpreted as the price their parents paid for having rushed into marriage on the crest of a wave of sexual impatience … (Mackay 1997, p.159)

However, the mothers of today's 20-year-olds were not always as burdened as they might appear to their children today. The finding, in the present study, that "lack of responsibility" was a theme of the current 40-year-olds and not the 20-year-olds highlights the different life experiences at different ages/family lifestages and suggests that the 40-year-olds were viewing their youthful holidays through their contemporary lens of responsibility. Since the current 20-year-olds knew nothing other than a lack of responsibility, it was not a significant feature for them at age 20. The 40-year-olds reflected on holidays when they were aged 20 and compared them to their contemporary experience:

> *Helen [Age 40]: [At age 20, holidaying with two male friends] Oh, I can still remember sitting in the beautiful ocean [while eating Christmas lunch – baked beans]… I love the water.*
> *Ruth: I can imagine being hot and salty (Other: Yeah) and sunburnt. It must have been fantastic.*
> *Helen: It was just wonderful!*
> *Other: Mmm.*
> *Helen: I wonder if you can ever go back to doing that. You probably couldn't.*
> *Roberta: No, I had a great deal of joy just recalling this [memory] (Other: Yeah, yeah). And remembering it, the joy came back because, as you say, that lack of needing to worry about anyone else except yourself.*
> *Helen: That's right (Other: Mmm).*
> *Roberta: What a pity I didn't make more of that at the time.*
> *Helen: We didn't know …*
> *Roberta: You don't know.*
> *Lizzy: You think it's going to last forever.*
> *Marie: … you think … you will do it every time at that age with … friends.*
> *Others: Mmm, Yeah.*
> *Roberta: It seems like it's a very few years.*
> *Helen: But then we seem to want to hang out and get married and have babies.*
> *Roberta: Yes.*
> *Helen: Which has been wonderful.*
> *Roberta: Well, it has. It's wonderful of course in its own way* ***but****,*

Helen: when you think back - -

Liz [Age 40]: ... I'd love to go back now and appreciate it. I don't know whether, well, you can't. I know you can't ... I think being at the age we are [now] with the kids at the age they are, everything just seems like such hard work (Others: Mmm, Mmm). You know there's not much pleasure or joy in anything ... It's just solid, you know, the washing's got to be done (Sue: It's work; Other: That's right), the food's got to be prepared (Sue: Mmm), the lunches have got to be made, the kids gotta be picked up, the kids have gotta be dropped off.
Sue: Yeah. 'Is their homework done? All that (Other: Mmm).
Liz: Yeah, and then ... the holiday's got to be planned; it's got to be paid for; it's gotta be booked and it's gotta be enjoyed ... and appreciated ... I always knew I enjoyed those times (Other: Yeah) but being forced to look at it has made me think ... not real happy about how it is now.
Sue: Mmm; Fran: Mmm.
Sue: And it's not going to be different for a long time.
Liz: No.
Jenny: That's pretty depressing!

The fun of holidays at age 20 led the above group to ask:

Liz [Age 40]: ... Could we recapture it? Probably not.
Sue: But we all want to try.
Jenny: We all want to try.

CHAPTER 10: HOLIDAYS AT AGE 40 – FREEDOM FROM THEM

INTRODUCTION

At age 40, the current 40-year-old and 65+-year-old women were mothers with at least one child under the age of 15. As with the previous two chapters, Chapter 10 is divided into two parts with Part A presenting the first-hand holiday experiences of the women at age 40 and Part B my further interpretation of the memories. The title of this chapter is relevant to both age groups at age 40.

The 1990s was the decade in which the current 40-year-olds turned 40. The period in which the 65+ age group were 40 ranged from the early 1950s until the late 1970s.

PART A: HOLIDAY VOICES AT AGE 40

At age 40, many of the holiday destinations were overseas. Holidays involved various leisure activities, many of which were common to holidays at younger ages. Swimming, skiing, walking, touring, shopping, sightseeing and visiting galleries were some of the activities enjoyed. Nonetheless, the activities were not as significant as they had had been in the women's memories of holidays at age 12. Company remained important to the women; none of the women, at age 40, holidayed alone. However, sharing the holiday with another was not the dominant theme that it had been in holidays at age 20. Social relationships *were* significant in holiday memories at age 40, but it was *escape* from the obligations of relationships rather than the *sharing* of experiences which was the prominent theme. While escape from others featured as a theme in holiday memories at ages 12 and 20, it was not the dominant theme that it was at age 40.

Holidays away from home involve an escaping and seeking dimension: an escape from home constraints and a seeking of freedom from constraints in holiday space and time. In the traditional holiday discourse, the holiday is the ultimate experience

of freedom. In holiday experiences at age 40, the women sought freedom from care which would allow them time for themselves to please themselves.

Freedom from Others

In this chapter I am dealing with the positive concepts of freedom, independence and lack of responsibility and the inverse, the negative concept of constraints by others. An overwhelming positive theme for women at age 40, in their written memories and discussion, was escape, in particular, a break from their children. The women recognised the commonality of their experiences. Not being responsible for others meant the women could relax and "do their own thing". They were free from childcare or domestic work and obligations. They rejoiced in their freedom. Gaining space for themselves was emphasised by the current 40-year-olds. It would be wrong to assume that the 40-year-old mothers in the study *never* wanted to holiday with their children. Two of the groups stressed the need for balance. Family holidays were necessary as a bonding experience.

> *Jean [Age 40]: ... I remember ... reading somewhere that ... someone's idea about what made a happy family, was having common experiences. They can be just simple little things ... But they're the sort of things that bind people together (Others: Mmm, Mmm). And when you don't do that, when you don't share time together, it's very hard to feel close.*
> *Others: Mmm, Mmm.*
> *Rachel: A friend of ours said that to us (an older friend) ... He said, 'Well, that's what memories are made of – those little things'. You know, doing things together and going on holidays and camping.*
> *Other: Mmm, mmm.*

> *Liz [Age 40]: ... there's something very nice about spending time with those people [family]. But it comes with a price ... The intensity that's nice also means that there'll be times when the intensity's difficult ... I think the good things need to be balanced by the difficult things. And there are both. There are clearly both. Oh, I can remember some ... holidays where I've thought ... 'I'll just never go away again' (Sue: Mmm), 'I'll never do anything like that again' (Sue: Mmm).*

Despite acknowledgement of the importance of family holidays, nearly half of the written positive experiences of the current 40-year-olds, came from holidays in which children were completely absent. Other positive experiences coincided with times on family holidays where children were otherwise occupied and mothers had time to themselves. Women aged 65+ years, in recalling their holidays at age 40, similarly wrote and spoke of freedom from motherhood and domestic chores as a positive theme. However, there were only a couple of the older who had

experienced child-free holidays. They were the current 40-year-olds, those currently immersed in the "thick" of motherhood, for whom the theme was most pronounced.

> Megan [Age 40]: Megan was thoroughly enjoying her two week New Zealand holiday, a whole fortnight away from the kids for the first time in years.
>
> Lizzy [Age 40]: All of this was even more enjoyable because they had left their two children at home in the care of relatives.
>
> *Helen [Age 40]: ... what does a holiday mean to women like us? No children!*
>
> *Eleanor [Age 65+]: Well, I had a son that was an asthmatic so to leave him behind and get a break from caring was a big thing for me ...*
> *Gillian: It was a positive break.*

A couple of 40-year-old women referred to attending a conference without the children. While there is debate amongst tourism scholars of where conferences are situated along a business/holiday travel continuum, conferences were definitely perceived as "holiday" by the women. Changes in women's involvement in paid employment would have meant that this form of holiday was more available to 40-year-old women today than for women of previous generations. It might be considered legitimate (and safer) for a woman to go to a conference as opposed to having a holiday on her own.

> *Liz [Age 40]: ... It was almost the first time for a long time that I'd actually been able to have breakfast. Now they weren't flash breakfasts (Sue: Mmm, mmm) ... I could actually wake myself ... at 7 a.m. and get myself showered (Jenny: Yeah) and get myself glammed up and ready for, you know, big SAN conference and then go down and have a cup of tea and it was still warm ... my warm toast with my butter melted into it and muesli ... was ready and I was able to eat it straight down (Sue: Mmm) and ... that is a real luxury (Sue: Mmm)! It's an absolute luxury! Other holidays I can remember, you know, where kids have dropped things or the orange juice has been spilt (Other: Mmm) or plates been broken (Sue: Mmm).*
> *Sue: Or I need my bottom wiped, whatever.*
> *Liz: Yeah, all those sort of things.*
> *Later*
> *Fran: ... conferences get you away (Liz: Yeah) at our age (Liz: Yeah) ...*

Even for those who were accompanied by their children, there were many who reported freedom from responsibility of childcare. This was achieved when children were "doing their own thing". Kids clubs, either in holiday resorts or on board ships, could provide the childcare.

> Susie [Age 40]: Bill and Susie have a ritual and that is to immediately break out one of those really expensive half bottles of champagne from the mini bar to celebrate their arrival – they don't know what the kids are doing at that time, they never really notice … They usually book the kids into the Kookaburra and Wallaby clubs immediately for two reasons: they want to go and they want them to go. The Wallaby Club offers far more to the 9-year-old than Susie could give and to the 4-year-old who loves to play on the equipment. Both meet new friends at the beginning of the holidays, so they can play with them during the week. So the kids are off in the morning and Susie and Bill will either have a leisurely breakfast or go to the beach or go to Noosa … Usually, Susie and Bill will have a drink whilst the kids eat [dinner], take them home, wait for the babysitter to arrive (all of which have been great) and go to dinner themselves.

> Susan [Age 65+]: [On board ship] … there was always something wonderful to do - sightseeing during the days, dozing idly watching the waves, with the knowledge that the children were happy, busy and very well supervised, the policy of the P & O being that parents, too, should have a wonderful voyage. And so they did.

The others in the group responded:

> *Amelia: Oh wasn't that good, mmm.*
> *Jane: An experience.*
> *Lou: Sounds delicious.*
> *Amelia: Yes.*
> *Jane: Yeah.*
> Later*:*
> *Susan: … We had the children, of course, the days we were in port (Jane: Yeah; Other: Mmm). It was nice to see them occasionally (Amelia: Yes; Jane: Yeah, yeah). It sounds very callous but they were so happy (Lou: … yes; Other: Mmm).*

> Anne [Age 65+]: The days were fairly simply spent. The children would roam all over the countryside without getting into too much mischief. There were creeks to play in, building cubbies up in the bush or just mucking around. Anne felt there was very little [need] to check up on them or supervise them.
> …
> *Cordelia: And of course the children could amuse themselves. That makes the holiday much easier, doesn't it?*

Other means by which the women could gain space for themselves were achieved by the presence of another adult/s to share responsibility or other children as company for their own children.

> Megan [Age 40]: The kids had also brought a couple of friends along as company, which meant taking two cars, but promising a more relaxing time for Megan and her husband, as the kids tended to argue less when with friends.

Whether the women had left their children for all or part of the holiday, it was important to know they were well looked after.

> Helen [Age 40]: The most hassle-free way of ensuring the children, animals and house were all cared for involved hiring Dial-an-Angel. Although expensive and many hours of preparing written guidelines and notes, it gave peace of mind that all would be in good hands during her absence.
>
> *Karen [Age 40]: ... if you worried about them [children], that'd affect your holiday. I mean I can remember early holidays, weekends away where I've left the kids. And I'd spend the first thirty-six hours worried sick about them. And then I'd be home, there were about six hours when I was relaxed. A list of instructions that were about twenty pages long, you know. Phoning every few hours.*

It was also important to *assert* that children were not damaged by the experience of separation from their mother.

> Carmen [Age 65+]: I began to feel as if I needed a holiday and decided the only way was for us to go away somewhere. We decided to go to Fiji. We thought we would like to go by ourselves, but what to do with the children? … Brainwave, send the children to their relatives in New Zealand … John and I flew to Fiji. We stayed at hotel resorts in what seemed like real luxury. No meals to cook or clean up after … I felt like royalty sitting at the table in the restaurant and being waited on (but after a few days I would have liked a plate of Weetbix for breakfast (*Other: How true*) …
> Later
> *Carmen: I spoke to my daughter last night, and she said she'd had a good time in New Zealand so I don't feel guilty about it (laughter).*

Both age groups (but particularly the current 40-year-olds) reported experiences as positive when they were free from routine family and household chores and the hectic pace at home.

> Joan [Age 40]: The holiday was relaxing. All the chores were shared, cooking, cleaning, gathering wood, shopping, preparing food. Joan felt relaxed as the work load was shared, and there was not too much to do and everyone felt the same way.
>
> *Sarah [Age 40]: ... not having to do any cooking or ferrying around of children or thinking about what has to be done.*
> *Carly: ... that ferrying around of children takes up half of your day really, if you're doing sport and stuff. So that is a huge bonus not to be doing that.*
> *Susie: And I think only women understand that. I don't think men have any idea how long it actually takes us to drive to the schools and back and forth and back and forth and back and forth and back and forth.*
>
> *Mary [Age 65+]: ... we didn't have housework and ... cooking to do as far as I was concerned.*
> *Eleanor: Yes, I think that's right.*

Not having any chores meant that the women could engage in spontaneous behaviours that they wouldn't do at home.

Lizzy [Age 40]: [At home] you always think, 'Oh well, I can't do that today. I've got to do the ironing' or 'I've got these things I should be doing instead'.
Ruth: Exactly.
Other: Yeah.
Roberta: Once you get away from that environment, you're able to choose whatever you want to do. And you've got all the time in the world to do it. You don't have to consider the other sort of (Other: Yeah) responsibilities.

Having space from responsibility to others meant the women could relax, get in touch with and tend to themselves, do their own thing, whether it be active or passive leisure. Relaxation was more prominent in the memories of the current 40-year-olds than in the memories of the 65+-year-old-women.

Jean [Age 40]: They [female friend and self] relaxed in the suck and surge of the pool, roughly the size and shape of a Jacuzzi. The pool bottom was full of loose stones, and they laughed a lot and fell about. The seas, the rocks, the salt mist and the natural beauty was food for the soul, and Jean's weary body could feel itself renewing.

Susie [Age 40]: The spa offers us gym, lap pool and any type of facial, massage or beauty treatment possible, all of which so far have been used and enjoyed. Kids are not allowed in there so it's very peaceful and the atmosphere is encouraged.
Later
Annie: ... we all enjoy a relaxing holiday.
Carly: So lying on a beach with a book (Angela: preferably without kids) rather than climbing Mt --
Susie: And we don't call just going to the beach house ... a holiday because we still do all the same sort of things. We need to go away.

Helen [Age 40]: ... I like to be lazy all the time. Give me a glass of champagne and I am OK.
Roberta: I get really bored if I lie still for very long.
Ruth: I can do both ...

One of the current 40-year-old groups considered that although they travelled to see things, meet people, have new experiences when they were younger, at age 40 they wanted to relax.

Carly [Age 40]: ... [At age 40] it's good to see things and maybe learn a bit still but what's most important is to slob out.
Susie: Mmm.
Sarah: And out of the rat race.
Susie: Not have to do what we normally do.
Others: Mmm, Mmm.

Child-free holidays enabled those women travelling as a couple to focus on their husbands.

> Ruth [Age 40]: The positives of this holiday apart from the lack of responsibility for her children were time to spend with her partner, walking, walking, walking, talking …
> Later
> *Ruth [Age 40]: … the thing is when you're away just with your partner, it's just you and you have just got each other. It's company and attention for, you know, 24 hours of every day.*
> *Other: Yeah.*
> *Roberta: You don't have to amuse each other …*
> *Ruth: Precisely, precisely and the best part, [you] can sit there and read a book.*
> *Other: Yeah.*
>
> *Carly [Age 40]: … Rick's actually much nicer by himself with me (Susie: So is Bill) than he is at home, much nicer.*
> *Susie: More relaxed?*
> *Carly: Well yeah. I suppose you have time for each other, rather than always thinking about work or children doing other things.*

Some of the women reported that *they* enjoyed being looked after, but not for the prestige reasons given by the current 12-year-olds.

> Helen [Age 40]: Having organised many promotions to tourist destination regions, Helen was rather pleased to be a participant rather than the organiser. She envisaged a totally hassle-free holiday, with everything organised and actioned by the airline and hotel representatives who travelled with the small group. If anything required organising, Helen did not have to do it … and overall 'pampering' made it without a doubt one of the most enjoyable holidays she has ever had.
>
> *Susan [Age 65+]: You know, I'm just noticing one similarity in these. The three of us all wrote about other people taking care of us, one way and another (Lou: Yeah, yeah). And I think Amelia's [who* ***didn't*** *write about being taken care of] was much more typical (Lou: Yeah) of the holidays we really [had] (Jane: Yeah, yeah). But what did we choose [to write about]? (Other: Yeah.) Something that was really great. Somebody else did it (Amelia: Yes …). Took the responsibility off our shoulders.*
> *Jane: Yeah.*

For one older woman, even convalescence from illness was perceived as a holiday at age 40.

Responsibility for Others

The flipside to the positive experiences was the negativity of responsibility on holiday. The women were clear in what *was* and what *was not* a "holiday". All groups agreed that feeling responsible for others, obligated to others, concerned for others could be a negative experience. The women could not relax. When the 65+ age group was informed that the trigger for their next meeting was "a holiday experience at age 40", one of the groups responded:

> *Gillian [Age 65+]: … It'll probably bring back more negative experiences with this one [experiences at age 40] 'cause we're responsible for other people (Eleanor: Children were on this, yes, so of course, Duncan being sick). Whereas all these other holidays [at ages 12, 20, 65+) … we haven't been responsible for anyone.*
> *Topsey: Write it all out!*
> *Eleanor: Darling, I don't know that I need to remember it!*
> *Gillian: With the children we've got … safety and all the rest of it, yeah.*
> *Eleanor: I've asked the Lord to cover it, cover the memories!*
> *Gillian: We'll probably have a lot of negative experiences.*

Responsibility for children and family took many forms. There was the responsibility of keeping children amused and the responsibility and concern for their health and safety.

> *Eleanor [Age 65+]: The trip to Lake Macquarie was perfect on our yacht with the children. Coming back was terrible. A tremendous storm. We were sick and the boat was not finished properly …*
> Later
> *Gillian: I think it would be an absolutely horrifying (Mary: Yes) occurrence.*
> *Eleanor: I think when you're responsible for children.*
> *Mary: For children, you know. It's bad enough when it's just yourself.*
> *Eleanor: We had two families too.*
> *Mary: But with children (Gillian: Mmm) and you never know what a child's going to do, what their reaction is going to be.*
> *Gillian: But the other thing at sea too, they can go over so easily (Mary: Mmm). You know, they can lose their footing … Water's terribly dangerous with children.*
> *Topsey: It's something you've got to be aware of the whole time.*

Skiing holidays were problematic for a number of women.

> Frances [Age 65+]: … and Frances was … worrying about keeping the children warm and dry.
> Later
> *Frances: I found the kids were always good to travel with because they travelled well. It was me that was the one that hated all this (Other: Yeah). Because I had two little kids that I was trying to keep warm and dry.*
> *Carmen: You felt the responsibilities (Others: Yes, True, Mmm).*

Lost children were a concern for a number of 40-year-old women.

> Roberta [Age 40]: Roberta insisted Christopher not go and gave him a lecture about being naïve and gullible. Christopher gave his mother a lecture for being an over-possessive pain and went. After three hours Roberta became anxious (*Other: Mmm*) … Desperately worried about Christopher and imagining all sorts of scenarios, Roberta finally decided to go looking for him.

Not only did the women experience anxiety for their children but when children were lost the women's competency as a mother was compromised.

> *Rachel [Age 40]: ... [son Chris] was actually quite sick. Had the flu, but you know, you dose them up with Panadol and they have their couple of hours where they're feeling fine (Other: Yes). So he and Alex [friend] had gone off and Alex came back without Christopher. And, you know, the immediate reaction was 'Oh panic, where is he?' You know, here I'm letting a sick boy wandering through the sand dunes ...*
> *...*
> *Rachel: And guilt, you know, feeling really guilty, thinking, 'Here, I've let my sick son (Other: Mmm) go off wandering (Other: Mmm). He could be delirious in the sand dunes somewhere', you know.*
> *Other: Yeah.*
> *Megan: And I think we're so busy relaxing ourselves (Other: Yeah) that we put their safety perhaps at risk ... We tend to really let go (Others: Mmm, Mmm, Yeah).*

> Jean [Age 40]: Number one son had not come out of the water when he was asked to. She waited for a while, to let him enjoy himself. But when she looked again, calling from the surf, he was nowhere to be found … She drove back to her own campsite to see if perhaps her missing child had walked along the beach back to the campsite via the bush track. Again no such luck. She returned to the beach, searched the surf, body by body, but he was not there. She approached a lifeguard, put in a missing person report giving full description, and conducted a full search of the area between Hawkes Nest Beach and Jimmy's Beach itself. Still no number one son. She returned to her campsite, by now extremely anxious and feeling like a really rotten mother. Into the camp walked number one son, really cranky because mother was not there when he got out of water and he had had to walk all the way home from one beach to the other. Such experiences she can't shrug off easily.

While Jean referred to "feeling like a really rotten mother", she also felt betrayed by her children when they refused to share the responsibility for the success of the holiday.

> Jean: She drove to another family's campsite to inquire if number one son had followed their boy home by any chance. No such luck. She observed that they were sharing pancakes made from one of those new plastic pre-prepared packs. And she envied their togetherness and co-operativeness. *Their* children were even reading books and playing card games! (*Karen: Hate them! Other: Yeah*) … That evening, the bonfire on the sandhills that she had arranged earlier was a subdued affair and she found it hard to lift everyone's spirits. To think she had dragged those children to music and movement classes from the age of 2 and yet not a single song could she get out of them around the fire. Not a school song, not a scout song, nothing! What a miserable holiday! (*Other: Mmm, huh.)*

The women's responsibility extended beyond their children to other travel companions. One 40-year-old woman said of her ex-husband:

> *Jenny [Age 40]: ... my experience was that going away with a partner required extra energy of me, because I was also looking after children and the partner (Sue: Mmm) and having to negotiate all of that as well.*
> *Sue: Well, that's very true.*

Other 40-year-olds referred to feeling responsible for their mothers.

> *Jean [Age 40]: When I went away with Mum to New Zealand, I remember I went out one night, just in a motel where we were in and … had a few drinks with some other people on the tour. And I felt really guilty about getting in, back to the room, after midnight. You know, even at this age, like two years ago (Other: Mmm). Still felt like I'd done the wrong thing by Mum … Oh it was just like being 17! I felt dreadful.*

While the above woman felt responsible *to* her mother, the woman below felt responsible *for* her mother. In the following case the mother had insisted on accompanying her daughter and family on holiday.

> Helen [Age 40]: Helen really looked forward to this holiday; it had been a stressful year. Helen had not been well and required surgery. Her mother required constant 'monitoring' to be sure she was continuing on her recovery from near death the year before. A ten-day trip to the relaxing sunshine and beaches was one thing she [Helen] strived towards to unwind, spend time with the children and her husband, read, and do as little 'domestic organising' as possible. Her last holiday had been a year ago … the tension when mother arrived, gasping for breath and collapsing on the couch, remained for the remainder of the holiday. The scene from then on had a background concern, almost like a black cloud, listening to mother's breathing difficulties and ongoing medical machinery regularly required to keep her going. These were constant reminders to Helen from occasions when mother required hospitalisation: what if she needs medical assistance? How long would it take for an ambulance? Where is the nearest hospital? … Helen felt the holiday had been ruined. She felt that the planning and rather extravagant cost of the holiday had been a total waste for her. She, in the end, had no break at all. Although the children enjoyed themselves, her husband was also disappointed and had to deal with Helen's anger and tension at how things turned out. Helen's anger with her mother for dragging herself on the holiday and not 'listening' to the suggestions that she was not well enough were very evident and clearly felt by her mother, who to this day cannot understand why. To Helen, this was the 'lost' holiday. She returned to Sydney very disappointed but determined to revisit Noosa next year, same holiday apartment, but for two weeks break – without mother! Helen's sisters no longer communicate with her because she ruined her mother's holiday.

Helen's negative memory was analysed:

> *Roberta: It seems perhaps that she [mother] was being pretty selfish.*
> *Lizzy: She didn't want to miss out.*
> *Helen: Well, we both were. You know, I wanted to have my holiday.*
> *Roberta: Well, you weren't being selfish. Yes, you were to a degree,*
> *Helen: I had to have my holiday.*
> *Roberta: But also, you weren't really being selfish. I mean you were thinking of your family as well (Helen: Yes). I mean, it wasn't just you whose holiday was spoilt.*
> *Helen: No, it wasn't, there were the kids, yeah, yeah.*
> *Roberta: Everybody else's and once again you're responsible for everyone else (Helen: For everybody, exactly, exactly) having a good time as well as yourself.*
> *Helen: And then ultimately, according to the rest of the family, responsible for ruining my mother's holiday.*
> *…*
> *Roberta: And you went home feeling quite uptight instead of relaxed.*
> *Helen: Oh, exactly, yes, yes. And very angry, you know, all kinds of emotions came in because it's family.*
> *Other: Mmm.*

While having children's friends diminished responsibility, in many ways there were other responsibilities.

> *Susan [Age 65+]: ... having other children for whom I was responsible ... It was never a case of the boys. But it's when my son had a girlfriend on two successive summers (Jane: Yeah) and they were, I think they were 16 and 17, and 17 and 18 (Jane: Yeah, Amelia: Mmm; Lou: Mmm) and the girl was a wild one ... But anyway, she was a real little temptress and I had a lot of worries then. She never ever spoke to me.*
> *Amelia: Didn't she? Really?*
> *Susan: Sitting at the table, I would ask her something and she might nod, but she never spoke to me ...*
> *Jane: Oh that puts you off of somebody, doesn't it, it really puts you off.*
> *Amelia: Why was that?*
> *Susan: ... I said they had to come back at lunchtime. They had to check in you know (Other: Mmm). I had a lot of worries. And then I thought (after the first year... when the next year came) ... nothing could be as bad as that. You know, they'd grown up another year. It was worse (Amelia: Oh dear)! And that was the end of our family holidays. I said, 'That is enough!' I didn't mind all the odd boys there (Other: Mmm). They were courteous and helpful. She never picked up a tea towel, this girl, the whole stay (Other: Mmm). But I thought after that, no more family holidays. I will not be responsible for other people (Amelia: No ...). Because when I said to her, 'Well, you know, I'm responsible for you when you're with me', [she said,] 'You don't have to be responsible for me, I can take care of myself!'*

> Rachel [Age 40]: Rachel's husband had asked a young couple camping with them. She was German, he was Swiss. They were young and in love and expecting their first baby. Rachel was quick to tell the young couple that they shouldn't expect too much from the camping ground … The young couple were surprised by the [bad] conditions … They actually felt embarrassed. They didn't belong here. Everyone was older, had children years ago. Petra and Urs were already talking of leaving … Rachel felt sad and disappointed that this was the young couple's introduction to camping in Australia.
> Later
> *Karen [Age 40]: You felt responsible for them.*
> *Rachel: Yeah, that's right.*
> *Other: Yeah.*
> *Karen: How did Paul [Rachel's husband] feel? ...*
> *Rachel: ... No, he didn't feel the same way, I'm sure (Karen: Yeah; Other: Mmm). He just said, 'Well, you know, they'd have to blend in'.*
> *Karen: Yeah.*
> *Other: Mmm.*
> Later
> *Karen: ... You're feeling a sort of guardianship role, aren't you?*
> *Rachel: A hostess, almost.*
> *Karen: Hostess (Joan: Mmm, mmm), that's right, a hostess role.*

Although most women had holidayed with their husbands there was very little mention of husbands in the holiday memories. The responsibility of husbands for the success of a holiday was rarely mentioned. As one group said:

> *Roberta [Age 40]: ... it's very interesting because women tend to take responsibility for everybody else (Helen: Yes). Like they try and make sure everybody else has a good holiday (Marie: Is all right, yeah) and they worry if other people aren't having a good holiday. Whereas I tend to think from my own experience that a man kind of can get on with*

it and not worry too much about everybody else but if ... you've got other members there, you kind of feel responsible for them to have a good time and in so doing you kind of sacrifice your own good time.
Other: Yes.
Ruth: ... Like Marie's story (Others: Mmm, Mmm), we have all been on family holidays (Other: Mmm), domestically, where it's always the Marie who does everything (Others: Mmm, Yeah) and the ... John's saying 'Well, you know, aren't you ready yet?' (Others: Yeah, that's right, 'What are you doing?' Yeah ...)
Roberta: It seems to me that I've written here in big letters, '<u>TENSION</u>' with a big line under it (Ruth: Mmm, mmm, very much so) because it's like you were saying, the atmosphere was strained.
...
Roberta: ... there's just an atmosphere, this feeling of tension which is the opposite to being relaxed (Marie: Being on a holiday).
Roberta: Exactly, yeah.
Ruth: 'Course it is.
Later
Marie: ... you know, everybody comes out with, they're organising this or organising that. I think women in general do three or four things at once and men only do one thing at once, I really do.
Other: Mmm, mmm, it's true.

On the other hand, a couple of older women implied a disciplinary role of their husbands with the children on holiday.

Gillian [Age 65+]: [A skiing holiday] Being responsible for the lives of the children in an unknown situation. Not having the fathers there to help discipline these unruly and exuberant children (*Libby: That's right*). Having to plan, cook, freeze and pack all the food.

Eleanor [Age 65+]: ... I'd like Don to say, 'Don't do that!' ... You know, (Gillian: Mmm), that man's voice coming across the whole situation makes a difference doesn't it?
Gillian: Yes, yes, it certainly does.

Staying with others had its downside for a number of the current 40-year-old women as they had to fit in and be considerate of others, responsible *to* their hosts.

Roberta [Age 40]: Often we've gone to stay with friends for a holiday (Other: Mmm) like usually only three or four days ... but I never feel totally relaxed because when you are staying with people you feel you've got to, I mean, you can't sleep in, you have to get up (Other: Mmm) because you know, you might be being rude ... You have to help wipe up (Ruth: Exactly) and you don't like to, you know, and then you've got to sit and talk to them when ... you may just feel like going for a walk but you feel obliged to. Because they are being so hospitable you've got to make a bit of an effort (Other: Mmm). And so a holiday to me, it's nice it's visiting people, but it's not really a holiday because you can't please yourself (Other: Mmm) ... A true holiday to me is when I don't know ... the people I'm staying with or the place I am going, a hotel or something, is totally unpersonal [sic] ... I can just please myself. That's the best (Other: Yeah, yeah) part of a holiday, even when I want to eat, please myself, and not feel responsible for other people in any way whatsoever.
Ruth: Good point!

Responsibility also included taking charge of the domestic tasks, such as cleaning and cooking and looking after the luggage.

Holidays can be thought of as encompassing three phases: the before, during and after periods. Both age groups of women, but particularly the current 40-year-olds, referred to the preparations prior to departure and the unpacking and cleaning on return as negative features of the holiday. Was the holiday worth it? Even those women who felt they had freedom from housework during the holiday, reported the stress of the preparations and the load of work on return.

> Marie [Age 40]: Packing up and getting organised beforehand – Marie. Most of the packing and pre-washing had to be organised by Marie. She also has to work right up to before she goes away – Marie again!
>
> *Helen [Age 40]: ... I have to weigh it up. Richard comes home and says, 'Do you want to go to Paris?' And I ... ask all these questions first instead of saying, 'Yes! You beauty!' I think I am so negative but that's why. I mean, it's rather comforting that everybody can relate to it [responsibility of preparations] (Others: Yeah, Mmm)...*
> *Roberta: I remember going away... to Europe for eight weeks ... and the lead-up to it was, like you say, absolutely exhausting.*
> *Other: Mmm.*
>
> Carly [Age 40]: Panic as usual getting the children organised for four days with different friends. She was up half the night ironing to pack. Why does one iron clothes when they're just going to be squashed into the suitcase? The rush to the airport and then calm for four days.
>
> *Gillian [Age 65+]: ... when I got to Heather's [to pick up travelling companion] she'd just (you know, we all had to clean our houses before you go because when you've got ... four children living in the house you know what a grot it is), so this is sort of ... quarter past eight in the morning, she's madly vacuuming around the house. I think I'd done mine at ten o'clock the night before. And I thought, 'Oh dear, it's not easy when you go on a holiday with the family'.*

The organisation required, just for the journey, is reflected in the memory below.

> Frances [Age 65+]: While travelling, the family always carry their own food, sandwiches, sausages to barbecue, fruit, biscuits, cake and a billy to boil a cuppa and they take a basket-ball and a rubber quoit (an o-ring out of the plumbing pipe) for playing games in parks where they stop along the way.

The competency of the women in packing for a holiday was mentioned by some as a measure of the success of a holiday.

Megan [Age 40]: It's probably partly how well organised we are beforehand, like, you know, if we've taken the right games for the kids, taken the right food (Other: Mmm) ... if it's stinking hot and you've only got warm clothes, or if it's cold and you've only got swimmers. I mean if we've planned, we've managed to think of the right things to take. You know, [if] we're responsible in that way, the holiday usually runs more smoothly ...
Karen: So there's also that preparedness responsibility (Others: Mmm, Mmm, mmm) as well as actually feeling responsible once you're actually on the holiday.
Other: Mmm.

Suggestions were circulated for easing the task of packing.

Sue [Age 40]: I've got it down to a fine art now. You roll them [clothes] very tightly.
Liz: That's exactly right.
...
Jenny: I have a computer list now I just spit out every holiday and pass it to the children, 'Go pack your bag'.
Liz: That's a good idea.
Jenny: It's fantastic.
Other: Yeah.

Jean [Age 40]: ... some of the best holidays we've had are when we've sort of sat around the table as a family and planned what we're going to take and what we're going to do when we're there. So everybody mentally runs through a scenario (Other: Mmm) and when we get there we've got everything we need, because we've thought about it beforehand (Other: Mmm). And everybody's committed to the same ideas. And I guess it's like making a lot of decisions in advance (Others: Yeah, Mmm).
Later
Megan: ... I like it when we go somewhere and it doesn't matter if you forget something 'cause you can just buy it (Other: Mmm). I mean, I find that less pressure too.
Others: Mmm, mmm, Yeah.

Several of the women felt that after all the preparations of holidays, they expected to go somewhere better than home. The roles of husbands in the preparation of a holiday were only mentioned when the holiday was a camping holiday in which husbands were responsible for the camping gear. Husbands were not mentioned in the post-holiday phase.

Marie [Age 40]: Coming back with dirty washing and usually having to go back to work the following day.
Other: Mmm.
Later
Lizzy: You had no time to recover if you had to go straight back to work.
Marie: I mean that often happens.
Other: Mmm.
Roberta: So you feel more tired when you get back.
Other: Mmm.
Ruth: Exactly, you haven't had a holiday at all. It's been a week of tension.
Other: Yeah.

Holidaying without the family was not the solution to escaping the domestic work on return.

> *Carly [Age 40]: We [girlfriend and I] went to Hayman for four days or five days, and that was just wonderful. But coming back wasn't so wonderful just because my husband doesn't cope very well by himself ... And I just always know if I go away, even if it's for a night somewhere there's a downside, which is coming home and clearing up again. It's awful.*
> *Susie: Yes, it's the same ... I've been away to Cairns for a week and I came back and the place was in chaos. He tried ... he had really tried but,*
> *Carly: And it sort of puts a little bit of a dampener on ... you can't completely let yourself go because you just know something's going to be awful when you come home.*
> *Sarah: So you don't necessarily look to doing it ... very regularly because of that (Carly: Mmm). If you think, 'Oh well, I've got to come home (Carly: Mmm) and ... sort out all this mess again' (Carly: Yeah). It's not worth me doing two or three times a year.*
> *Carly: Once when I went away, somebody thought that my house had been burgled, when they looked into the --.*

There was only one positive tale to returning home where Dial-an-Angel had been employed to look after children and home in the woman's absence.

> Helen [Age 40]: She arrived back home, after a wonderful holiday, to well-cared-for children and a very tidy house (*Other: Oh!*). On this basis, the wonderful memories will last forever (*Other: Oh, great*).

Freedom from responsibility was a powerful theme for both age groups at age 40. However, there were differences between the age groups in how they interpreted their desire for freedom. The memories of the current 40-year-olds were more coherent than those of the older group. Ambivalence and contradiction infused the memories of the women aged 65+ years. The older group of women was more stoical and accepting of their mothering role than were the current 40-year-olds. When one 65+-year-old woman commented that one cannot relax when travelling with children, the following discussion ensued.

> *Margaret [Age 65+]: But that's par for the course, isn't it?*
> *Other: Mmm.*
> *Lorna: It is, it's just part and parcel.*
> *Margaret: You do that all the time (Frances: Yes, you do) as parents.*
> *Lorna: You take no notice of that; (Margaret: Mmm) that's just children (Other: Mmm) - travelling with them.*
> *...*
> *Lorna: You're on duty all the time.*
> *...*
> *Frances: That didn't worry me really (Other: No) when the kids were little (Other: No) because you do things differently when you're on holidays. You don't have to do the cleaning as much.*

Lorna: Well, this is it (Margaret: Mmm). This one that we had, I mean, they were doing and seeing things different every day (Frances: Yeah). And they were no trouble (Other: Mmm). They were great!

Ann [Age 65+]: ... I mean, we didn't ever have any money... all our holidays was contingent on the amount of work (Marcia: Mmm) that the woman would be doing (Cordelia: Yes). OK? (Cordelia: Yes) And I didn't mind that. I mean (Cordelia: No, I didn't either), I can do it OK? ... We couldn't afford the type of holiday that you had [being looked after]. I don't know whether I would have fitted in.

Susan [Age 65+]: I'm sure most of us were being frustrated by our families and I can think of holidays, you know, where you're cooking ... (Lou: Mmm, mmm) like the ones we used to have up at Avoca.
Later
Susan: But I loved it, because I liked having mobs of kids around and (Jane: Yeah) I enjoyed cooking and so on, and I still had the beach to swim at the rest of the time.

Gillian [Age 65+]: Always took the four children with us. Couldn't afford to [not take them]. And we came down to Palm Beach which was magic but it was all the, you know, the work and the cooking and it was cleaning up afterwards ... But when we first used to come to Palm Beach, there was no wringer and I used to have to wash ... the nappies and wring them by hand. You know, and I had two children under 18 months. I mean, I had two lots of nappies (Mary: That's right), quite a lot. But Ben [husband] didn't seem to think it was any problem, no, no (Other: Yeah). He'd go off fishing and leave me minding the children. Never a problem (Eleanor: Yes, well that's what it was in those days, wasn't it?). He used to go out in the middle of Pittwater and fish. He had a lovely holiday! ... I used to sit and read, get the children fixed up, sit them in that verandah and then sit and read a book (Mary: And read a book). Used to take my sewing machine down to Palm Beach ...
...
Gillian: Anyway, they were great holidays.

Despite difficulties, leaving their children at home was not an option for many of the 65+-year-old women.

Barbara [Age 65+]: I can't believe that a mother would go and (Lorna: with a stranger, leave her children, no) leave her children with a stranger.
Lorna: We never did (Carmen: No, no). We went everywhere, almost, with them.
...
Frances: ... we went away by ourselves. And I had nightmares. Terrible, terrible nightmares. There was always somebody kidnapping the kids, or something had happened to them or someone had killed them (Lorna: ... you really worry yourself). I had a terrible time.

Of the 40-year-old women who had left children at home only a couple mentioned thinking about them while away.

Megan [Age 40]: ... I did actually miss them towards the end [Day 14] (Others: Mmm, Yes) and yes, I did get the pictures out and started talking about them.
Karen: Yes.

In looking for commonalities, the 40-year-old groups said:

> *Helen [Age 40]: When we do go on a holiday, it's not just going to the destination, really is it?*
> *Roberta: No it isn't, it's really the whole. That's an added plus really.*

> *Liz [Age 40]: Well, the theme that I'm hearing, a very strong theme … there are some really nice things about going on holidays with lots of people [family] but … I feel like a lot of the responsibility for people getting on and (Other: Mmm) … things happening, falls back on … me a lot of times.*
> *Sue: Me too.*
> *Liz: And I'm the mediator. And I'm the conflict resolver and I'm the one who does the (Other: Mmm) sort of heavy duty stuff in that respect … When there are other things happening and I haven't got my conflict resolver hat on, it can just fall apart, yeah (Others: Mmm, Yep) … When I'm doing the tent (Others: Yep, Mmm) or … I'm on the plane for three hours (Others: Yeah, Mmm) or whatever … (Other: Mmm) I'm just one of the others. So if I don't have the energy to be doing the hard work in terms of caring for everybody (Other: Mmm), it can come unstuck.*
> *Fran: Yeah, central player, all right, in that.*
> *Sue: Mmm.*
> *Liz: Yeah. I hate the responsibility … I'm on the look out all the time for things going well for my kids (Sue: Mmm) and … my partner to a certain extent. But there's no one really that has that responsibility for me (Sue: Mmm, mmm) … there's no one saying, 'Come on it's time to (Sue: 'have a break') do something for yourself' (Fran: Yes) or (Other: Mmm) 'take time off' or 'just calm down' or 'let me take you here (Fran: Yes) and buy you this' …*
> *Sue: Or 'Come and I'll buy you lunch'.*
> *Others: Yeah, Yeah, Yeah.*
> *Liz: Yeah, there's no one doing that … It can just be heavy duty slog (Other: Mmm) … Although there are times when it would be nice that the kids be there, there are other times when Liz [I] can clearly say, it's important to have (Sue: Mmm, definitely without them; Other: Mmm) time away and do some nice things without them (Sue: Mmm; Fran: Yeah). Yeah.*
> Later
> *Liz: … we're the one, you know, with this sort of fount of something that emanates from us and we care for everybody … Bloody hard doing it (Sue: Mmm). Being the wonderful caregiver etc. (Sue: Mmm) for everyone else.*

The discussion of the following group reflected their ideal attempts at constructing a satisfactory holiday for themselves.

> *Sarah [Age 40]: Time to relax. Time to choose what one specifically wanted to do oneself, even to the exclusion of perhaps … what wanted to do as a couple sometimes. You know, the first thought was to oneself, having a break.*
> *Annie: Yes, you get a bit selfish on holidays, don't you in a way?*
> *Susie: Yeah … you give up the family.*

Other Themes

Happy Families

Family happiness was important to both age groups of women but particularly to the older women. Nearly all of the older women who holidayed with their children at

age 40 focussed on their children's happiness in their positive holiday memories at that age. Some memories (particularly those of the 65+ year group) suggested a vicarious pleasure in seeing children happy, while others (particularly those of the current 40-year-olds) could be interpreted that happy children entailed less work for a mother. A couple of women stressed that the key for a successful holiday with children was having plenty of things to do (which corresponded with the findings in Chapter 8).

> Joan [Age 40]: Joan was pleased and happy that her husband and children as well were having such a great holiday. Everyone was able to do what they enjoyed and did not feel that they were missing out on anything.
>
> Sue [Age 40]: … she was very concerned how the three of them would cope with the flight and the jetlag. And it turned out that everybody coped very well and there were no spasms and fights and losing of tempers. And it made it all in all a very enjoyable holiday.
>
> Susan [Age 65+]: Everyone was happy. How seldom that situation is achieved, with husband, wife, girl of 11 and boy of 8. And what more does any wife and mother want? If everyone else in the family is satisfied, Susan can enjoy her own holiday. So from the moment the 'Arcadia' sailed out of Pyrmont, Susan was carefree and looking forward to two weeks aboard ship.
>
> *Fran [Age 40]: Well, I think what comes through for the four of us is how important it was that … each individual in the family enjoyed themselves and there was sort of co-operation … especially the children (Liz: The kids, yeah). The kids really enjoy themselves.*
> *Liz: The kids, absolutely. Everybody talked about that idea (Sue: Mmm). It's fascinating isn't it, how important it is that the kids be,*
> *Others: Yeah, Mmm.*
> *Sue: It can make or break a holiday, can't it (Others: Yeah, Yeah) if they're miserable and not entertained.*
>
> *Topsey [Age 65+]: You enjoy seeing the children doing something different and enjoying it.*
> *Mary: But you are participating.*

There was only one 40-year-old whose positive holiday memory was vicarious enjoyment in her child's pleasure. She was a single mother, holidaying with her children and another family. The group agreed that the pleasure she experienced on holiday with her children could be explained by her part-time status of motherhood in her day-to-day life (she had a break from her children four days a fortnight).

The reverse of happy families equalling happy holidays was also prominent in holiday memories at age 40. Whingeing children and cranky husbands meant an unhappy holiday experience for the women.

> Megan [Age 40]: … the kids were reluctant to put up the tent. They wanted to go off and play … Her husband got cranky (*Other: This sounds familiar*). The kids thought they'd rather be sort of playing with their bats and their balls, and, you know, Megan's husband's trying to put the tent up and she's trying to help. Darkness was setting in quickly and she was trying to get dinner together and the kids were whingeing, they didn't want to help and it was drizzling rain.

> Joan [Age 40]: They arrived at the camping ground … Now to unload the car. The children started to pull out all the gear. And Joan's husband said, 'Stop! Let's do this in an organised manner'. And Joan could already start to feel the tension … And then we started to put up the tent, and Harry [husband] said, 'I can do this without instructions' – new tent, hadn't done it before. So, lo and behold, we ended up in a huge argument, very frustrated … and in the end everyone was yelling at each other. It was just horrible.

While acknowledging that camping experiences could be positive, women in one group admitted:

> *Karen [Age 40]: Tents equals tense!*
> *Others: Yeah, Mmm, That's right, Yeah, yeah.*

> Fran [Age 40]: … [in Bali] the co-operation of the boys was sometimes less than terrific in terms of the things that Fran and her spouse wanted to do and the things that really interested the boys. We were happy to go and look at temples and all sorts of things like that. They were happy to stay inside and watch movies.
> *Others: Ohh.*

> *Margaret [Age 65+]: Oh my godfather! All they [teenage children] would do was sleep in the car (Lorna: Yes). 'Are we there yet? How much longer?' (Lorna: Yes, that's true). 'Oh, do we have to go?' (Others: Mmm, Yep). This just went on (Other: Yeah) – complaints (Lorna: That's the teenage years! ...) And when we got there, 'Oh, Queensland's horrible!' (Other: Mmm). 'People have got funny legs here', 'I'm not leaving this motel room', 'This is awful!' (Other: Yes). They would find any excuse (Lorna: Any excuse, yes that's true) to dislike the holiday (Other: Mmm).*

For three of the older women difficult relationships with husbands contributed to a negative holiday experience.

> *Lou[Age 65+]: ... my husband was in depression at the time.*
> *Jane: Oh my gosh.*
> *Susan: Oh.*
> *Lou: And he just went off on his own and left me with these two children, to do something with. (Susan: Oh) And he was often like that and very uncommunicative.*
> *Susan: Oh dear.*
> *Lou: And so it was not a happy holiday.*
> *Amelia: What a shame.*
> *Jane: Oh, no, no.*

> Anne [Age 65+]: Anne was just a little worried about her husband whether he would enjoy his [camping] holiday as he would be required to do some domestic chores, deal with the

children at very close quarters and get on with the friends. This was not something that he always managed to do without some sort of flare up … he retreated in to himself and showed that he was not enjoying himself one bit … Relations between the friends and Ken took a downturn over some minor something or other.
Later
Anne: … if my husband came on holiday with the entire family there were always difficulties…
Cordelia: Mmm, I would agree with that.
Anne: The difficulties were not so much the holiday, as fitting my husband into a close encounter for some time.
…
Cordelia: … any other holiday, there was always a difficulty. He'd get angry and drive the car dangerously and stuff like that. Was never good with him I thought.
Anne: I think we oppressed him actually. I'm not quite certain what it was all about. I could never quite work it out.

The following groups of 40-year-olds identified the commonalities in their negative memories.

Karen [Age 40]: Well, I suppose thinking about what we're in common, we're all talking about family holidays, aren't we …? I mean, a bad experience happened on a family holiday (Other: Mmm, yeah). It didn't happen when you were on your own.
Other: Mmm.

Lizzy [Age 40]: Well, there was an overwhelming lot of similarities there (Helen: Mmm).
Roberta: Well, Helen, family problems, families seem to be a big spoiler of holidays. You've got your mother, I've got my son, you've got your brother-in-law, your sister was a strain …
Later
Helen: Well obviously the key is to sort of be very selective about, not so much where we go (Others: who you go with) who you go with (Other: who we take) and who we don't take (Other: who you stay with) (Other: and the kids). The kids, yeah.
Later*:*
Helen: Certainly evident that who we take or who we don't take has a tremendous influence on (Other: Mmm) whether or not we have a good or bad time.

After disparaging family travel, three of the groups of 40-year-olds suggested, "We should all go away together".

Carly [Age 40]: … We were all very similar in how we thought about this [holidays]. We could all go on holiday together (Other: Yes), quite happily.
….
Carly: As long as we didn't have to take our husbands.
Sarah: We'll send them all off to golf.
Carly: Well, they could all go somewhere with the children.
Susie: Yes.
Annie: Yeah.
Sarah: Even better.

Helen [Age 40]: Maybe we should all go away together! Maybe we should just sit for a weekend. (Other: Yes, wonderful!) I'm quite serious! …
Other: Sure! I reckon we could.

Roberta: I'll go anywhere!
Other: Me too, I'm easy.

Social Interaction

Although not as prominent a theme as it had been at age 20, sharing the holiday with others remained important for all the women at age 40.

Jean [Age 40]: I've been away by myself for two or three days, you know, to conferences and things (Other: Mmm) and, in the evenings [if] there's no conference dinner, I'm always half miserable.
Others; Mmm, Yes.
…
Jean: It's being with someone that you can share it with.
Others: Yeah, Mmm.
Rachel: I can't imagine going away on my own.
Other: No …
Megan: … on business, I mean you can because you're busy during the day (Other: Mmm). It usually takes you into the evening as well (Other: Mmm) but, yeah, not for sort of going, (Rachel: not for a holiday).
Megan: No, not for a holiday.
Jean: No.
…
Megan: … But I could go on a holiday with a girlfriend. I mean, you know, that wouldn't bother me.
Joan: Yeah, I would too, wouldn't bother me either.
Other: Mmm.
Megan: But certainly not by myself.

Roberta [Age 40]: … I have never been on a holiday on my own, but I'm not sure it is something that entertains my fancy … I think that I would like to share it with somebody (Others: Yeah, Yeah), preferably my husband (Other: Mmm).
…
Roberta: I mean, some people can (Other: Mmm). Some people quite enjoy that total independence. But … when I am going somewhere I like to be sharing it with somebody (Others: sharing it with somebody).
Ruth: I agree. You like to share it with someone. I mean, I have been away on working holidays on my own and they're still quite difficult and Helen's done that a lot.
Helen: Very lonely.
Other: Mmm, I can imagine that.
Ruth: It is very lonely. Some of the people you are with may be quite pleasant (Other: Mmm) but not everyday all day (Other: No).
Other: Yes, that's right, That's true.

As stated above, a few women who holidayed without their children enjoyed having the time to interact with their husbands. The company of children was recalled more favourably by the older women than the current 40-year-olds.

Mary [Age 65+]: … David [husband] did business and I was in London … I had the kids and, if I hadn't had the kids, it would have been,
Gillian: It would have been lonely (Mary: It would've) whereas you made it a lot of fun.

Enjoying the company of others outside the immediate travelling party was important for both age groups of women.

> *Rachel [Age 40]: … a lot of our holidays have been with people, or with friends, and those are the ones that are probably the most memorable holidays (Karen: Uhuh; Other: Mmm, yeah). Even though they're usually camping, they're the ones that the children pick out the experiences … 'Remember that piece of seaweed we dragged around' … and all those sorts of experiences. And just, you know, … Paul[husband] teasing Rosemary[friend] about her black gloves when she was washing dishes … those sort of memories are probably, almost nicer, give you a nicer feeling (Other: Uhuh) than maybe, you know, the longer holidays …*
> *Other: Mmm.*

> *Joan [Age 40]: I find that always harder too, if it's just the family. If there's groups of people it's just more pleasant … no one's just demanding on everybody else …*
> *Karen: That's what a girlfriend of mine say[s], 'My husband and I get on a lot better if we go away with other people (Joan: Yeah, yeah, I think you do) but if we're together on our own',*
> *Other: Mmm.*
> *Jean: If you go away with your usual little group (Joan: Mmm) then you're still stuck in the same role (Other: Mmm) that you had at home. You're the cooker (Other: Mmm, yeah, yeah) and the chopper and the,*
> *Karen: That's interesting. You're right, you are, aren't you! (Joan: Mmm) … They break down probably a lot more into different roles when you're with a larger group of people.*
> *Other: Mmm.*
> *Jean: The men are more likely to barbecue more.*
> *Joan: But they're also more likely just to get up and, I found with ours they all get up and wash up and prepare food … I mean they might do it at home a bit. But it's different. They seem to in a group. Well our group do. Do a lot of that (Other: Mmm). Seems to work well.*
> *Others: Mmm, Yeah.*

> Barbara [Age 65+]: … [At Byron Bay] we all swam, ran races along the sand, played ball games, adults and young ones. Friends stayed next door and more friends arrived from Brisbane. It was a lovely time, all joining together, going fishing from the old pier … they were invited to a Greek party which was great fun, complete with a Zorba the Greek dance and a luscious supper.
> *Other: Mmm.*

> *Frances [Age 65+]: [Staying in a unit]… you're talking with the people up the street, and you're talking to the other neighbours that (Barbara: Mmm) are there and when you go to the same place all the time, they're going the same time of year (Other: Mmm) anyway (Other: Yes) so you arrive and think 'Oh hello, how are you this year?' (Carmen: Yes).*
> *Barbara: But when you go and you stay at a motel, well, it's quite different, it's all boxes.*
> *Lorna: Yes, it's the same.*

Bonding with the past, in searching for one's family roots, was a positive experience for a couple of women.

Illness

In the memories of holidays at age 40, illness was a more significant theme for the 65+- year-old women than those currently aged 40 years. As mentioned in Chapter 7, the illness of the older women was usually travel sickness.

Time Constraints

For a number of 40-year-old women, not having enough time to do what they wanted, either to see particular sights or to relax, was a negative feature of their holiday experience. Constraints here were not related to childcare or domestic work but more to do with 'so much to do and so little time'. Limited time was not a component of the memories of the older women at age 40, possibly because of the different types of holidays undertaken. Holidays in the 1960s and 1970s were less likely to be overseas touring holidays (requiring a longer duration than domestic holidays).

PART B: FREEDOM FROM THEM – AN INTERPRETATION

> The heavy mantle of duty has lain upon the shoulders of women throughout the ages. Daughters, wives or mothers, they have each served their time. Moulded by society to be the carers, they have looked after children in their infancy, parents in their old age and husbands throughout their marriage. But what gaiety breaks out when, released from these responsibilities, they cast off the cloak of duty and set out into the bright day. 'Just off,' wrote Mary Kingsley, 'to skylark and enjoy myself in Africa'. (Russell, M. 1994, p.149)

The concept of freedom is central to an understanding of leisure and, by association, tourism. However the concept receives little attention in the tourism studies literature. The term "escape" is more frequently used but, for the most part, tourism scholars have left the conceptual debate to those in leisure studies. Freedom is inherent in the travel experiences of women of the past (as discussed in Chapter 2). In the present study it was an important feature of holiday experiences of women and girls at ages 12 and 20 years and a critical feature at 40 years.[1] For most

[1] For the women in the study, family life stage/ motherhood is associated with age 40 and is a defining feature of their subjectivity, possibly more important than their chronological age. Its significance is apparent in the findings of the study. However, merely for ease in comprehension and for consistency with other chapters, I identify the women by chronological age.

women, and particularly the current 40-year-olds, positive memories involved escape, freedom from domestic tasks and the "clamor of children" (Ruddick 1984, p.224). The negative memories reflected the continuation of home duties, supporting "the observation that many activities outside the home are an extension of women's roles and obligations within it" (Bowlby, S. Gregory & McKie 1997, p.345).

That leisure is not the obverse of paid work was apparent in the present study of the holiday experiences of women at age 40. Although most of the 40-year-old women and some of the 65+ women were in paid employment at age 40, the routine from which the women wanted a break was their mothering and domestic routine.

> *Karen [Age 40]: ... most of what we're talking about was freedom from the kids (Other: Mmm), not so much freedom from work, although, you know, everybody was working either full-time or part-time (Other: Mmm, mmm, mmm, mmm, mmm). Nobody said, 'Oh, it was great to get away from teaching' (Other: Mmm) ... it was sort of that relief from being a mother rather than being a teacher (Other: Mmm, mmm) or a photographer or whatever.*
> *Joan: Yeah, it's just having your own space.*
> *Karen: Yeah ...*

In fact, for mothers of young children paid work has been seen as a rest when compared to mothering (Brown, Lumley, Small & Astbury 1994). It is acknowledged that for women, separation from the domestic is harder to achieve than separation from paid work (Deem 1996b). It was apparent in the present study that when women holidayed with others, it was difficult to escape that role. The women cared for their own children, husbands, mothers, sisters, accompanying children and friends. Where the women left children behind, they were concerned for the children's well-being. Davidson (1996b) in her holiday study of mothers of pre-school children similarly found that "Women's concern with relationship, their sense of responsibility to others, ensures that they continue their caring role whilst on holiday" (p.71). As discussed in Chapter 3, the concept of leisure (and freedom) is problematic for women. It has been argued that a work/leisure (or ordinary/extraordinary) dichotomy is not useful in understanding women's leisure. For women, especially those with a family, leisure commonly overlaps with their caring work as mothers. As Wearing (1996) says:

> Time is certainly a prerequisite for leisure, but 'free time' or 'non-work time' is not equivalent to leisure … the demarcation of work time and non-work time is problematic; child-care and/or household chores invade most of the mothers' time. (Wearing 1996, p.172)

While it was evident in the present study that childcare and household chores continue even on holiday, I would argue that the only sense in which the demarcation of work time and non-work time was problematic was the women's inability to achieve that demarcation. Most of the women (especially the current 40-year-olds) had a clear understanding of leisure and holiday as being "free time". They evaluated holidays based on their access to "non-work" time. The experiences of the women in the present study suggest that, for many, "free time" or "non-work time" *is* equivalent to leisure; the problem is that the circumstances and discourses which shape women's lives at particular family life stages prevent or constrain them from achieving the "free time" which is available to men and which is more accessible to women at other life stages.

At age 40, a positive holiday experience was one free from the physical maintenance of others and the emotional nurturance of relationships. Women wanted time and space for themselves, both a mental and physical space. Other researchers of women's leisure (such as Henderson & Bialeschki 1991; Green et al. 1990) and women's holidays (Veijola & Jokinen 1994; Davidson 1996b) have similarly identified the importance of space for mothers' leisure. Green et al. (1990) in their investigation of the leisure of British women found "for some women, most notably those with children, relaxation was inextricably linked with 'solitude', with the opportunity to have time and space for oneself, free from the interruptions or demands of others" (p.6). The present research further confirms Wearing's (1996) view that personal space "both literally and metaphorically" is the "essence of leisure" (p.178). Wearing (1996) suggests that leisure "space" can be elucidated by Foucault's concept of "heterotopias". Distinguishable from utopias, Foucault (1998) describes heterotopias as

> real places, actual places, places that are designed into the very institution of society, which are sorts of actually realized utopias in which the real emplacements,

> all the other real emplacements that can be found within the culture are, at the same time, represented, contested, and reversed, sorts of places that are outside all places, although they are actually localizable. (Foucault 1998, p.178)

The traditional tourism discourse views the holiday as such a space: "utterly different from all the emplacements that they reflect or refer to" (Foucault 1998, p.178). The stress on difference is exemplified in Urry's (1990) tourist gaze:

> potential objects of the tourist gaze must be different in some way or other. They must be out of the ordinary. People must experience particularly distinct pleasures which involve different senses or are on a different scale from those typically encountered in everyday life. (Urry 1990, p.11)

Some describe the tourist space as a liminoid space (Turner, V. & Turner 1978). However, the stance that holidays are an escape from the everyday is criticised by Veijola and Jokinen (1994). They confront Krippendorf's (1987) position.

> I have a hunch that Krippendorf has not thought about taking care of children or washing dishes when seeing tourism as escape from everyday life. He has probably had paid work, on a production line or in an office, on his mind … 'For me a journey means peace, a room of my own, space that is mine, not the children's or husband's It is a different space, but not a counter-space like you [Krippendorf] seem to argue'. (Veijola & Jokinen 1994, p.127)

If leisure space is perceived as "a space over which the person has some control to be used for the person's own satisfaction" (Wearing 1990, p.44), then inherent in the concept of leisure space are notions of resistance and power. This is a space in which the women can choose to comply or resist normative behaviour; ideologies can be negotiated. Davidson (1996b) adds that because of the temporary nature of holidays, negotiation of normal roles is "not perceived to cause harm" (p.56).

In the present study, many positive experiences of holidays at age 40 reflected women's successful negotiation of a space which could be called "heterotopia". Sometimes "Foucault's space" was the whole holiday; at other times it was a part of

the holiday. The obverse was apparent in negative memories, reinforcing the view (Wearing 1996) that heterotopias can be difficult for mothers to experience.

At age 40 there was a narrow range of themes in the good holiday experiences. Particularly for the current 40-year-olds, the main hope was escape from the routine of responsibility. It was rare that a woman in either of the age groups recalled an educational experience as a positive experience of the holiday. Neither were any of the women "Shirley Valentines"[2] (Wickens 1994, p.820) in search of romance and sexual adventure. When the women wrote or spoke about enjoyment in sharing the holiday with family (and these were mainly the 65+-year-old women), it was the children to whom they were referring. Husbands were enjoyed when women travelled as a couple but, despite their physical presence, were invisible in the positive memories of family holidays.

Davidson (1996a) found that the meaning given to women's holidays was not so much the absence of work but the "reduced pressure of continued work" (p.89), what Wimbush and Talbot (1988) call women's "relative freedoms". From the women's discussions in the present study of their negative experiences (preparation, maintenance and post-holiday chores), it was clear that not all holidays constituted a reduction in work load. Davidson (1996a) views the holiday as a space where women can nurture different selves: self as mother, self as partner or self independent of the family. The nurturance of these different selves was also found in the present study of holidays at age 40, but nurturance of "self as mother" was more evident in the memories of the current 65+-year-olds at age 40 than amongst the current 40-year-olds. While the current 40-year-olds spoke of wanting family holidays (reinforcing "self as mother"), they were the holidays in which the women nurtured "self as partner" or "self independent of the family" which were dominant in their positive holiday memories. While some of the 65+- and 40-year-old women in the present study might have been content with reduced pressure, many of the current 40-year-olds defined a positive holiday experience at age 40 as *no* pressure.

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[2] "The 'Shirley Valentines' are women on a mono-gender holiday who hope for romance and sexual adventure with a 'Greek God'. This particular 'expectation of pleasure' is based on the Greek male stereotype which has been perpetuated by newspapers and the film 'Shirley Valentine'". (Wickens 1994, p.820)

Not wanting to nurture "self as mother", they negotiated spaces for themselves free of children for all or part of the holiday. As discussed earlier, the women, especially the 40-year-olds, had no doubt as to what made for a good holiday experience at age 40 – full or partial relinquishment of their role as mother. Davidson (1996b) refers to the woman who, on holiday, partially relinquishes her role, as the "holiday mother". However, the "blissful" holiday experience is reserved for those, in particular the current 40-year-olds, who holidayed without their children. There was almost a sense of disbelief as to how wonderful life could be in having a breakfast uninterrupted or watching a television movie in a hotel room. The destination lost its importance as the women focussed on the pleasures of being able to undertake everyday daily activities undisturbed, activities which would have been unremarkable at other stages of their lives. Davidson (1996b) similarly found that when women discarded their roles of mother and wife, there was an obvious difference in the quality of the holiday experience when compared to a family holiday.

> The holiday without the family is a holiday indeed. The only way to relinquish the role, and therefore the work of mother is to physically position oneself away from the work. The words that women used to describe this experience, the tone of their voice, the clarity and surety that this was indeed a holiday and a wonderful time was evident in the descriptions that women gave. Even though the experience was for only one night or perhaps two, the quality of the experience was intense enough to out-weigh the relative rest of the longer family holiday. (Davidson 1996b, p.77)

However, it was found in the present study that holidaying away from children or family did not come without major preparation and often heavy domestic workload on return. That the current 40-year-old women in the present study were less compliant in accepting the motherhood discourse than the women in Davidson's study is perhaps explained by their urban attitudes, their different stage of motherhood (none in the present study had pre-school children) and possibly greater economic resources to provide for childcare.

A study of women's tourist experiences not only identifies what was being sought but also illuminates that from which they were escaping. In the holiday memories at

age 40 there was greater focus on the home situation from which the women were escaping than there was at other ages. The "leisure gap" referred to by Henderson et al. (1996) is most apparent at this stage of the life-course. The women's negative memories portrayed the work involved before, during and after a holiday adding to their already high domestic load at home. Graburn (2001) recognises that there can be ambivalence on the part of the tourist both prior to and after the holiday but the reasons he proposes for such ambivalence do not reflect the women's experiences. Neither did the women at age 40 claim, as does Graburn (2001), that "the pleasure being looked forward to itself shines on many of the preparations" (p.46). Gender differences in domestic and childcare labour at home explain the women's need for freedom from these tasks on holiday.

There is much evidence from leisure studies research of gender differences in amount of time and resources available for leisure and the patterns and meanings of leisure. The loss of independence and freedom with parenthood is experienced by fathers as well as mothers but for fathers, the loss is less profound (Nicholson 1983; Craig 2002b). As Phoenix and Woollett (1991) claim, a man can be a 'good father' without spending much time with his children. For mothers there is greater personal change with a "more marked effect on a woman's sense of identity" (Brown et al. 1994, p.162). While male partners today may be contributing more to the household tasks and childcare than did men of the previous generation, research in Australia (Brown et al. 1994; Wearing & Fullager 1996; Grace 1998; Craig 2002b) and elsewhere (Phoenix & Woollett 1991; West, C. & Zimmerman 1991; Samuel 1996a; Bowlby, S. et al. 1997) repeatedly confirms that women are still responsible for undertaking the lion's share of household tasks and parenting. Craig (2002a) also notes (amongst Australian couples) the qualitatively different experience of childcare for women and men.

> The research finds that when mothers are with children they are more likely to be in sole charge, to perform onerous or routine tasks, and to do other activities at the same time, than are fathers. (Craig 2002a, p.1)

A recent study by Craig (in Horin 2003) found that while Australian men in childless couples did about half the domestic work of their wives, their contribution

dropped to thirty-eight percent after the couple had a child. When Australian couples were compared to those from Norway, Germany and Italy it was found that Australian women experienced the greatest amount of change after the birth of their first child whereas of the four nationalities, Australian men experienced the least change. As Woollett and Phoenix (1991a) suggest, "the reality of the New Man is questionable" (p.219). The consequence for women in working a double shift is that women's access to leisure is restricted (Samuel 1996a). In the present study, most of the current 40-year-olds were in the paid workforce. These women "juggled" and "balanced" the demands in their lives. However, as Grace (1998) says, the problems with such terms or concepts as "juggling" and "balancing" is that they "depoliticise the issue, implying that there is nothing wrong with the system, and that any failure to successfully 'juggle' or 'balance' is a personal matter" (p.407). In the present study, it was rare for women to refer to their husbands engaging in domestic work or childcare on holidays. Their memories revealed a traditional gendered division of roles on holiday. This is not to state that negotiations were not attempted or even successful, but rather to note that the women made no mention of such negotiations.

Where men have been found to increase their involvement in domestic roles has been in the camping holiday. The study of gender roles on camping holidays (Sakamoto 1995) has suggested that some roles are reversed (such as men cooking dinner – barbecuing). An earlier North American study by Burch (1965) found that assignment of roles in camp sites depended on the action context. Fishing camps "resembled a suburban development" for much of the time with women going about their normal domestic duties while men fished. In waterskiing camps men and women shared roles. Burch concluded, "From observations over the entire camping play system, it appears that play actions which are normative for women tend to be prosaic, while those assigned to men tend to be dramatic" (p.606). Although Burch's study was conducted nearly forty years ago, the findings of the present study lend some support. The women referred to their husbands taking responsibility for the preparation of the camping gear and erecting the tent. Rarely were husbands mentioned undertaking other tasks, with the exception of driving. By age 40 most of the women in the study had primary school-age children (for some their children were in secondary school). One might have expected fathers' involvement with children to feature in women's memories.

Skiing holidays were singled out as a particularly difficult holiday for women, especially if the women did not ski and were there to maintain others' holidays. One woman described herself on a skiing holiday as "the property mistress". Hudson (2000) in examining women's constraints to skiing referred to the "general 'hassle and fatigue' in skiing that today's working woman cannot, and does not wish to, cope with" (p.367).

It is not possible to understand the holidays of women with children without an appreciation of what motherhood means to women. However, until recently mothers have been ignored in behavioural and social science research. Mothers' invisibility can be attributed to the lack of respect afforded by a society which considers mothers' work unproductive and of no economic value (Brown et al. 1994; Grace 1998; Chodorow & Contratto 1989). Mothers' work which takes place in the private sphere is defined as *non*-work and therefore not relevant in official economic statistics (Brown et al. 1994; Grace 1998). Rothman (2000) claims that the product of motherhood, the child, may be valued but this does not mean that the work (of mothering) or the worker (the mother) are valued. Woollett and Phoenix (1991b) explain that, in psychological research, this invisibility

> is probably linked with the lack of a conceptual framework for analysing mothers' feelings and experiences as different from those of their children… What children are thought to need for development is generalized to define good mothering. (Woollett & Phoenix 1991b, p.40)

Women too have been silent, loath to disclose feelings of stress and inability, believing that no one else feels the same way (Brown et al. 1994).

> Such a disclosure can feel like an expression of personal failure as a woman and as a mother, which reinforces the view that if other people knew about these unmotherly, unfeminine feelings, they would react with disapproval and rejection. Anticipating a reaction of this kind is a potent incentive for remaining silent. (Brown et al. 1994, p.161)

Dowrick and Grundberg (cited in Snitow 1992) in a study of mothers unhappy with motherhood found women loathe to write about negative aspects of motherhood for fear of hurting their children. Even the feminist movement in the early days of the "second wave" was blind to motherhood. As Snitow (1992) says, "most of the writers were young" (p.37). Others (e.g. Everingham 1994) argue that motherhood was discussed only insofar as it was seen as oppressive to women's autonomy and a position women should evacuate (Allen 1984).

Although there is a developing interest in motherhood, most of the research has focussed on mothers of young children. Mothering of older children is neglected in the literature despite the fact that "the experience of motherhood differs according to children's age" (Woollett & Phoenix 1991a, p.221). Some of the women in the present study differentiated their holiday experiences according to the age of their children at the time. Models of mothering also omit discussion regarding the mothering of more than one child (Munn 1991). Although the mother is gaining visibility in the leisure studies literature, she receives scant scholarly treatment in the tourism studies literature despite the family being a common tourist group, with the mother in attendance. Since mothers' work is considered non-work, the logical extension is that she has no need for a break/ a holiday from her day-to-day existence. Her needs can be ignored by tourism scholars and the tourism industry.

Those who equate motherhood with only the physical care of children fail to appreciate the significant and overwhelming emotional, cognitive, moral and social work of mothers which can be more demanding and draining than the physical work. For the mother, the family is not a "relief zone" from the additional emotional labour required outside the home (Hochschild 1983, p.69). Armstrong and Armstrong (cited in Bella 1989) refer to the task of "tension management" undertaken by women, "the generally supportive and stroking behaviour to comfort or encourage a spouse, child, or friend – the emotional work of keeping people together and in harmony" (p.160). When there is more than one child in a family the mother is also managing the relationship between the children (Munn 1991) as well as managing the father's relationship to the child (Marshall 1991). The complex multi-dimensionality of motherhood is generally ignored in the public discourse. Although the research tends to focus on young children for whom responsibility

rests primarily with the mother, Woollett and Phoenix (1991a) consider that the public discourse does not differentiate: "Although as their children get older, mothers can only be partly responsible for the way their children 'turn out', they continue to be judged by their children's behaviour, their successes and failures" (p.222).

The never-ending work of motherhood is acknowledged (Nicholson 1983; Rich 1986; Deem 1988). Rich (1986) describes mothers as "that ear always tuned for the sound of emergency, of being needed" (p.37). Wearing (1984) cites the core beliefs of the motherhood discourse. A 'good' mother is always available for her children, to teach and emotionally and physically care for them. A 'good' mother puts her children before herself and has total responsibility for them. The rewards of mothering outweigh the low status and lack of financial reward associated with the position. Discourse analysis of child rearing manuals by Marshall (1991) highlights the social construction of motherhood as "ultimate fulfillment". The experience of negative feelings related to mothering is considered unnatural. Although family travel was a positive experience for a number of women in the present study, especially the 65+ year old women, the overall findings from the present study do not reflect the upbeat public discourse of the family-travel guide books.

In the foreword to the Lonely Planet guide *Travel with Children* (Lanigan, 2002), Wheeler reports the difficulties of travelling with children but claims the joys make up for the difficult times. Similarly, M. Bond (2001) in her chapter "Travel with children" in *Gutsy Women: More Travel Tips and Wisdom for the Road* says:

> Traveling with children is very different from traveling by yourself, with your spouse, or with your friend. Although you may, as I did, have great trepidation about traveling with your children, you will soon learn that the rewards and memories are worth every inconvenience. My children have opened up new worlds for me. They have given me a different and refreshing perspective on everything we do and see. Together we make more friends and feed off each other's energy and adventurous spirits. (Bond 2001, p106)

She later adds, "Traveling together will change your family. You will discover each other as individuals and appreciate each other's unique characteristics" (p.111). However, her seven pages of travel tips on travel with children could leave a mother with the distinct feeling that this is not what a holiday is about! Such a long list of concerns reflects what Hays (1996) calls the "demanding character of contemporary child-rearing advice" (p.63).

In *A Mother's World: Journeys of the Heart* (Bond, M. & Michael 1998) several of the contributing mothers wrote about what they learnt from their children through travelling.

> Seeing my daughter in quite literally a different light deepened my perception of her, not only in that moment in Monet's garden but throughout the trip. Thrown into relief against the backdrop of Paris, I saw more clearly her fearlessness, her precocious sense of humor, her fresh perspectives on art, her feminist sensibility, her stubbornness, her creativity. (Rosenberg cited in Loomis 1998, p.38)

When the Travel Section of *The Sydney Morning Herald* published an article by T. Davis (2001), "How Rome was ruined" (when travelling with children), there was a spate of correspondence, mostly from women. The majority of writers, while sometimes admitting that there can be some challenges to travelling with children, were critical (and, often, indignant) of Davis's attitude to travel. He was chided for not valuing the opportunity to experience the world through a child's eyes.

> I suggest that Tony Davis stay in Australia with his family instead of whingeing and let the rest of us enjoy the pleasures and unique experiences of seeing the world through a child's eyes. (Woods 2001, p.7)

Eventually, one reader wrote in response to the previous accusatory letters:

> Shock, horror! How dare Tony Davis ('How Rome was ruined', March 24) write an honest and entertaining account of travelling with young children. And in a family newspaper, too. What is it about describing difficult or unfortunate travel experiences that brings down the wrath of super-travellers? I wonder how anyone can travel without a sense of humour. (Smith, G. 2001, p.7)

A romantic view of motherhood ignores the realities experienced by many women and these include holiday experiences. Davidson (1996b) refers to the modern family ideology of being together and sharing experiences which is reinforced by the holiday ideology which portrays the "happy family". Deem (1996b) writes of the "rehearsed and sanitized narratives" (p. 115) of holidays. There appears to be a public discourse about the stoicism of mothering *and* a public discourse about the stoicism of travel. However, Breathnach et al. (1994) disrupted a sense of family unity by suggesting that conflict is quite common on family holidays. Where there is a gap between the public discourse and lived experience of motherhood, guilt and blame can result.

While both age groups of women, at age 40, referred to pleasure in their family's (especially children's) happiness, such pleasure was a stronger theme for the women aged 65+ years. Pleasure in others' happiness can be interpreted in different ways. It may be that women have difficulty seeing themselves as individuals and interpret their existence through their husbands and children, identifying family happiness as the woman's happiness. Rich (1986) refers to mothers as living "in the rhythms of other lives" (p.33). As McCormack (1998) similarly found in her study of mothers' holidays,

> Women often feel responsible for others rather than for themselves. The notion of doing something for oneself then becomes so intertwined with the notion of doing for others that they become indistinguishable. The success of the holiday is then measured in terms of how others perceived the experience. (McCormack 1998, p.45)

Women's loss of identity in motherhood was discussed by one of the current 40-year- old groups.

> *Karen [Age 40]: And sometimes I find it really difficult to even think what **I** want to do ... Sometimes it's clear, you know, I might like to see this movie ... but ... you know, sometimes I can't differentiate myself from the family to actually think (Other: Mmm), 'What do I **really** want to do?'*
> *Joan: That's right, exactly.*

As Davidson (1996b) found, "The holiday space reinforces the role of mother as facilitator of emotional well-being by rewarding women for their actions in that role as well as providing the space which enables women to participate in relationships" (p.99). However, women were not always rewarded. Brown et al. (1994) consider that the responsibility placed on mothers for the child's development is a two-edged sword.

> The idea that mothers are the major influence on children's futures gives meaning and purpose to the many hours women spend caring for young children, but it has a downside. The possibilities if one is aiming to provide children with 'quality time' are endless. And since children are never 'good' (happy, inquiring, engaged, not bored, tired or frustrated) all of their waking hours, how can a mother ever know if she is providing the *right sort* of inputs, or *enough* of her undivided attention? (Brown et al. 1994, p.149)

In many ways family happiness was a bonus, a relief, and appreciated in relation to its opposite, the unpleasant experience of an unhappy, cranky family. For the 40-year-old women "happy children" meant less emotional work (the physical work might remain the same) than any vicarious delight in the child's experience. If women do feel accountable for others' happiness, an unhappy family can be a sign of women's incompetence. One group of 40-year-olds expressed holding the utopian idea of holidays "that it'll all go wonderfully" while at the same time acknowledging that "you are actually taking the same set of four people away with you" with the associated problematic group dynamics. The women considered that the resolution of this conflict was for the women to be more realistic, "nobody's going to change personalities", or for the women to have space away from the children. The responsibility for the women enjoying a holiday lay with themselves. Crawford et al. (1992) in their study of women's holidays similarly concluded:

> We seem to have internalized the social definitions of holidays as something desirable, pleasurable, good for ourselves and others. So if a particular holiday is problematic it must be our fault – next time we will get it right. (Crawford et al. 1992, p.145)

That the 65+-year-old women had more positive memories of family holidays than the current 40-year-olds was evident in the present study. Different explanations for the varying experiences are proposed. One might argue that the older women had "forgotten" the difficulties of motherhood. Perhaps from the distance of twenty-five years they were nostalgic for a time in which their position in society, although marginal, was less marginal than they were now experiencing in their senior years. One group discussed the transition to "empty-nest" holidays:

> Margaret [Age 65+]: Being thrown together in such a confined space [on a boat] for a whole week had not caused problems. In fact everyone enjoyed this particular aspect. Possibly because it was balanced by the frequent excursions ashore and also by the thrill and excitement of constantly moving around in such a different and lovely environment. Looking back for Margaret, there was also a feeling of nostalgia and even a sweet sadness for this was the last holiday the family would ever take together, as each child grew older and 'dropped out' of the family holidays and, eventually, even the lone youngest was gone. Holidays became quite different: 'Derby and Joan' experiences.
> *Other: So true, isn't it?*
> *Margaret: Yes.*
> *Lorna: You could say that about the 40s. You could say that about your 40s (Margaret: Yes). You know, you've still got your children reasonably young.*
> *Carmen: That's right.*
> *Lorna: Same with mine; it was our last one all together.*
> *Other: Mmm.*

Other explanations relate to changes in the social construction of motherhood since the 65+-year-old women were aged 40. Nicholson (1983) describes the post-Second World War social context in which the older women, at age 40, would have been raising their children:

> theories maintained that the best thing a woman could possibly be was a mother, and the only way a mother could be a proper mother was to stay at home and care for her husband, house and children full time. (Nicholson 1983, p.28)

Nicholson (1983) and M. Gibson (1986) writing in the 1980s, the time at which the current 40-year-old women were having their children, stress greater choices for women now. As M. Gibson (1986) says, the women's movement, older mothers, changes in traditional sex roles and new family patterns are some of the experiences characterising the 1980s. However, mothers today who undertake paid work outside the home while still having major responsibility for the family are taking on two jobs and the expectation or necessity of being a "super" mum. Nicholson (1983) claims that "being a mother under society's present conditions is altogether too

much for one person to handle … the mother today is nanny, cook, housemaid, chauffeur, laundress, entertainer and sexual partner, all in one" (p.23). One could also add women's other roles – as carers of others, husband/partner, parents, relatives, friends, neighbours. M. Gibson (1986) claims that today there is greater pressure on a woman "to become a mother in the 'right' way" (p.20). Although women may be involved in paid work, they spend more time involved in their children's activities, more involved in the child's development than women in the past (Brown et al. 1994; Hays 1996). Hays (1996) claims "the cultural contradictions of motherhood are now more pronounced than ever before" (p.50) and "it is middle- and upper-middle class mothers who are the most likely to take the labor-intensive tenet of intensive mothering to the extreme" (p.115). Studies (Urwin 1985) suggest that despite labour-saving devices, women's domestic workload has not changed with women spending less time on household chores and more "quality time" with children. The model of intensive mothering considers that "children are innocent and priceless, that their rearing should be carried out primarily by individual mothers and that it should be centred on children's needs, with methods that are informed by experts, labor-intensive and costly" (Hays 1996, p.21). Wearing's (1984) study of Australian mothers similarly found that many women considered they were more involved with *their* children than their mothers had been with them. In the present study, one group of current 40 year olds recognised the contradiction in their intensive mothering in family holidays and the freedom that the women, as children, had enjoyed in holidays.

> *Liz [Age 40]: ... you feel they've got [to]have structured activities. Although what we're saying is, you know, at last, when we [at age 12] weren't with our parents, we actually could do what we want[ed]. Maybe, that's what the kids are going to say too. At last when they're not with us, they don't have to actually, you know, (Sue: Mmm) get up this time and do that (Sue: Mmm) and tidy this and find that (Sue: Mmm), see such and such (Sue: Mmm)*
> *Sue: See another mountain. Another waterfall.*

Cultural shifts in the intensity of mothering might suggest a greater need for escape for the current 40-year-olds than for their mothers' generation at age 40. On the other hand, family size has decreased and despite many women working two jobs, the workplace does give women a break from their children. The purpose of the thesis is not to judge which cohort was more deserving of a break from their children; it is evident that for mothers of the past and mothers of today there is no

clear dichotomy of work and leisure when children (and often other family and friends) are in attendance on holiday.

Differences between the cohorts at age 40 can be better understood through two overlapping discourses of "good" mothers discussed by Brown et al. (1994). They distinguish between the "old good mother" and the "new good mother".

> The 'old good mother' discourse stresses the importance of love and security, and what Richards describes as 'passive qualities – patience, reliability and willingness to spend time'. The 'new good mother', according to Harper and Richards, is more interested in retaining her own independence and individuality, and in providing a stimulating environment for her child's development, rather than the 'loving presence of a patient mother'. (Brown et al. 1994, p.141)

In the present study, most of the 65+-year-old women at age 40 represented the "old good mother". Not many of the women in the older group had experienced holidays without the children. This age group had become mothers around the time that J. Bowlby (1953) was writing about maternal deprivation, the short- and long-term effects of separation of the mother from her child especially in the early years. Despite the older women's comments about responsibility being a negative aspect of some holiday experiences, there was also contradiction. The 65+-year-old women in recollecting holidays with their children accepted responsibility as being their lot. Only one current 40-year-old expected that this was a stage of life to endure.

The older women at age 40 strongly identified with the traditionally defined role of wife and mother. They were less likely than the current 40 year olds to consider they had an entitlement to a holiday free from their everyday work. In this respect they reflected the findings of a study by Cunningham (cited in Davidson 1996b) in which women, when asked about their ideal and actual holidays, "recognised the contradiction between their lived experience and their ideal, but instead of voicing anger, they laughed at their own dreams and fantasies" (p.18). The women aged 65+ years might be said to have developed what Whitehead (cited in Green et al. 1990) referred to as "'accommodatory ideologies'", ideologies which "entrench them further in deference and powerlessness" (p.136).

Those currently aged 40 came closer to the "new good mother". However, there is a contradiction in the contemporary discourse which both legitimates mothers' independence and, at the same time, requires mothers to provide a stimulating environment for their child. Hays (1996), in seeing mothers as agentic, uses the metaphor "sorting the mail" to explain how mothers themselves socially construct motherhood – which parts of the ideology they select or reject. As Walkerdine (1990b) says:

> Modern apparatuses of social regulation, along with other social and cultural practices, produce knowledges which claim to 'identify' individuals. These knowledges create the possibility of multiple practices, multiple positions. To be a 'clever child' or a 'good mother', for example, makes sense only in the terms given by pedagogic, welfare, medical, legal and other discourses and practices. These observe, sanction and correct how we act; they attempt to define who and what we are. They are, however, crisscrossed by other discourses and practices … This multiplicity means that the practices which position us may often be mutually contradictory. They are also sites of contestation and struggle. We never quite fit the 'positions' provided for us in these regulatory practices. (Walkerdine 1990b, p.199)

While the current 40-year-olds came closer to the "new good mother" discourse in trying to achieve independence and individuality, it was often difficult to throw off the vestiges of the "old good mother" discourse. Nicholson (1983) claims, "Whenever a mother does something for herself or to make herself a person in her own right, she is reminded that she is probably neglecting her children" (p.64). As with career women (Nicholson 1983), those women who took space and time for themselves on holiday had to be continually proving that their actions were not harming their children. They needed to reassure themselves and others that they were not bad mothers, that they passed what Deveson (in Gibson, M. 1986) calls "the motherhood litmus test" (p.6). They needed to assert that the children were well cared for in their absence. Holidays were thus another site in which women could be judged good or bad mothers. If they, as mothers, were able to interpret their absence from the children as good for the children, they were able to sustain

the discourse of motherhood and minimise conflict and guilt, while still achieving a break for themselves. They could see themselves as complying with rather than challenging the "good mother" discourse. However, the off-hand comments and justifications of those who took time and space for themselves on holiday suggest ambivalence and unresolved conflict regarding their motherhood performance. Through the method of analysis undertaken in this study, I was able to hear the nervous laughter, the silences and hesitancies. More specifically, I was able to hear the tone inherent in the spoken words and sounds. The women were not wholly comfortable with the new discourse. In offering up their ambivalence to the others it was as if they were seeking confirmation that they were not "bad" mothers for taking time for themselves.

> *Roberta [Age 40]: [Going to Europe for eight weeks][3]... and then you start imagining that you might miss them and all that sort of stuff while you're away but actually the moment that plane ... lifts off from Australian soil you leave it all behind (Laughter).*
> *Marie: You're very uncaring aren't you!*
> *Roberta: I know!*
> *Other: Well, we all need to get away!*
> *Roberta: But you do need that (Other: space). Your mind needs to leave it behind as well.*
> *Other: Yes.*
> *Helen: A part of the reason you can relax is because you know they are well looked after.*
> *Others: That's right, yes, That's true too.*
> *Roberta: And, in fact, in many ways it does them good to have you gone (Other: Yes) because they sometimes appreciate you a bit more (Others: Mmm, Mmm) when you get back.*
> *Helen: You can't have people taking you for granted (Other: No) not for too long anyway.*

> *Sue [Age 40]: [On her own at the invitation of husband's business] ... staying in Ritz Carlton ... watch another movie, I don't have to go to sleep yet, have room service. Oh it was lovely ... I might sleep in, I might have another bath.*
> *Other: Yeah (Sue: sighs).*
> *Jenny: I don't know if it actually means more now because you know (Sue: Oh, I think it does; Liz: Yes)*
> *...*
> *Sue: I remember [son] Adam saying on the phone ... 'I miss you Mummy', [Sue responds] 'Mmm, (offhand) I miss you too. (Fran: Fingers crossed.) Oh, video's starting, I've got to go now'. Oh terrible! Other: Yeah.*

The woman above in her final comment "Oh terrible!" acknowledged, as did the other women in their supportive laughter, that this was not what a "good" mother should be feeling. Although the holiday was nearly twenty-five years ago, one of

[3] The duration of separation from children was, for the most part, a few days or one or two weeks. The eight weeks cited here was exceptional.

the older women, who at age 40 had left a child with relatives in New Zealand while she holidayed with her husband, said:

> *Carmen [Age 65+]: I spoke to my daughter last night, and she said she'd had a good time in New Zealand so I don't feel guilty about it (laughter).*

It is acknowledged that women taking time for themselves is often accompanied by guilt (Gibson, M. 1986). However, the finding in the present study that girls at age 12 actually enjoyed space free from parents suggests that from the girls' perspective the women's guilt was unnecessary!

The social control or policing of women is not just from men but from other women as well. Green et al. argue:

> Paradoxically the very support networks offered by women to other women, although frequently positive and benign, are often fraught with contradictions in that they can function to reinforce patriarchal power and limit the possibility of challenges to it. (Green et al. 1990, p.119)

In the present study, one group of 65+-year-old women was highly critical of today's mothers who holiday without their children.[4] The older women, while they understood the heavy workload of mothers, were complicit in the reinforcement of the status quo. A feminist interpretation would see the women in controlling each other as obscuring the patriarchal oppression.

For both age groups at age 40, shouldering the responsibility for children's physical, social and intellectual development could be exhausting. What was striking in the present study was that, despite the load, there was no talk that husbands should take or share responsibility for these tasks either at home or on holiday. Only one group of women (currently aged 40) challenged the inequity in the holiday.

> *Fran [Age 40]: I think also for Fran [self] it's the equality of holidays that she [self] likes. She doesn't like one person to be enjoying themselves. Or a number of people enjoying themselves while she is the one who's making sure the washing gets done (Others: Mmm,*

[4] Coming across one of the women in this group more than two years later, I was interested that the *one* topic she recalled to me from the many hours of group discussion related to the differences between her generation and today's generation of mothers who holiday without their children.

Yeah, Mmm) and all of that sort of thing. So on a holiday if you're on equal terms, if everybody's sharing, and not just the male partner (Liz: Yeah) but the children as well (Liz: Yeah). If you get a sense that everybody is co-operating,
Sue: That works for me as well because our yearly holiday is normally a skiing holiday and Sue [self] doesn't ski, so for us to go away it means the rest of the family is skiing all day and me reading books and drinking wine … and it's not as enjoyable.
Later
Jenny : … it's like jumping up and saying 'It is ***my*** *holiday. Apart from family holiday, it's my holiday as well!'*
Liz: Yeah, that's right, yeah.
Sue: Mmm
Jenny: Yeah.
Fran: In a sense you sort of say, 'Oh, I wish I hadn't b[r]ought them'. But you don't mean that. (Jenny: Mmm) because you want them to be here and you want them to enjoy it … But often … other people's lives are lived on their own terms (Liz: Yeah; Sue: Mmm), children particularly.
Sue: True, mmm (Liz: Yeah). No tolerance really.

The group above also confronted inequity in their access to holidays.

Sue [Age 40]: For me, it's almost jealousy that Mike [husband] travels as much as he does [for business] and stays in the nice places that he does, and I'm here with the children. So I want to share some of that.
Liz: You want some of those experiences, yeah.
Sue: … I want to get to that stage where I ***want*** *to come home and have a home-cooked meal!*
Liz: Yeah, exactly

Through sarcasm, the group expressed their longings.

Fran: Must be terrible just to sit by yourself in a beautiful restaurant with a view of the (Sue: Yeah, yeah) New York City or Chicago or something like that.
Sue: Shocking, shocking.
Liz: Yeah, lonely, very lonely.
Fran: Very lonely.
Jenny: Yeah, sure!

An examination of the Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Overseas Departures 2000 – 2003*, reveals that men aged in their 40s are more than twice as likely as women of the same age to travel for the purpose of conference and more than five times more likely to travel for business purposes. While women at this age are engaging in more leisure and VFR outbound travel than men in their 40s, the gender differences are considerably less than in business and convention travel. Women aged in their 40s with children at home are also, in all probability, less likely to be represented in these travel figures than women without children. It is quite possible that women do perceive an inequity in the amount of travel each spouse can experience in their 40s.

While the women in the present study often complained of their never-ending work, there was evidence that both the 65+- and 40-year-old women proudly saw themselves as more competent than men to perform such tasks. Hays (1996), in a survey of mothers, similarly found that most considered they did more of the parenting and were more competent than their partners. However, Hays concluded that, for the women, the injustice in the unbalanced workload was that men had not internalised the same tenets of the intensive parenting ideology as they had. Hays also found that the mothers seemed to want to play down the problem of inequity. Hays's explanation for this silence might explain the similar finding in the present study.

> First, many mothers love their male partners and therefore do not want to paint them in a negative way. Second, since women generally have the sense that most husbands do not help out in child rearing, they are genuinely grateful when their own mates help out in some way. Further, in the context of a society that has limited women's access to prestige, mothers' special competence in raising kids provides them with a position of honour within the household. Finally, one needs to recognize that some of these women may fear that their marriages will be threatened if they refuse to do the larger share of domestic chores. (Hays 1996, p.107)

The desire to be a good mother and wife can be understood in societies in which "many of the identities available to women derive from their location within heterosexual relations – as wife, girlfriend, daughter or mother" (Jackson, S. 1995, p.19). Women in caring for their children and husband can be secure in the knowledge that they are behaving appropriately and in so doing are accorded recognition that they have some value (Davies, B. et al. 2001).

Despite resistance by many of the 40-year-old women to mothering and domestic roles on holidays, they were not challenging their domestic arrangements at home. There was no suggestion that changes in their holiday situation would or should extend beyond that time and space. The women, while negotiating spaces for themselves, were not attacking societal male/female power relations which, from a feminist perspective, were at the basis of their subjugation as mothers. They recognised that it was through motherhood that they had come to their constraining

position at age 40 but they did not question the discourse of motherhood. They did not question whose interests are being served by the oppression from which they were trying to escape on holiday.

The women's memories of caring for others at age 40 extended beyond caring for their children to caring for the extended family and friends. Their meaning of responsibility to children and others was not "the common understanding of responsibility as personal commitment and contractual obligation" (Gilligan 1988, p.7) but the alternative meaning posed by Gilligan (1988) in which "responsibility means acting responsively in relationships, and the self - - as a moral agent - - takes the initiative to gain awareness and respond to the perception of need" (p.7). In this alternative definition of responsibility,

> The premise of separation yields to the depiction of the self in connection, and the concept of autonomy is changed. The seeming paradox 'taking charge of yourself by looking at others around you' conveys the relational dimension of this self–initiated action. (Gilligan 1988, p.7)

Gilligan's alternative definition of responsibility and her notion of an "ethic of care" (1993), while criticised by some feminists as essentialist (Fraser & Nicholson 1990), reflects the experiences of the women in the present study. Whether or not the women's morality was gendered or a consequence of their minority status (Tronto 1994) is uncertain. Nonetheless, the women were observed to define the self through interaction with others as opposed to detachment from others. While they might have resisted the interconnectedness in their desire for freedom, family came first. There was no evidence of the women gaining their freedom by acting "irresponsibly" to others. They had to feel assured of the children's safety and happiness before considering their own holiday. It appeared that what the women wanted was a change in their circumstances, such as being *removed* from their children, removed from a sense of duty and obligation so that they did not *have to* behave responsibly. As with the middle-aged women in Crawford et al.'s (1992) study of holidays, the 40-year-old women took their responsibilities seriously. At the same time, the strong theme of interconnectedness in the positive holiday memories highlighted the women's pleasure in sharing the holiday with peers when

there was, as Crawford et al. (1992) found, "a warm and easy sociability" (p.136). As Wearing (1990) argues, having control over one's leisure space is not just a matter of what to do or where to go but also "who should be included or excluded from such space" (p.44).

The construction of the good mother comes to be seen as natural; it is implicit rather than explicit. However, while there were many commonalities across the two age groups in the present study, it was clear that motherhood is not a static concept. Motherhood is a social construction which has had different meanings at different historical periods. That mothers would leave their children to have a holiday was not as acceptable twenty years ago as it is today. However, this is not a linear progression in thinking. M. Russell (1994) notes that the Victorian women travellers towards the end of the nineteenth century could come and go, travelling with husbands and leaving children at home. As M. Russell says, "The idea of maternal bonding was not then invested with the same importance as it is today" (p.162). The constructions of motherhood in the present study might not be applicable to mothers who are not white, Western and middle-class. A study by Boulton (cited in Woollett & Phoenix 1991b) found that middle-class women were less likely than working-class women to say they enjoyed the tasks of childcare. The finding in a recent study of the holiday experiences of disadvantaged families in Britain (Smith, V. & Hughes 1999) stressed the importance of parents' vicarious pleasure in their children's enjoyment of the holiday, which contrasted with the findings in the holiday experiences of the current 40-year-olds in the present study. Other differences between mothers relate to their feminist sensibility. Gordon (cited in Woollett & Phoenix 1991b) found that feminist mothers were more likely than non-feminist mothers to have difficulty finding a "comfortable balance between their identities as mothers and other important identities" (p.42). Wearing's (1984) study of different groups of Australian mothers found that

> it is those women who have access to male defined sources of power such as education, middle class job and high levels of income, (that is some middle class women), who are able to challenge existing male defined ideologies. (Wearing 1984, p.29)

As Phoenix and Woollett (1991) recognised, "How motherhood is understood and hence how women view themselves as mothers is very much part of the historical period and ideological circumstances in which ideas develop" (p.6). However, while acknowledging socio-cultural differences, Phoenix and Woollett (1991) also maintained the "commonalities in the experiences of women who live in the same societies and have children of similar ages" (p.8).

Rojek (1993) considers that for the traveller of today (compared to the traveller of the past) there is little contrast between home and abroad. There is a sameness. We cannot escape our home existence as we confront the destination "as members of a particular class, race, nation and civilization": thus, "There is no escape" (p.212). For those mothers who take their work with them there may be no, or only partial, escape. However, the freedom the women in the present study experienced when they were able to leave their mothering work at home suggests that escape was possible. Rojek, in not considering mothers as travellers, fails to appreciate the gendered nature of travel and the lived experiences of Western middle-class mothers in everyday life.

To understand the holidays of women with children requires a consideration of the meaning of motherhood. The present chapter has highlighted the complexities and ambiguities of this experience. Many of the women in the present study, especially the current 40-year-olds, used the holiday space to disrupt the core beliefs of the motherhood discourse, as outlined by Wearing (1984), and divulge them as a myth. Their memories revealed that motherhood was not "ultimate fulfilment". The rewards did not always outweigh the disadvantages, nor were negative feelings towards mothering "unnatural". The holiday space gave them the opportunity in various ways to resist that part of the motherhood discourse which assumes that mothers should be in constant attendance, emotionally and physically available to all family members at all times. The women were seeking freedom from care, time to please themselves, a space in which they could "experience desirable and non-conflicting subjectivity(ies)" (Davidson 1996b, p.97) and where they could recuperate from the demands at home. Whether children and others were present or absent in the holiday, various means were used to negotiate "freedom from them".

If mothers are to gain the benefits from holidays that others enjoy, it is important for a society to deconstruct the motherhood discourse/s. As Oakley (1986) says:

> This sanctimonious whitewashing of the ragged vitality expressed in every aspect of one of the most powerful of human experiences has to be confronted and debated, otherwise there is not likely to be any fundamental and lasting improvement in that structure - motherhood - which at one and the same time both depresses and elevates the 'condition' of women. (Oakley 1986, p.6)

AND SO TO AGE 65+ ….

Gillian [Age 65+]: But different ages of your life – so you need different holidays, don't you? (Others: Mmm, Mmm). I mean when you're young … if you've got young children you're governed by school holidays (Other: Mmm). And that can often be a big rush to get away and go, go, go because your children go, go, go. Whereas we're probably all looking for different pleasures in life now.
Mary: We're only looking after ourselves now.
Other: Mmm.
Gillian: Yes, yes.
Mary: Whereas when we had –
Gillian: We're all spending the kids' inheritance now …
Mary: But when we went on holidays, when we had the children, you know, you'd have … three, four, five, six (Other: Mmm) of you, all having to try and keep everyone happy.
Gillian: That's right and you'd cook for four weeks before you went, because you fed them all the whole time (Other: Yes). Skiing holidays and things, you know, but it was busy.
Other: Still is.
Eleanor: … yes, but it's different, isn't it (Other: Mmm). It's all different.
Gillian: Yes, but we've all been there, and done all that.

Barbara [Age 65+]: And when you retire too, you have a different type of holiday.
Frances: Things don't hassle you as much at all.
Barbara: No, no.
Other: Oh, it's a different – , yes, yes.
Barbara: It's a completely different type of holiday to what you have when you're younger and with family.
Lorna: Yeah, oh yes.
Frances: Oh yes.
Other: Mmm, exactly.

Cordelia [Age 65+]: … I know that … holidays now, I'm looking for something quite different. What I enjoy in a holiday now has changed immensely from what I used to enjoy years ago.
….
Well, before … I suppose, because it was centred around children, you looked at activities for children (Marcia: Mmm, mmm) and places where you could go … and I used to get a lot of enjoyment out of seeing the children enjoy themselves (Marcia: Mmm). And that was part of the anticipation of going (Anne: Mmm, mmm), because it was such fun for them and you'd give them this good time (Marcia: Mmm). Then there was the time when I went on holiday and it wasn't as meaningful because I thought, 'Well, the children aren't here anymore, I don't really want to do this'. Now all of a sudden, you know, I've been to WA and like we've travelled away at the weekend, and now it's sort of more luxurious. We dine

out (Marcia: Mmm) most of the time. We stay in a motel, you're not doing things, it really ***is*** *a holiday (Anne: Yes, yes) because you're not cooking, you're not (Ann: Yes, yes) running around getting nappies clean.*
Anne: You're not maintaining the holiday…
Cordelia: That's right. And it is getting incredibly enjoyable again. And just going and, you know, watching the water and sitting out in the sun and enjoying yourself.
Later
Cordelia: … now, just doing things that are pleasurable for me, you're not pleasing other people. You're doing things that you really like doing (Anne: Mmm, mmm) … the good thing now is being able to go to places that are enjoyable with someone … Peter [second husband/partner] will say, 'Would you like it?' And he is agreeable too, even though it's not something he might (Ann: No) necessarily want to do. So, I'm being considered now. My needs are being taken care of, to do any pleasurable thing.

And as one current 40-year-old group optimistically anticipated,

Ruth: [Age 40]: When we are all rich widows … we can go trekking in Nepal!

CHAPTER 11: HOLIDAYS AT AGE 65+ – BEYOND ME, US AND THEM

INTRODUCTION

Only one age group is discussed in Chapter 11, those currently aged 65+ years. The written holiday memories relate to current holidays, a holiday taken in the past two years. The women were aged 65+ at the end of the 1990s. There was a twenty-one year age range from the youngest to the eldest. Of the seventeen women, nine were aged in their 60s, six in their 70s and two in their 80s. Most of the women were living with their husbands (the same husband as at age 40), four were widowed and three divorced or separated from their husband. The women no longer had children living at home. At age 65+ the women were not focussed on *my* pleasure, social interaction or freedom from others. Although still carers of others to varying degrees, they were no longer involved in the energy-draining work of caring for children. The title of this chapter reflects the spiritual nature of holidays at age 65+. As with Chapters 8 to 10, Chapter 11 is divided into two parts with Part A presenting the women's "holiday" voices at age 65+ and Part B being my interpretation of these voices.

Nielsen and Rudberg (1999) refer to "generational genres in self constructions", with older women more likely "to construct their stories in a rather static 'structuralist' way … 'that is the way it was, back then'" (p.2). Since the older women in the present study spoke at length about the socio-historical times in which they have lived, it is useful to include a brief summary here to provide a context for how the women understood themselves and their holidays today. I concur with Job's (1984) conclusion from her study of older people that for the participants, "the preferred disciplinary frame of reference was historical" (p.15). The older women were more likely than women from other age groups to view memory-work as oral "history" for public display.

Most of the women had experienced the Depression and all had lived through World War 2. Their values today were seen as a product of these times. Despite these

hardships, the women were positive about their lives. Elder (1978), in writing about family history and the life-course, reported that

> the retrospective emotional career of middle-aged adults varied according to their family situation in the Great Depression, as remembered and actually experienced. Depression experiences seemed to have established 'a frame of reference for defining life periods as relatively good or bad times' quite apart from actual adult achievements. (Elder 1978, p.24)

Lipscombe (1996) describes the socio-cultural historical context of Australia's present aged generation.

> Because of family hardships experienced during their childhood they learned the values of family solidarity and loyalty, self-help, mutual support; and as Australia came out of that depression, developed an optimism for the future based on the absorption of the work ethic as the path to prosperity and a better life. 'This was a generation whose peak years of raising a family and developing a career were during the 50s and 60s – arguably some of the best years for economic growth Australia has ever seen' (Mackay:1994). Their optimism for a better life was further enhanced by the rapid developments in technology and science from which they benefitted directly, particularly in the areas of health, modern conveniences, and travel … (Lipscombe 1996, p.38)

Sheehy (1995) used the term "resilient" to describe those currently aged in their 60s. A couple of the women in the present study referred to women of their age group as "survivors". One group summed up their lives and their discussions.

> *Lorna [Age 65+]: Well I think we've all been on the same level, playing with our ideas. I think we've all grown up with not huge expectations like the young couple have today. I still think I grew up in the best time (Barbara: Mmm, definitely). I think it's very hard for young people today, and our grandchildren, - it's going to be even harder … even though they will gear themselves to the time. I think all children do.*
> *Other: Mmm.*
> *…*
> *Lorna: Yes, but I think we've seen a lot of changes, from the time we were little children (Margaret: Oh indeed, yes) to now.*
> *Barbara: Especially the technology.*
> *Lorna: Yes, that our young … children (Other: Mmm) most probably won't see (Other: Mmm, mmm) quite the same. We've grown up with the simple life. We've had a simple life.*
> *…*
> *Lorna: And we've accepted, haven't we. We've accepted that too.*

...
Margaret: ... there's been a tremendous amount of experience (Lorna: A lot's happened in the lives.) and there's young people to-day that have had none of that!
Lorna: No.

Mackay (1997) in discussing three generations of Australians, labelled older Australians, or those born in the 1920s, as the 'lucky' generation, supporting statements of women in the present study. Mackay (cited in Lipscombe 1996) says of this generation:

> 'They feel as if they have had the best of both worlds: the solid values of their parents generation combined with the comfort and convenience of life in the second half of the twentieth century. Now, they look around them and feel luckier still. Seeing the new difficulties being faced by their children's generation they heave a sigh of relief that they made it to retirement with their marriages, careers and their values still in tact.' (Lipscombe 1996, p.38)

Although the financial resources of the individual women varied, they were, with the exception of one woman, all in a position to afford holidays. At age 65, the women in this study were retired from paid work. They had more time for leisure and holidays. They also were not restricted to the time of the year in which to take holidays. No longer restricted by school holidays, they were now able to plan their trips for the prime time at the destination. The time afforded by retirement was valued.

Patricia [Age 65+]: As she was now retired there was no need to cram as much in as possible, and no deadline to return home.
Later
Frances: I love the way everyone's got time now they've retired.
Carmen: Yes.

The above group, aged from their mid-60s to early 70s said:

Barbara [Age 65+]: It's a good time retirement.
Other: Mmm ...
Margaret: It's wonderful, it's wonderful.
...
Frances: ... this is the best time of our lives.
Others: Yes, Mmm.
Barbara: It is.
Margaret: It is.

PART A: HOLIDAY VOICES AT AGE 65+

For all the women, with the exception of one (a widowed woman in poor physical and emotional health), holidays were overwhelmingly positive. One group considered that careful planning of a trip at age 65+ contributed to the positive experience of holidays.

> *Lorna [Age 65+]: I think you read the fine print and you have to think of things for your health and all this sort of thing. It's different to travelling when you're younger. But we still enjoy it ...*

The women at age 65+ acknowledged that holidays at their current age were different from when they were aged 40 and responsible for a family. While identifying positive differences of holidays at the older age, the women made no claim that, overall, holidays were better at age 65+ than they had been at younger ages.

Rarely at age 65+ did concern for others or the need for relaxation appear in the memories. Where one woman expressed concern for leaving an ailing elderly mother at home while she holidayed, the group responded, acknowledging the woman's own needs.

> *Gillian [Age 65+]: Well, you can't do anything about it.*
> *Other: No you can't, no.*
> *Gillian: And you can't put everything off because of that.*
> *Eleanor: No, you can't, no ... you're constantly aware of them, aren't you?*
> *Gillian: Of course you are ...*
> *Mary: But you do need a break.*
> *Eleanor: Oh you do, you do. Mary, you're right, that's exactly right.*
> *Mary: And they realise that you've got to go for a holiday.*

This is not to say that the women had become uncaring individuals but rather that the stresses and tensions of their middle-aged holidays appeared to have been resolved. At age 65+ life appeared to be sweet. Neither domestic work nor childcare was problematic. Even if children accompanied the women on holidays at their current age, the women did not bear the same responsibility for grandchildren as they had for their own children. The meaning of holidays at 65+ needs to be seen within the context of the gendered nature of holidays at previous ages.

> *Margaret [Age 65+]: There's something about sharing with a grandchild (Other: Yes; Lorna: Oh, it's very special) that's very different probably (Lorna: Yes) from when you're bringing up your children, and you've got all these worries on your mind and (Frances: Oh yeah; Lorna: That's so true) that kind of thing (Lorna: Yes), yes. I think you can share in a totally different way (Others: different, different way) with grandchildren (Other: Mmm).*

The women agreed that women's travel is very different from the travel of men. A number of women acknowledged that they were the instigators and planners of the holiday.

> *Margaret [Age 65+]: The men go along with whatever you plan, don't they? (Lorna: Yes.) It's just a part of you running your home.*

A good holiday experience was

> *Anne [Age 65+]: ... doing the things I like to do.*
> *Cordelia: Enough interesting things to see and do.*
> *Anne: Yeah, yeah.*

While, on the surface, the above quotation might sound like the themes from holidays at younger ages: "freedom from others" at age 40, and "me and my pleasure" at age 12, the women at age 65+ experienced a more *expansive* holiday than the girls and women at younger ages. The women shared many activities with the younger women such as visiting friends, swimming and walking. Exercise was important for some of the younger women in the 65+ group. Other activities such as rides on Harley Davidson motorbikes or camel rides were mentioned by some of the younger women of this age cohort. But the activity that distinguished this group was their interest in touring and sightseeing.

A Pleasure in the World

There were a number of positive themes which emerged from the collective discussion of women aged 65+. However, the most prominent theme, and a theme which differentiated holidays at age 65+ from holidays at younger ages, was a pleasure in the world, a search for a larger meaning in life. One woman explained that holidays gave one the time to reflect on one's life.

> *Gillian [Age 65+]: You've got time to stand back and look at yourself (Other: Mmm) and look at what you've been doing, 'cause you've got a lot of time (Other: Mmm) while you're sitting on an aeroplane for six hours (Other: Mmm) ... and it's time to think and it's time to*

> *look at your life and think, 'Oh yes, I could be doing that better or, if I did this, it'd be better'. Sort of time for reflection.*
> *Other: Mmm.*
> *Topsey: To let go the past.*
> *Gillian: Mmm, mmm. And this is one of the good things about holidays (Other: Mmm), that you can actually do that. Think, 'Well, I'll turn over a new leaf and I'll do things'.*

All the groups wrote about and discussed their physical surroundings. Although one woman discussed her love of cosmopolitan urban destinations, the focus was on the women's joy in the natural environment.[1] Women at other ages had also expressed a joy in the physical environment (discussed in Chapter 7) but not as prominently as at age 65+. As discussed in Chapter 8, the meaning of the physical environment for the current 12-year-olds was its capacity to bestow status or facilitate the girls' desired physical activities. Although the older women's memories of holidays at age 12 included emotional responses to the landscape (the beauty of the natural environment, the water, the birds, the sun, the sky) their memories were more likely to be written and less likely to be discussed and acknowledged as a key pleasure of holidays.

For holidays at age 65+, the women wrote detailed descriptions about their feelings of being in a place. Their accounts were to do with sightseeing and the wonders of the world. They portrayed a definite joy in their wider surroundings. For them the environment was a source of beauty, inspiration and enrichment.

> Topsey [Age 65+]: Mist was rising up out of the valley and the pilot flew the plane around the [Wilpena] Pound … where the mist was slowly lifting up into the air and drifting away. The sight was absolute magic and the colours all around just too beautiful to see. That was a positive experience.
> *Gillian: It sounds very positive.*
> *Mary: Yes, wonderful.*

> Eleanor [Age 65+]: They walk through magnificent scenery and feel the wonder of creation as they look at a lovely sunset leaving the sky and then the stars come out.
> *Gillian: I think that's what we're all looking for now isn't it (Eleanor: Yes) in our holidays.*
> *Eleanor: Isn't it beautiful (Other: Mmm). And the moon comes up with the night … I just could go on and on …*
> *Mary: Well, once you get away from the city lights (Eleanor: Ooh, it's amazing, isn't it) the sky just comes down to meet you (Others: Mmm, Mmm). Wonderful!*
> *Gillian: And the stars are there (Mary: Yeah) just twinkling all night.*

> Margaret [Age 65+]: Kakadu was nothing short of magical. The worst of the wet was over, but there were still great expanses of water covered land. A boat trip down the Yellow

[1] Holden (1998) in a study of skiers had similarly found that as age increases so too does an interest in the natural environment.

River, with the occasional sun-baking crocodile near the shore, flocks of great birds of many kinds, and water lilies everywhere, was a delight … the boat trip down the Katherine Gorge with its indescribably colourful and ancient cliffs rising on each side, and the stunning beauty of all the natural features of the journey.

Barbara [Age 65+]: Sleep did not come easily with the rocking of the train, but the view from the window in the moonlight was eerily beautiful.

Mary [Age 65+]: London, late June. Flowers in window boxes, hanging baskets, pots of colour. Gardens full of colour and fragrance. Regents Park. Beds of roses of every colour with their individual perfumes. Standing beside a bed of yellow roses, full blooms, perfect blooms, gorgeous buds, breathing in the fragrance and sharing the pleasure with so many other folk. Then on to the beds of pinks, reds and whites. Past the water gardens, birds, ducks of many breeds, swans, an eagle sculpture, hovering over the water and a duck's nest safely nestled under the eagle's feet … Into Queen Mary's Garden – roses everywhere. On arches, trailing on rope garlands, beds of every colour. The perfume was wonderful. Sitting on a seat beneath an arch, watching others having as much enjoyment as themselves. Soaking up the sunshine whilst babies crawled on rugs, toddlers kept parents busy … Out into the general gardens again. Other beds of other flowers, families relaxing on grassy swathes, others rowing on the lake. Willows and other trees, casting shadows on the water. Reflections in quieter spots. A marvellous place to relax and fully appreciate a glorious summer day.

Others in the group agreed.

Gillian: That's interesting, isn't it?
Other: Mmm.
Mary: … we'd stopped. We were just relaxing and just enjoying seeing (Gillian: Mmm, mmm) what the Londoners did.
Eleanor: That's what you see when you stop.
Mary: Yes, yes.
Gillian: I must admit, that's what we did in Melbourne. Just walking down the Yarra.
Eleanor: Isn't it wonderful!
Gillian: And that was the best part … walking through the gardens and up onto the gardens in the Meyer Bowl (Other: Yes). That's what I appreciated. I like all the flowers and all the trees.

Some of these experiences reflected an appreciation for the "authenticity" of the experience.

Margaret [Age 65+]: … headed south to Kakadu and Katherine … The feeling of driving through enormous open spaces, mostly pretty flat, gave us a real understanding of the vastness and variety of this wonderful country … It would take hours to try and relate all the wonderful experiences on this trip, but one that stands out was driving along a lonely road to see Jabiluka. At one stage the creek had crossed the road, and as we drove towards it we saw two Aboriginal men standing by the edge of the creek. They were pure bred of course, quite black, very sparsely clad, and quite handsome physical specimens of men. They were fishing with spears and, with not another sign of life anywhere, we had the eerie feeling that we'd stepped back a thousand years (*Other: Mmm*) or two in time (*Lorna: You can imagine that*). You've got no idea how wonderful that was.
Others: Yes, Oh, yes.

Returning to Sydney was a positive experience for one group.

> *Lorna [Age 65+]: ... just to fly in and fly over Sydney, Ohh! Makes your heart skip a beat.*
> *Frances: The lights look so beautiful ... (Others: Mmm, Yeah), the lights coming in (Other: Mmm).*
> *Barbara: And about the cruising, they always dock about seven o'clock ...*
> *Lorna: Yes, they come in early morning which is lovely, beautiful in the morning, yes ... coming through the Heads.*
> *Barbara: Magic! Coming through (Other: Mmm) and the sun hits all the buildings.*

The same group of women, the majority of whom had holidayed in Australia, concluded:

> *Margaret [Age 65+]: Another thing that's come through all our experiences ... is the way we feel our country is so very superior (Lorna: Oh, very superior; Frances: Oh yes; Lorna: Exactly).*
> *Frances: I mean even when it rains, like that trip of ours (Margaret: Mmm), it's still the best country because you know the sun's going to come out eventually.*
> *Carmen: Yes.*
> *Other: Of course.*

A couple of groups articulated the common theme at their current age.

> *Gillian [Age 65+]: And I think we're all looking at nature now (Others: Mmm, Yes). I think that's something you develop as you mature. I must admit ... I didn't look for things like that when I was 20. I looked for fun, fun, fun.*
> *Eleanor: So did I, yeah, that's right.*
> *Gillian: But now I think I look for beauty, I look for peace, I look for tranquillity.*
> *Eleanor: Yeah.*
> *Topsey: ... we all appreciated the quietness and the views (Others: Mmm, Yes) that we saw on those trips.*
> *Eleanor: Mmm, that's right.*
> *Mary: Just simple things. We're not looking for excitement.*

Another group came to a similar conclusion:

> *Lorna [Age 65+]: We notice more things (Other: Mmm). I don't know whether you could say you notice more things than the young do. You may notice different things than they do (Other: Mmm). We take in the beauty of everything: the sounds, (Other: the architecture) the architecture.*

There was a pleasure in learning about people and places.

> *Gillian [Age 65+]: And you have a new experience and you learn something as well. You know, you learn about the trees or lava tubes.*
> *Mary: There's always something (Gillian: Yes), something historical (Other: Yes) ...*
> *Topsey: ... I appreciated ... our Australian history.*

> Margaret [Age 65+]: … Aboriginal information centres which were full of such absorbing information about the life and customs of the people who had – and in some places still did – inhabit this area, that there never seemed to be enough time to take it all in.

Other Themes

Social Connectedness

While pleasure in the world stood out as a characteristic which differentiated this group from other age groups, a continuing theme for the women was social connectedness. All groups wrote about and discussed the friendliness of people as contributing to a good holiday experience.

> *Amelia [Age 65+]: I think everybody has a reference to pleasant company ... Pleasant company with the people.*
> *Susan: Yes.*
> *Jane: Well, this was the positive aspect of travel.*

Sometimes the positive experience was with one's travelling companions.

> *Gillian [Age 65+]: ... the best part of it was we were all together, and we were all a good group who all knew each other.*

> Anne [Age 65+]: Such a trip as this one [bushwalking trip], all … retired and the fellows happily married; there was little angst. We certainly talked about politics, religion, etc., and there we would have to agree to disagree, as all of us had some very definite views on such matters. But we mainly talked about earlier trips. Anne felt maybe, if she had walked with one of these men in an earlier life, they possibly would have had a relationship – but that these days, was it worth all that energy. Spending time away, without the constraints of everyday life, all sorts of things could happen.

Holidaying with a female friend was liberating for one woman. Having only ever travelled with her parents and then her husband she expressed enjoyment in the freedom experienced on a holiday with a woman friend.

> Frances [Age 65+]: Frances and Hazel travelled with sleeping bags, sheets and pillows, together with food they might require during the trip so they could be self-sufficient and decide to stop or stay whenever they wanted … Had a walk around Grafton before cooking a dinner of soup, omelette (made in an electric jug-cum-egg cooker/food warmer …) and rice cakes with peanut butter together with a couple of cups of tea. Frances and Hazel had a laugh thinking how their husbands would have hated such a meal, but it was just what they felt like … So we spent a holiday travelling all the way up the north coast, talked non-stop all the way … we had a marvellous time … they thought it was the most wonderful trip they'd ever had. Both got on so well … it was the wonderful feeling to build another friendships [sic] out of this.
> Later
> *Frances: ... we felt like kids let out of school.*
> *Lorna: Yes.*

Most women travelled with their husbands. Interestingly there was little discussion about the husbands as contributing to a good experience or to a negative experience. There was evidence, however, that a lifetime of being together had made them experienced and comfortable in their travels together. By age 65+, the women were not as responsible for keeping husbands happy as they had been at age 40.

> *Gillian [Age 65]: And we're quite happy to sit beside each other for hours on end and I sew. We do an hour and a half driving each.*
> *…*
> *Gillian: We swap driving and I sew while he's driving, or knit. And he looks at the maps while I'm driving.*

They shared familiar rituals.

> *Mary [Age 65+]: When we're travelling, I have a jar of Vegemite … a small jar of Vegemite.*
> *Gillian: Mmm, so do I.*
> *Mary: And a packet of Shredded Wheatmeal biscuits usually (Gillian: Mmm) … even when we leave Australia I take that because David likes a cup of tea first thing in the morning, and we take [a]Birko.*
> *Topsey: Yes, the same with [us].*
> *Gillian: Mmm, so do I, when I travel overseas.*
> *Eleanor: I do too.*
> *Topsey: We all take our snacks and things (Others: Mmm, Yes). We always take our breakfast cereal and buy a carton of milk so we'll have a glass of milk each before we go to bed and then we've got sufficient milk for our breakfast (Other: Mmm) so it's all used.*

All groups wrote about and discussed the positive experience of meeting others, both tourists and hosts.

> *Jane [Age 65+]: … always talk to the people, always talk to the people (Other: Mmm, mmm), yeah, yeah.*

> *Topsey [Age 65+]: People are very friendly. One road house we stopped at for ice creams, the chap asked us … which way we were going and I said, 'West' and he said, 'Would you drop this into the police station at Norseman?' (Others: Mmm, Mmm.) So we took the package into the police station at Norseman (Other: Yes) and they were all very friendly and nice.*
> *Eleanor: Ooh, how lovely!*
> *Other: Mmm.*
> *Mary: Yes, well you have to look after each other when you're travelling on those roads.*
> *Topsey: Oh definitely (Other: Mmm). You have to. Everybody waves.*

> Topsey [Age 65+] : After leaving the Flinders Rangers and travelling via Port Augusta across the Nullabor Highway … Topsey and Max were feeling quite elated. They'd met two other couples where they had spent the one night out on the Nullabor at a roadhouse where

> they all sat together and enjoyed a roast lamb dinner. They were assured that it had been "on the hoof" that morning. They were really made to feel "true blue Aussies".

On the flip side, other people also featured in negative holiday experiences.

> Amelia [Age 65+] But as the tour [of New Zealand] progressed, it seemed to Amelia there was a certain prejudice felt against Australians generally. This disappointed her as she thought of New Zealanders as neighbours who had a lot in common with Australians …

As mentioned above, family holidays had a different meaning at age 65+. Now that the women were no longer responsible for family holidays, there was no evidence of family holidays being anything other than pleasant.

> Patricia [Age 65+]: Her husband, daughter, son-in-law and their delightful little girls aged 8 and 4 completed the party. This was a bonus as she was able to join in their enjoyment of the resort.

> Lorna [Age 65+]: Lorna took her elder grandchild on a trip to San Francisco and Yosemite National Park. This was the most special time of her trip. To be together with this precious child she has loved for so much of her life, for the next four days, is something she knew would live in her heart forever … When they arrived back home in Seattle, the feeling in Lorna's heart was almost overpowering. She had been on this same trip with her late husband just a few years earlier and she was so thrilled to be able to show this same beautiful part of the world to her granddaughter.

Despite the difficulties of family holidays at age 40, there was nostalgia for those younger days. One woman reassured others in her group:

> *Barbara [Age 65+]: But it [the family holiday] does come back again. It comes back again when ... your children have their children.*
> *Lorna: ... [The] grandchildren.*
> *Barbara: Yes (Others: Yes, Mmm) and you seem to have sort of family holidays again.*

For many of the women, a major purpose of their holiday was to visit family, often adult children and grandchildren.

> Carmen [Age 65+]: Our son lives in Japan … But with family overseas, that's when you get overseas. I've actually been to the UK three times because our daughter was living there … and I've been to Japan once because our son was there … My own family live in New Zealand so I've also travelled across the Tasman lots of times ... Anyway this is about Japan. We hadn't been to see him at all and we felt that it's good to go. You get letters but … you haven't got a visual (*Lorna: No, it has to be visual*)… So we went and our daughter and son-in-law came with us …

> Lorna [Age 65+]: The holiday Lorna was about to embark on was one of happiness and deep emotion. Having just lost her husband, and about to lose her daughter and two

> grandchildren to another country, she went with mixed feelings. After a long plane trip to Seattle, she arrived looking forward to new adventure with her family in a very beautiful part of Washington State. And especially meeting a new family that her daughter was about to marry into …

Discovering family history and tracing family roots was also a special experience for a couple of women. The family as a source of identity for the women continued to be important in older age.

Comfort

A theme that differentiated holidays at age 65+ from holidays at younger ages was the value placed on services and facilities. The women valued comfort, cleanliness, good service and facilities. As one woman said, "We feel we've earned our comfort by our age group".

> *Topsey [Age 65+]: We all look for cleanliness of accommodation and comfort.*
> *Eleanor: Yeah.*
> *Gillian: That's to keep our health.*
> *Eleanor: Mmm.*
> *Mary: Ensuite facilities.*
> *Eleanor: Yes (Other: Yeah).*

> *Lorna: … we expect now, at our age in life … comfort, cleanliness and certainly a little bit of luxury. Being waited on.*
> *Margaret: A good standard.*
> *Frances: I want cleanliness.*
> *Lorna: A good standard, yes, as Margaret said.*
> *Margaret: We won't accept a lower standard (Lorna: No, not a lower standard) than what we're used to when we go away on holidays.*
> *Barbara: Things to run smoothly and well organised …*
> *Lorna: We're past the camping, backpacking stage. We're retired now and maybe look forward to just that little bit more luxury.*
> Later
> *Frances: … we always make sure we've got a comfortable bed and that. We've even hired if something's not good enough because we've both got crook backs.*

While they did not dwell on health and disability, these were issues for three of the groups. The women were appreciative of appropriate facilities and service.

> Jane [Age 65+]: In exploring the district, we found that at Halliday's Point, there is an addition to the ocean beach, an ocean pool which had great facilities for disabled people. There was a concrete ramp into the pool, as well as a rail stairs for an easy access in and out of the water … It was the first chance I'd had to paddle around in ocean water for years, and I loved it.

Jane [Age 65+]: Well, we got to one of the mines [at Lightning Ridge] that had a big scoop down and the man said to me, 'I think maybe you'd better not go down that. It's pretty fairly steep to go down.
…
Jane: He realised that I was walking with a stick and everything….
…
Jane: They were very thoughtful of what we could do (Susan: Yes they were) and what we couldn't.

While the women experienced many joys of travel, two of the groups discussed the pleasure in returning to the comforts and familiarity of home.

Carmen [Age 65+]: It's actually getting home, isn't it (Lorna: Yes, that's right), to your own bed, your own house (Lorna: Yes; Barbara: Mmm), your own kitchen (Barbara: Mmm).
Lorna: All the things that are familiar (Other: Mmm).
Frances: I remember feeling like I was Mum and Dad's age. Because we'd get home from a holiday, when we were kids and they'd walk in and say, 'Oh, isn't it lovely to be home again (Other: Mmm). Nice cup of tea and nice bed'. And I used to think, 'What the hell are they on about!' but now you know.
Lorna: Isn't that spoken very truly, those words.
Frances: … But when you come home, it is nice because you know exactly where everything is (Other: Mmm) and you don't have to fumble through the dark to go to the loo or something like that.
Other: That's right.
Lorna: Everything is familiar.

Most of the negative memories related to poor facilities and rude or indifferent service from tourism industry personnel. Uncomfortable accommodation was acknowledged as a common negative theme. One woman summed up her group's discussion about the negative features of their holidays – "Bedding and toilets and bathrooms". As others said:

Jane [Age 65+]: The bedroom had a double bed in it, but the bed was so low I knew I'd never get out of it, with my arthritic knee …

Susan [Age 65+]: … I couldn't even get into the top of the bath, into the bathtub, the wall was so high on it.
….
Susan: If I'd been twenty years younger I could have.

Lack of utilities in holiday houses was a cause for complaint by women in one group and reflected the public discourse of the domestic position of women.

Susan [Age 65+]: And some of the most amazing things are missing. Now, there's a house that we've been taking [renting] at Avoca for years (Lou: Mmm) … About three times I've

had to have the … electric stove repaired while we're there. There's a microwave but there are no microwave dishes.
…
Susan: … And there never was a peeler for the … vegetables. There never was a paring knife and there are never any ice cube trays. So in the end I bought those items for the house and left them there!

Lou [Age 65+]: [Holiday with daughter and grandchild aged 10 months] Although Clara [daughter] had been told there would be a cot in the room and also baby chair in the dining room, she found not so on arrival. Alexandra [baby] felt everything was very strange, and couldn't settle at night, and Clara was upset most of the time …

A few women spoke of transport difficulties.

Susan [Age 65+]: [A trip to Lightning Ridge} It was really the long distances and the timing of the trains. Now our train left at 7.30 in the morning (or 7 o'clock) and that is difficult! (Lou: Yes, Other: Mmm.)
….
Susan: Fourteen hours we're travelling.
Amelia: Fourteen hours!

Susan [Age 65+]: Well, I could hardly get up the ladder [of the plane] with the weight of my knapsack (Jane: Yes, yes) pulling me back. I say, this was only a couple of years ago. I had this crook leg coming on then (Jane: Yes) so I wasn't exactly spry.
Jane: Oh I know, isn't it awful.

Eleanor [Age 65+]: Well, I found the Cape York 4-wheel-drive was terrible, you know, for comfort. I just wasn't comfortable.
Gillian: Mmm.

The above two women in "shouldering my knapsack" and "Cape York 4-wheel-drive" displayed a travel style of younger women but reflected the physical concerns of older women tourists. Insensitive service was a cause for complaint.

Susan [Age 65+]: Realising that her luggage must have gone on an earlier flight, Susan, on arrival in San Diego, set about looking for it … Request[s] for assistance were met with a total lack [of] response. After nearly an hour of searching, appeals and complaints with no help from anyone, Susan finally found her two pairs of luggage in an open area where anyone could have stolen them … At last Susan, reduced to a nervous wreck, phoned her friends to collect her.
Jane: Oh, that awful sick feeling (Lou: Mmm; Susan: that sick feeling), that sick feeling.
Later
Susan: … Each of the things that we've reported indicated complaints about service (Lou: Yes; Other: Mmm). And the lack of service and the complete disinterest of the person that's (Jane: Yeah) there, supposedly to do something about it.
Lou: Actually, that's right, yes.

A tour leader's lack of recognition of the abilities of older tourists was also mentioned:

Amelia [Age 65+]: Well, he [tour leader] said she [travel companion] wouldn't find it difficult [to visit the Unanderra Tubes] … we had to go … almost rock climbing (Others: Mmm. Mmm) and we got down (she was about 80 then). And when we got right down to the bottom, after much sort of worrying, she decided that she wouldn't go sort of any further because she wanted to give herself time to get up. And she was going quite well she said, until somebody came up behind her and then she started to hurry and so she slipped and gashed her leg (Other: Mmm) and when we got back she was … bleeding … And she ended up, it became ulcerated (Susan: Oh dear) … it took a month … for them to get it cleaned up with antibiotics (Other: Mmm) and all sorts of things. But this wretched man had told her that,
Susan: she wouldn't have any trouble.
Amelia: Yes, yes. It is stupid.

Jane [Age 65+]: The brochure description of the beach front was something of a misnomer … I made it down the path as far as the sand-filled steps, but I wouldn't risk going down it, for fear I wouldn't be able to get up again. Lou decided to give it a go, and fell down trying to step up on the beach. So she had a bad back for a few days, made more difficult because she was doing all the driving.

Susan [Age 65+]: … They [tourism industry] all knew when they wrote the brochures [for Italy] that we were going to have to have long walks (Lou: Mmm; Other: Mmm). And one couple that was on that tour … he had just had a hip replacement and she had just had a triple by-pass (Lou: Mmm; Amelia: Oh, that's not fair is it!) and had no idea that the buses wouldn't drive them up to the Baptistry in Florence (Amelia: Mmm) or up to St Peters in Rome, no idea at all.
Lou: That's right.
Jane: That's dreadful, isn't it!
Amelia: Mmm.
Susan: Because it really was horrendous. I mean, it was horrendous (Jane: Mmm). I mean, I was, I almost couldn't cope with that.
Jane: Mmm.
Amelia: We went on one of these trips around Italy in thirteen days (Susan: Mmm) and, as you say, it was bash, bang, push, when you just go.
Susan: Mmm, mmm. But I say, on the road at quarter to eight, on the road. And the hotels were so crowded with mainly Japanese travellers who got up very early. So they would open the breakfast room about six and the Japanese would already be queued up. And you might … have half-an-hour wait standing in a queue to get into the hotel dining room.
Lou: Really?
Later
Susan: … all the brochures have these silences (Lou: Yes, yes; Jane: Yeah). They don't tell you things … I was just thinking of my own experience … you know. Who thinks to say, 'How far will I have to walk from the bus (Jane: No) to get to the cathedral?'
Jane: No, you don't, you don't.
Susan: You assume we're going to be dropped at the door (Amelia: Yes).

While tours are often seen as an easier form of travel by many older tourists, some resisted.

Cordelia [Age 65+]: … I'm no good at doing what other people want me to do.
Anne: No, I agree with you.

The one participant in this age group who reported as being in not good health commented:

Marcia [Age 65+]: … I really hesitate even to go on groups in Australia because I like to be able to lie down (Anne: Yeah; Cordelia: Mmm), because I need to lie down … I suffer from chronic fatigue syndrome and another form of ill health which I acquired due to severe stress during my husband's long illness, and it's no pleasure to me to be traipsing around when I need to lie down.
Anne: Yes, when you're not up to it.

Lack of privacy was an issue for some of the women. A couple of the women who had travelled together reported a bad side of an otherwise interesting experience, swimming in hot pools.

Susan [Age 65+]: We had to get dressed and undressed in front of an Aboriginal family there. There were no dressing sheds …
Jane: Yeah, yeah, yeah, that was pretty awful.

Frances [Age 65+]: [Discussing Japanese toilets] Squatting over a hole and no doors – nothing.
Lorna: Yes, they walk past you …
Frances: … I would never have gone.
Lorna: Oh, it's horrible.

Cordelia [Age 65+]: [At a Bed and Breakfast] … I felt a distinct lack of privacy on my part and I felt I was invading the privacy of the person that owned it … A lovely place, but I felt like a child that had to check in and ask permission for things … I was very uncomfortable with the whole thing … I felt completely out of place. I would never do it again.

Safety and Security

The women spoke of fears, some which might be common to women at any age but others that were probably more pronounced as the women became older. Safety and security are issues for older people, particularly if travelling alone.

Susan [Age 65+]: Susan has two travel terrors. She's experienced each three times in real life and repeatedly in her nightmares. The first is losing her handbag with all her travel documents and the other is losing the tour bus in a foreign city.
Later at another discussion
Susan [Travelling on her own with a tour group]: … the most frightening experiences of my whole life, I think, have been a couple of times when I've gotten lost (Amelia: Yes). I got lost in Rome. I could not find the bus.
Amelia: I was lost in Vienna.
Susan: It's happened to me a few times. It is the one thing that frightens me that I sort of protect myself against … I mean, it's not going to be the end of the world, you know.
Amelia: But when you don't know and you can't make yourself understood.
Susan: And you can't communicate, yeah.
Amelia: Yes, and I was in Rome and the same thing happened and I was going down these cobbled streets and suddenly I realised it was getting dark …
…
Susan: … if you've got somebody with you … between the two of you (Jane: You can find it) you remember something or other (Lou: Yes) … you're not frightened of it. But as I say, if I hadn't found the bus, nobody would ever have found me or cared …

As one woman said:

> *Anne [Age 65+]: Holidays these days … [have] to be more carefully thought about.*
> *Cordelia: Mmm.*

In three of the groups there was reference to "stolen" belongings as contributing to a negative experience. Theft had not been a feature of memories of other age groups or of the 65+ age group at younger ages.

> Cordelia [Age 65+]: Because of the speed needed to strip the bed, pack and stack the Esky, Cordelia's new matching nightdress and gown were overlooked, having been placed behind the bathroom door while she showered. Cordelia made a telephone enquiry from her son's home and a promise was made that she would receive a response in return. The promise was not honoured. At home, Cordelia made a complaint in writing, eventually receiving a call informing her that no garments had been found or surrendered.

> Jane [Age 65+]: The night we returned home, we discovered that we'd not cleared out a big bottom, deep cupboard in the kitchen, where we kept some of our goodies, like an unopened bottle of brandy and a bottle of vermouth, a new champagne cork remover and a Tupperware container containing the remains of an excellent Christmas cake. So we rang Seabreeze immediately and they said the cleaners had gone into the room, soon after we left and did not report finding the items … that incident left us with a bad taste in our mouth.

Competence

Competence was a theme which underlay many of the holiday memories. Competence and achievement were also identified by some of the women.

> Anne [Age 65+]: [On a bushwalking holiday] She was also pleased with herself. She had kept up with the men and felt included in the decision. She would do another trip with them if asked.

The above women's negative experience also referred to the value placed on the competence of fellow bushwalkers.

> Anne [Age 65+]: Anne was very lucky to find such competent people, all who could make a joke of the inability and inadequacy of the leader. Without them, the trip would well and truly have been a disaster.
> *Cordelia: Gosh)…*
> *Anne: Well, we were lucky we were all competent (Cordelia: Mmm, Yeah). If we'd had somebody who'd flipped out on the Bluff Knoll stuff, we would have been in (Cordelia: Yes) awful trouble. Awful, awful trouble.*

Fear of being seen as incompetent (having forgotten her airline tickets) was the memory of one woman.

> Lorna [Age 65+]: So I thought, 'This new son-in-law of mine is going to think I'm just the biggest idiot on earth'. That upset me no end (*Other: Mmm*). I was terribly upset (*Other: Yeah*). I started to cry very quietly to myself ...

One woman who had holidayed with a female friend claimed:

> Frances [Age 65+]: … the best thing of all was that I drove, Frances drove all the way. Absolutely loved it! Felt like you'd get in a car and drive anywhere at all … For me personally, I found it was great to know that I could drive that far and drive back in that wretched weather.

However, not all women wanted such responsibility for the holiday Cruises were discussed.

> *Barbara [Age 65+]: ... [On a cruise] you don't have to do a thing (Lorna: No), not a thing (Lorna: Marvellous). You can be as busy as you want or as relaxed as you want.*
> Later
> *Patricia: I think a cruise is the best holiday, it really is because you can just be there and a whole day can start and you don't have to lift your finger.*
> *Lorna: No*
> *Frances: I know what you're saying, but do you know what? I liked being the boss and having to do everything on that trip I went with Hazel. I really did (Barbara: Because they're different kinds of holidays; Others: Yes, Mmm) ... But because I knew I might have to fix the car if I had to, the first thing I did every morning was look at the wheels to make sure they were all on and they were still up and all those little things. I loved that!*
> *Other: Mmm.*

PART B: BEYOND ME, US AND THEM – AN INTERPRETATION

Traditionally older age has been pathologised as a time of disability, decline and loss, a time when an individual withdraws from society and society withdraws from the individual. Cumming and Henry (1961) explain their theory of disengagement:

> In our theory, aging is an inevitable mutual withdrawal or disengagement, resulting in decreased interaction between the aging person and others in the social systems he belongs to. The process may be initiated by the individual or by others in the situation … When the aging process is complete, the equilibrium which existed in middle life between the individual and his society has given way to a new equilibrium characterized by a greater distance and an altered type of relationship. (Cumming & Henry 1961, p.14)

Society's attitudes to ageing can be seen as the basis for social status in older age. The devaluation of older people due to their "reduced capacity for production in the

formal economy (reflecting the priorities of industrialism)" and the devaluation of women "when deemed past fulfilling sexual, reproductive and domestic servicing roles (reflecting the priorities of men)" (Arber & Ginn 1991, p.48) explain traditional attitudes to older people in Western societies, including Australia.

In Australia, a more positive view of older age is promoted by the National Strategy for an Ageing Australia (Australian Government Department of Health and Ageing 2003) which, rather than seeing older age as problematic, considers that "'getting older is a positive experience for the majority of people'" (Bishop cited in Ranzijn 2002, p.1). The holiday experiences of women aged 65+ years in the present study certainly did not support a social theory of disengagement. The women were mentally and physically active, experiencing expansion rather than contraction of life experiences. There was no evidence of "interiority", which Neugarten (cited in McCulloch 1981) defines as "a change from outer-world to inner-world orientation" (p.241). The women in the present study were in pursuit of purpose and autonomy, similar to the older women in Burden's (2001) study of leisure. Now that work and family obligations had diminished, the older women were more in control of their time and opportunities to pursue creative activities. Through holidays they could pursue identities other than wife and mother (Ginn & Arber 1995). They also tended toward more active leisure than the younger adult women, confirming the finding of Krahe (1997). Even those women who experienced some contraction of experience through physical constraints showed no sign of mental disengagement. The women were resisting the dominant discourse of old age. The findings also did not confirm the theory of activity which claims that older people should maintain a middle-aged lifestyle of activity if they wish to avoid society's withdrawal from the older person. Activity theory presumes

> that there is a positive relationship between activity and life satisfaction. A person's self-concept is validated through participation in roles which are characteristic of middle-age. Therefore to minimise the impact of society's withdrawal from older people, they must deny the existence of old age by maintaining middle-aged lifestyles for as long as possible. This theory is consistent with the value system which this society espouses in relation to work and productivity. Policies drawn

> from this stress the desirability of maintaining interaction. (Aroni & Minichiello 1992, p.125)

Activity theory has been criticised for being idealistic and unrealistic and for inspiring "judgmental exhortations to 'successful aging'" (Sargent 1999, p.48). Critics have questioned why youthful competencies are used as a yardstick against which to judge older adult behaviour. As with younger women, the older women in the present study were fulfilled through holiday activities but the experience at age 65+ appeared to be qualitatively different from experiences at younger ages.

The women's holiday experiences support Sinnott's (1997) claim that "One of the major motivating factors for mature adults is the desire to give life meaning by going beyond the self and identifying with a larger whole" (p.150). The women at age 65+ were enjoying the essence of everyday life and connecting with it which they were not doing at younger ages. They were re-evaluating and re-valuing the simplicity of life and seeking it. The life satisfaction exhibited by the older women has been documented by others (Dangott & Kalish 1979; Ranzijn 2002). Ranzijn reports the findings of others that in older age there is "an enhanced appreciation of the complexity and beauty of human existence" (p.82). Balint (1957) earlier summed up the positive view of ageing: "only the old are capable of savouring pleasure soberly, thoroughly and with complete absorption" (p.70). The women in the present study seemed to be following the advice of Bertrand Russell who, at age 80, claimed the best way to overcome the dangers of old age was

> 'to make your interests gradually wider and more impersonal, until bit by bit the walls of the ego recede, and your life becomes increasingly merged in the universal life. An individual human existence should be like a river – small at first, narrowly contained within its banks, and rushing passionately past boulders and over waterfalls. Gradually, the river grows wider, the banks recede, the waters flow more quietly, and in the end, without any visible break, they become merged in the sea and painlessly lose their individual being'. (Russell cited in Puner 1978, p.271)

The findings from the present study indicate that not only does the potential for growth continue in later years but there are benefits, additions rather than losses, in

older age. Dangott and Kalish (1979) in their book *A Time to Enjoy: The Pleasures of Aging*, while recognising that ageing has its difficulties, stress the "*becoming* side of the coin" (p.ix). They refer to ageing as a "time for opening to new experiences" (p.37). Onyx (1999b) speaks of "a sense of freedom from petty and unimportant pressures" (p.228). Dangott and Kalish (1979) also write of "living each moment" (p.130). They cite Butler and Lewis who called this experience "a sense of 'presentness'" (p.130) or, as Onyx (1999b) says, "of fully engaging *now* rather than somewhere down the track" (p.228). Friedan (1994) quotes Chiver's view of maturity:

> 'Wisdom appears to invoke the return of wonder and mythic delight in the world… Central to the attitude of wonder is an affirmation of life just as it is in the present. The individual neither hankers after a lost past nor a future yet to be… an affirmation of one's life just as one lived it, for better or worse… an affirmation of one's past, the return of wonder invokes a similar affirmation of the present, down to its small, ordinary events'. (Friedan 1994, p.580)

As Ranzijn (2002) says, "One of the most robust findings about older people is their higher level of life satisfaction compared to younger and middle-aged people" (p. 82). The 65+-year-old women in the present study were no longer immersed in their immediate problems; the emphasis was not on themselves but on their environment. In other words, the focus was not on "me" but "the world in which I belong". Learning about the world was highlighted as a positive travel experience as opposed to the more physically hedonistic pleasures of youth. Whereas at age 40 the women saw the centre of experience as relationships, their responsibility to satisfy the family, at age 65+ the foreground was the world in which the women lived. The woman was in the background. The Hen Co-op (1993) speak of "growing old disgracefully". The Co-op explains:

> the conditions of our lives have dictated that we repress our own dreams and desires in order to tend to everyone else's … when our web of family and work obligations is shrinking, we can seize the opportunity to actualise what we were only able to dream during years of self denial. (Then Hen Co-op 1993, p.106)

For women, this stage of life may be particularly fulfilling. Onyx and Benton (1996) in a study of middle-aged professional women (aged 45 to 65) found that what the women were looking forward to in retirement was " a sense of freedom to explore and develop other aspects of themselves" (p.32). Since the women had been busy for much of their adult lives looking after others, having time for themselves would be a novelty. The finding reported by Onyx and Benton (1993) that middle-aged women with children were searching for personal development and creative fulfilment suggests that the "seeking" commences in mid-life as women move out of the child-rearing stage. Fulfilment comes later.

The women's lives as reflected in their holiday experiences at age 65+ could be said to approximate Laslett's (1989) Third Age, "the age of personal achievement and fulfilment" (p.4) where activities are voluntary and ongoing learning is encouraged, that space between retirement and the Fourth Age of dependence and decrepitude. The women could also be called "Ulyssean Adults" who, according to McLeish, (1976), are identified by the following traits:

> Openness of mind, sensitivity to the need for new ways and new experiences; resourcefulness; courage; curiosity and a continuing sense of wonder at the kaleidoscopic beauty and mystery of the world and the cosmos; acceptance of the fact of aging but not being intimidated by it; and consciousness of the quest for the self throughout the life drama … (McLeish 1976, p.31)

Critical of Havighurst's and Erikson's final life stages, McLeish optimistically argues that although Ulyssean attitudes are usually the "product of the life drama" (p.57) there are still options for the older adult who has formerly led an anti-Ulyssean lifestyle. McLeish supports the options for the older adult advocated by Peck, "*ego differentiation vs. work-role preoccupation*", "*body transcendence vs. body preoccupation*" and "*ego transcendence vs. ego preoccupation*" (p.85). Although recognising commonalities with Maslow's peak life experience of self-actualisation, McLeish similarly argues that even if adults have not experienced the "pure equability of attitude, style, and seeming performance of the Maslovian self-actualized adult" but rather a life that is "chaotic, sin-soaked, guilt-ridden, and fear-bedevilled" (p.97), there is still the possibility that that the individual will choose to

be Ulyssean. The stress is on agency. McLeish argues that it is not neurotic fear that holds many people back but the belief that they have lost their powers to be Ulyssean. This belief in loss of power can be seen as embedded in the traditional discourse of older age as a time for disengagement. However, it is important to note that greater variation is found amongst individuals in older age than at earlier ages. Not all may reach the "Ulyssean" stage. There is also variation in when older people arrive at the Fourth Age (the terminal drop).

McLeish (1976) claims that the most important condition to be maintained in order to liberate creative attitude and powers is "maintenance of a sense of wonder toward life, openness to experience, the sense of search, and scope for the best of the child-self which is present in all of us" (p.285). The "child-self" to which McLeish refers sounds similar to Hancock's (1989) authentic self, the "child within". According to Featherstone and Hepworth (1991) maintaining a balance between the subjective experience of the self and societal stereotypes of what is appropriate behaviour for older people is difficult and thus a "mask" is adopted to conceal "the essentially youthful self beneath" (p.379). Nonetheless, Featherstone and Hepworth (1991) claim that generational change is occurring for some sectors in society (especially the middle classes): as they enter middle age: "a new language of ageing with a much greater expressive range has been gradually emerging" (p.383).

The women in the present study identified holidays at age 65+ as different from holidays at younger ages, but the notion of development or growth rarely featured, neither did the women speak of a return to an "authentic self". Theories of human development and humanist theories imply or speak of "growth" as linear but this is better understood as a social construction, a concept imposed to explain the phenomena experienced by the older person, not an integral experience of the person. One way of viewing the holiday experience in older age is to view it as produced out of a different socio-cultural position with different discourses. Such an interpretation is consistent with an approach which sees subjectivity as fluid and contextually based.

The value of leisure for older people in providing physical, social, psychological and health benefits is well documented (Leitner & Leitner 1996; Mannell & Kleiber

1997; McGuire et al. 1999). Leisure writers see leisure as a domain for personal development and growth and also for providing "a mechanism for developing the skills needed to approach life with the zest and confidence necessary to Ulyssean living" (McGuire et al. 1999, p.3). A number of studies (Leitner & Leitner 1996; Roberts 1999) have identified satisfaction with leisure and recreation as being the most important factor in determining life satisfaction in older age. It is likely that there is a "snowball effect" with leisure activities leading to life satisfaction and life satisfaction leading to leisure activities (Leitner & Leitner 1996). Wearing (1995) insists that, through leisure, resistance to the dominant discourses on ageing can result. Older people can challenge "the self-fulfilling prophesy of underuse of physical and mental abilities in old age" (p.276). Leitner and Leitner (1996) report Goleman's prescription for mental wellbeing:

> Some of the leisure-related factors that are related to good mental functioning in old age are having active involvements through life, continuing keen mental interests after retirement., liking to learn new things, enjoying visits to new places, and getting regular physically strenuous activity. (Leitner & Leitner 1996, p.11)

Travel as a form of leisure is seen as "a splendid way to enrich life" (Puner 1978, p.175) and highly compatible with creativity, "probably more aligned with Ulyssean notions than is listening to the radio or television" (McGuire et al. 1999, p.143). Travel has the potential to satisfy the Ulyssean quest. Lipscombe (1996) refers to a "special quality" of the travel experience.

> [Travel] can be compared to a religious experience (Cohen, 1979), the result of a pilgrimage, where the traveller searches for something less tangible than the trip and more rewarding than just being there (Vallee, 1987). The search for this experience has been referred to as a quest; MacCannell (1976) refers to it as a quest for authenticity, Cohen (1979) as a quest for centre, Meyersohn, (1981) as a quest for meaning, Przeclawski (1985) as a quest for values, and Quinn (1990, 146) as a quest for something that is missing. Suffice to say, the quest connotes participation and active involvement in life, beginning with a human desire or drive to experience that which is hidden and unknown, and resulting in learning and discovery; about oneself, the setting, the activity, and others. (Lipscombe 1996, p.40)

Contrary to some of the research findings on the motivation of senior tourists, the women in the present study were not seeking relaxation, prestige or relief from a monotonous life at home. Lack of responsibility for cooking and cleaning, "being waited on hand and foot" was found by Environmetrics (1991) as a benefit for those aged 55 and over. In the present study this was rarely mentioned.

The women were intent on learning and, similar to the Elderhostel participants studied by Goggin (1999), they understood learning as "a return to the Greek meaning of leisure as making room in life for contemplation and creative thought" (p.88). A number of the women enjoyed long-distance touring holidays with their husbands, an activity described by Pearce (1999b) as "engaging and purposeful" (p.41). These women were part of the expanding "grey nomad" market focussed on learning about other people and landscapes. As stated by Pearce, self-drive touring is mentally stimulating and allows for contemplation and reflection.

The 65+ age group demonstrated a pride and love of Australia, as Golik (1999) similarly found with Australian seniors.

> Seniors particularly enjoy tours that show the 'old Australia', visiting nostalgic places or sites of historical significance. Seniors have a strong sense of national pride and are interested in the people, places and events that built Australia. These sites can also bring back fond memories of their own or their parent's childhood. (Golik 1999, p.101)

The women were interested in the history and culture of their country and contrary to the finding of H. Gibson and Yiannakis (1999), the "Anthropologist" role, engaging with the local culture, was more common in holidays at age 65+ than at age 40.

The general tourist motivation literature acknowledges seeing/experiencing and learning about different places and people as a need to be met in travel. Crompton (1979) refers to the "cultural" motive of education; Krippendorf (1987) to "broadening the mind". Pearce (1993) employing Maslow's hierarchy considers "development" to be a leisure travel need. It was only at age 65+ that learning

became a dominant holiday theme. The literature which focusses on senior tourists and pertinent to the present study, Australian seniors (Environmetrics 1991; Ruys & Wei 1997; Cleaver et al. 1999; Golik 1999), recognises the desire to learn and explore as motivation for travel in older age. However, an understanding of women's learning at this age requires an appreciation of where and how the women positioned themselves in relation to the world around them. There was no sense of women's detachment but rather of immersion in their environment, of being part of the larger whole. At age 65+ years, the women did not focus on the themes of younger age groups: the 12-year-old "me", the 20-year-old "us" or the 40-year-old "them". The older women were beyond "me", "us" and "them". The subject at age 65+ was a spiritual subject. The women's awareness of their surrounding world could also be seen in their memories of holidays at younger ages. Ranzijn (2002) asserts, "Psychology has over-emphasised the measurement of the individual in isolation, whereas the qualities in which older people may excel are those more likely to be expressed as interactions with their environment" (p.83). The women in the present study were similar to the active women in their 70s, 80s and 90s studied by Hurwitch and reported by Sheehy (1995): "Close contact with nature was important to them, as was maintaining a multigenerational network of friends. And as they grew older they found themselves concerned more with feeding the soul than the ego" (p.414). Other studies (Backman et al. 1999; Moisey & Bichis 1999; Wei & Ruys in Golik 1999) have highlighted the particular benefits of nature for seniors. When seniors have been segmented into young and old, the older seniors have been found to be more interested in learning about nature. It is not known if the role of religion throughout the women's lives can explain the spiritual element of holidays or whether women become more interested in the spiritual aspects of themselves as they age.

Of all the holidays, they were the holidays at age 65+ which were the least fraught. The tensions and contradictions of holidays which emerged at younger ages were not apparent in older age. The holiday at age 65+ seemed most integrated, suggesting that the number of competing discourses which might constitute subjectivity at younger ages is reconciled at a later age.

In older age, life is experienced with the knowledge that one has only so many years remaining. Those with such awareness have been called "life seekers" (Dangott & Kalish 1979, p.131). The authors of *Revisioning Aging: Empowerment of Older Women* similarly state:

> One of the things that we realized in writing this book was that being old and enjoying the opportunities that aging offers entails a recognition of death. We cannot speak about living without speaking about death. Death is, of course, the final silence. But the closer it comes, the more vital the awareness of living. The colors of life are all the more vibrant when set against the backdrop of darkness. (Onyx, Leonard and Reed 1999a, p.3)

Puner (1978) also claims:

> An older pleasure seeker makes up for sensory loss by greater emotional response, his appreciation heightened by maturity and the fact that that he knows his time is short and that there is so much beauty and novelty still to be shared. (Puner 1978, p.13)

To see the big things of the world before one dies or becomes infirm was identified as a travel motive of senior tourists (Environmetrics 1991). While recognition of limited time left might have motivated the travel of the women aged 65+ in the present study, the matter was not discussed.

The women in the present study enjoyed travel away from the home region but they also enjoyed returning home. Peace (1993) recognises the attachment to home of older people: "The importance of home as a power base is echoed in the sense of 'competence', 'value' and 'status' which may be achieved by living in a familiar environment" (p.130). C. Russell (1999) identified the gendered meanings of home: for a woman the home was particularly significant for the formation and maintenance of her identity over the life-course and her attachment was more passionate and sentimental than a man's. As C. Russell suggested the home may become "a source of power for wives when their husbands lose alternative 'places' to be" (p.53). Amongst the women in the study, there was a different meaning to

returning home at different ages and family stages. At age 40 a return home meant a return to work, whereas for the 65+ group, the return home meant a return to familiarity and comfort.

The women in the present study reported pleasure in being with family, friends and meeting local people. Local people were a source of information which expanded the women's knowledge of a destination and the larger world. Researchers have highlighted the importance of social connectedness and social networking for older women (Jerome 1993; Adams, 1997; Wieneke, Power, Bevington & Rankins-Smith 1999). As Bernard and Meade (1993) say, "Sociability continues to be a particularly strong theme in the satisfaction that older women, like younger women, derive from their leisure (Parker, 1985: Green et al., 1990)" (p.159). Tourism researchers (such as the Australian researchers Environmetrics 1991; Ruys & Wei 1997; Cleaver et al. 1999; Golik 1999) identify social interaction as an important tourist need of the senior tourist. However, there was no evidence that the women in the present study desired or required the North American "snowbird" level and type of sociability that Mings (1997) considers desirable (and lacking) in the Australian senior travel experience. Indeed, recent research of Australian grey nomads by Jenny Onyx (2004, pers. comm., 28 June) indicates that the characteristics of the social activity advocated by Mings, regulation and bureaucracy, are exactly those societal features from which the Australian senior travellers are attempting to escape. Pearce (1999b) also claims that "It is a particular characteristic of long distance touring that the more social senior market groups can maximise their social contacts whereas more private couples and groups can limit such contacts" (p.41).

The women's relationships with travel companions were warm and relaxed. At age 65+ tensions between others seemed to have dissipated. There appeared to be equality in marriage which was often lacking when the women were aged 40. Unfortunately, marriage in later life has attracted little research attention (Askham, 1995). Studies which have been undertaken of marital satisfaction over the life-course (such as Job 1984) report a tendency toward satisfaction in older age. Jean Scott (1997) cites retrospective research which concluded that there is a U-curved pattern of marital satisfaction with the dip being experienced in mid-life. A convergence of gender roles has been observed when women are free of their

childcare role and men are no longer in the paid workforce (Markson 1997; Palmore 1997; Scott, Jean 1997). Palmore claims that women can then "become free to 'be yourself', to do what they want, when and how they want. This increases their morale and decreases their self criticism" (p.7). Nonetheless, while older men may contribute more to the housework than they did at younger ages (Robinson cited in McGuire et al. 1999; Russell, C. 1999), studies indicate that older women continue to do the bulk of the chores (Robinson & Godbey cited in McGuire et al. 1999; Russell, C. 1999). In a study of British men and women over the age of 75, G. Wilson (1995) found that gendered power divisions may be weakened, but they did not disappear in advanced old age. Women take most responsibility for domestic work as long as they are able. In studies of advanced old age change in roles is brought about by necessity, survival (Rose, H. & Bruce 1995; Wilson, G. 1995).

In contrast to memories at age 40, domestic tasks were not significant in the holiday memories at age 65+. For the women in the present study who were now widowed or divorced role change is likely to have occurred. Of the married women, one group revealed that they were still responsible for the domestic work on holidays (such as washing clothes and letter writing) but there was no evidence that these roles were problematic.

Although the 65+-year-old women in the present study could be described as being in the Third Age, their lived experience is not solely a function of chronological age or family time. Laslett (1989), himself, recognised the social embeddedness of the Third Age. He refers to the Third Age as a social phenomenon, a "collective circumstance" (p.79), which has come into being in the second half of the twentieth century as a consequence of demographic, economic, health and attitudinal conditions alongside cultural and educational facilities. Laslett recognised that resources are required to live in the Third Age and these resources "are to do not only with the resources required for an individual to live in the Third Age but also with the wealth required for a nation to maintain its retired citizens at a level which would provide these resources for them" (p.91). Provision of such resources may also require social "will". With the exception of one woman, those in the present study were advantaged with the resources to participate in the Third Age. They were middle-class with the physical wellbeing to have participated in travel in the

past two years. These women also had the resources to participate in a study which required an investment of time and energy in both writing their memories and meeting to discuss them. The women in the study were situated in Quadrant 1 of Seedsman's (2001) "Two dimensional Space of Leisure – The Influence of Time and Money" (p.108). Although not fitting the social image of "wealthy retirees", most of the women were "comparatively" rich in time and money. The younger members of the 65+ age group joked about being SKINS (Spending the Kids' Inheritance Now). Other terms to describe this cohort of travellers are JOLLIES (Jet-setting Oldies with Lots of Loot) or WOOPIES (Well-Off Older Persons) (Bernard & Meade 1993). Amongst the group, there were several women living on a pension who still found ways to travel.

There are criticisms that the "emphasis on the creative aspects of the Third Age too readily conveys a thinly disguised set of elitist middle-class values" (Bury 1995, p.22). McLeish (1976) says, "It is a fact that most writing in praise of the pleasures of the middle and later years is based upon the affluent middle or upper class groups of North America" (p.63). The "aged" is a diverse group (Gething et al. 2003; Davis, J. 1994; Ford & Sinclair 1987) but when the voices of older people are heard, they are those of the articulate middle classes (O'Beirne 1999) and usually the voices of men (Schuller 1990; Aroni & Minichiello 1992; O'Beirne 1999). Even when older women have been the focus of academic study, the variations among women have often been neglected (Aroni & Minichiello 1992). It is claimed that the notion of the Third Age is more relevant to men than women. Bury (1995) criticises the incompleteness of Laslett's theory.

> Most notably, Laslett's comments on gender are couched in terms of 'attitudes', not in terms of actual social relations between men and women, or between gender and class, or how these might shape experiences in later life. In particular, the Third Age theory is tied to the idea of retirement from paid employment, which leaves out of the picture women who may never 'retire' from their domestic roles, and may not have been in paid employment during much of the Second Age. (Bury 1995 p.25)

With few exceptions, tourism writers have stressed the financial worth of the senior market. However, the proclaimed wealth of the senior market is at odds with the

gerontology literature which asserts that many older people, especially women, are disadvantaged financially (Baron & Bielby 1985; Minkler & Stone 1985; Leitner & Leitner 1996) and educationally, thus "less trained in the skills necessary for many sorts of leisure activity" (Talbot cited in Bernard & Meade 1993, p.161). Socio-economic status and income also have a bearing on the level of health enjoyed by an older person (Arber & Ginn 1991; Aroni & Minichiello 1992). Dressel (1991) argues that in the United States race needs to be incorporated into an understanding of women's financial position. Other constraints such as domestic responsibilities, caring for others, coping with bereavement, lack of a travel companion (often as a consequence of bereavement) or fear for one's safety may affect women's propensity to travel. These are women's constraints more than men's. The evidence from the present study makes it clear that although the women might have been privileged in terms of social class (and some more than others), they were not immune from other constraints. Nonetheless these constraints were confronted and with creativity and cheerfulness negotiated.

Contrary to the stereotype of old age (and the negative holiday experiences of the current 12-year-olds!), there was no mention of illness or pain as a negative holiday experience amongst the 65+-year-old women in the present study. Others (Gething et al. 2003; Feldman & Poole 1999) have also maintained that the association of older people and illness is not reflected in the lives of many older people. As Onyx (1999a) says, "up to the age of 74 at least, 60 to 70 percent of women report good or excellent health" (p.21). While Onyx and Warburton (2003) argue that "self reported health is strongly predictive of objective health and impending death" (p.66), Sidell (1993) is less assured, finding in her interviews of older women that they played down their health problems. Whether the women in the study were "objectively" healthy or whether they were being stoical is unknown. Whatever the state of their health, they sustained the capability for travel and did so with good humour. However, the women were united in their requirement for comfort in their older years. When negative experiences were recalled they usually related to a lack of comfort in accommodation and travel experience, confirming the finding of researchers (Environmetrics 1991; Ruys & Wei 1998a; Wei & Ruys in Golik 1999) that comfort is important to Australian senior tourists.

The women in the current study were examples of "successful" or "positive" ageing. However, Gilleard and Higgs (2002) warn against "moral individualism, and consumerist advocates of 'do it yourself' anti-ageing lifestyles" (p.371). One needs to be wary of the attitude reflected in what the Hen Co-op (1993) refers to as the "'I-climbed-Mt-Everest-on-my-83rd birthday'" type of book (p.8). The danger of such an approach can mean that the different needs and voices of older people are silenced. As Kamler (1999) says, "super-ageing" can become the new oppression (p.79). In the present study, there were many examples of the tourism industry's failure to appreciate the requirements of their older markets. Older people today may be similar to younger people of previous generations but, at the same time, they are different to the younger generation of today. In many ways it may be convenient for the tourism industry to see older tourists as similar to middle-aged groups and thus ignore the cost and inconvenience of addressing the different needs of older women. The women aged 65+ in the present study were examples of "positive agers" but they also had needs specific to their age and cohort. Tulle-Winton (1999) considers that, to the extent that older people successfully continue to engage with the mainstream of society by going on holiday, they can be thought of as "successful agers" (p.296). Does this mean that those who choose not to go on holiday are unsuccessful agers or that the social structures are *unsuccessful* in enabling the older person to travel?

There are physiological losses which occur in the process of ageing but physical and sensory disabilities may prevent travel and holidays as much through structural inadequacies (such as unsuitable transport and accommodation, and inappropriate tour planning) as from any inherent lack of ability on the part of the women to enjoy a holiday. It is useful to refer to the disability studies literature which understands disability as a social construction (Begum 1992; Bickenbach, Chatterji, Badley & Ustin 1999). As Ferri and Gregg (1998) state, in reference to the writing of Asch and Fine, "Gender and disability are both social constructions, understandable only within the contexts and relationships that give meaning to the terms" (p.429).

For the most part, the women in the present study resisted the negative construction of gender and old age. However, they tended not to attribute travel difficulties to ageism or sexism. The poor standard of facilities and services was generally

interpreted in terms of an individual's lack of ability rather than as a reflection of societal attitudes. Since sexist and ageist attitudes are so pervasive it is understandable that they were not recognised as such. Nevertheless, there were a couple of holiday experiences which were recognised as discriminatory and resisted.

> Cordelia [Age 65+]: The reception hostess was crisp and condescending and reluctant to provide details in respect of barbecue areas … and other facilities … (I must say, I got back at the patronising lady … because she kept saying to me, 'I've already told your husband, I told your husband already etc., etc.'. And I said, 'That is not my husband!' That was another assumption she'd made (*Anne: Yes, yes*). Someone my age wouldn't be there with a lover, they'd be there with their husband!
> *Anne: Yes, definitely*.

In another instance a woman was distressed that her grey hair stereotyped her as a pensioner.

> Marcia [Age 65+]: So I got a taxi, and we started out and the taxi driver kept calling me 'Dear' or 'Love'. Of course I didn't know him from Adam. And then after a while he said to me, 'You know, this is going to cost about $50. Have you got enough money to pay?' … But I did have enough money to (*Other: Mmm*) pay for it. When I told him (a) just that I had the money to pay for it and (b) that I wasn't a pensioner, he shut up and didn't call me 'Love' again.

The ability to resist ageist attitudes depends on a number of resources. Arber and Ginn (1991) in reviewing relevant studies concluded that "the less completely a woman has conformed to the conventional ideal of domestic femininity, the more likely she is to age with pride and independence, maintaining a positive self-image in later life" (p.47). The authors found that women were less likely to accept ageist attitudes if they had "higher socio-economic status, higher educational level, and greater commitment to employment during their earlier life" (p.46). Amongst the 65+ year old women, there was less conflict in their current holiday memories than there had been at age 40. However, the notion of serenity can be a double-edged sword. It may mean an acceptance of life and what life has to offer, including the experience of ageism and the stereotypes of society. Ford and Sinclair (1987) found that through creativeness and initiative, of the women they studied (aged 60 and over) "most fight all the time to retain control and initiative, and accordingly they have lives that they find pleasurable and satisfying for much of the time" (p.157). The question arises, should the women have to fight?

The fastest growing segment of older people is the 85 years and over age group, a group comprised mainly of women. It was apparent in the present research that the two women aged in their 80s were living Laslett's Third Age but experiencing some of the characteristics of the Fourth Age. As Laslett (1989) acknowledges, there is a blurring between the two ages. In promoting the "successful" or "positive" ageing of the Third Age, Laslett is considered by Bury (1995) to be "in danger of displacing negative views of ageing from the 'young old' to the 'old old', and thus particularly onto very old women" (p.23). Traditional negative views of ageing still exist for those in Laslett's Fourth Age of "dependence, decrepitude and death" (p.4). A deconstruction of the holiday experiences (or absence of holiday experiences) of this group is necessary to understand the ways in which travel and tourism might also benefit the older old.

A theory which adequately deals with women and ageing needs to go beyond the life span models which see life stages as stable. Functionalist theories of disengagement and activity are neither useful nor appropriate, as the findings of the present study reveal. To understand the holiday experiences of older women, theory which acknowledges the social construction of the life-course is required. I concur with Featherstone and Hepworth (1991) who state:

> Old age can only be understood in relational terms to (a) a discussion of the grounds for accounting for other stages of life; (b) a discussion of the previous life of the old people which acts as a background and context for their expectations and experience of old age; and (c) the relation of old people to the other generations following behind who may have their own cultural priorities which point towards either a 'caring' or a 'stigmatising' attitude towards the old. (Featherstone & Hepworth 1991, p.387)

A life-course theory needs to recognise social hierarchies and power imbalances. The voices of different older women need to be heard. A theory of ageing must incorporate agency and how older people respond to the circumstances of later age (Bury 1995). In taking an agentic perspective, Seedsman (1994), Bury (1995) and McMullin (1995) consider the possibilities for changing the dominant negative view of older age. A theory which recognises power relations across a number of social

dimensions and the associated constraints faced by older people will provide a more comprehensive explanation of the meanings of travel in older age than an individualist theory such as Laslett's (1989). Life stages of today are claimed to be less distinct than in the past (Featherstone & Hepworth 1991). However, there is a danger in accepting a postmodern approach which stresses plurality to the extent that it ignores the realities of the lives of older women. Chronological age/family life stage and historical age continue to provide the context from which the meaning and experience of older age is constructed. Biological ageing is inevitable (at least for the foreseeable future!). To deny the physical and embodied experience ignores the needs of older people, in particular those of women, who have traditionally been silent.

CONCLUSION

The findings of the present study contribute to what Jamieson and Victor (1997) call the "growing visibility of healthy, active and affluent retired people" which "has led to a shift in focus away from production and non-productivity towards patterns of consumption as a crucial factor in the construction of later life" (p.181). Although McDaniel (cited in Feldman and Poole 1999) claims that inequalities of gender become stronger and more obvious as women age, the present study suggested that, in terms of holidays, gender inequalities were less likely at age 65+ than at age 40. Holidays at age 65+ came closer to the popular meaning of what a holiday should be.

While the traditional discourse of ageing was resisted by the women in this study, they did not work at maintaining a middle-aged lifestyle. They did not deny the existence of physical changes associated with ageing. As Tulle-Winton (1999) says, "The ageing body as lived body and as the bearer of cultural and social meaning is part of the physical and cultural capital of social actors (May 1996)" (p.288). Even for these relatively "privileged" middle class women, at age 65+, services and facilities were an important component of the success of a holiday. Tourism environments, similar to other physical spaces (Onyx, Leonard & Reed 1999b), could be difficult for the women, especially the oldest members. It is important that the embodied nature of growing old is not ignored in a discourse of "successful" ageing.

From the outset of the research, I was aware of the age range (nearly a generational difference) from the "youngest" to the "oldest" participant in the 65+ age group. The oldest had experienced World War I and the Depression. The world in which they had grown up and grown old was a different world from that of the youngest in the 65+ age group. There were also more physical limitations for the older members in the 65+ age group than for most of the younger members of that group. At the same time, there were life style commonalities amongst the women. As with the younger seniors, the women aged in their 80s lived in their own homes and led a full life which included regular travel and holidays. In many ways they shared an understanding of holiday experiences with the younger senior women.

Onyx, Leonard and Reed (1999a) refer to the rediscovery of "a sense of fun, of adventure in aging" (p.6). Friedan (1994) in *The Fountain of Age* refers to "Age as Adventure", with travel seen as symbolising "a kind of necessary exploration for paths of possible new adventure in life" (p.554).

> The taste for such new adventure may be more intense, and even addictive, as we grow older, since it's not really a *place* we ever arrive at. But we may learn how to travel more adventurously, and we may also learn from such travel the possibility of other adventure beyond the trip itself that we never dreamed of in ourselves before. (Friedan 1994, p.555)

The findings from the present study represent a positive attitude to older age but it would be misleading to say that "age does not matter". The holiday experiences for the older women are different from those at younger ages and it is this difference to which the industry should respond. To ignore the holiday experiences of older tourists is considered ageist, to ignore the experiences of women is sexist. To ignore older women tourists is both ageist and sexist. Memory-work allowed these different voices to emerge and the women appreciated the opportunity to be heard.

> *Susan [Age 65+]: For once, somebody wants us to talk about our travels (Jane: or about ourselves) or about ourselves. This is as good as having a psychiatrist!*

CHAPTER 12: EVALUATION OF THE RESEARCH METHOD

INTRODUCTION

Memory-work was selected as a method as it reflected my conceptual approach to women's lives. It also seemed to fit comfortably with the subject matter of the research – women's holidays. It was recognised at the outset that, with a research design involving different age groups and a number of groups at each age, it was necessary to adapt the method to the existing situation. I as the researcher could only position myself with one collective (one group of my age). Even where I was a member of the collective, adaptations were made to the method as described by Haug et al. (1987) and the core work of Crawford et al. (1992). It was difficult to be a "co-researcher" when the nature of the research was a PhD study. However, deviation from the "prescribed" method is not in itself seen as problematic. The value of any research method is reflected in the relevance and quality of the findings. In the final analysis, the test of the method is to be found in the usefulness of the data. The method can also challenge the appropriateness of the research questions themselves. Chapter 12 is a review of the application of the method to the topic of women and girls' holiday experiences. While it is acknowledged that any method should be closely evaluated, assessment is particularly useful and appropriate for a newly developed research method such as memory-work.

The following discussion provides an overall evaluation of the method and then examines the specific components of the method (which relate to Phases 1, 2 and 3) in terms of the method's contribution to an understanding of women's and girls' tourist experiences. The women's voices are included in the evaluation of the method. Most comments came from the older two groups. There were few comments about the method from the current 20-year-old women and only one comment from one of the current 12-year-olds. The method is also evaluated in terms of ethical issues of research which are of significant concern to feminists. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the emotional experience of participating in memory-work.

EVALUATION

Overall

Deem (1996b) made the following observation:

> holidays are a cultural form about which researchers are much more likely to hear rehearsed and sanitized narratives rather than any account which reveals conflicts, disappointments, difficulties or power struggles emerging from engendered relationships and encounters or indeed from any other source. (Deem 1996b, p. 115)

In the present study, the data that has emanated from the women's and girls' discussion groups is not only unsanitised but also complex, providing an opportunity for in-depth analysis. The two phases of the method, the individual talking to herself and the collective talking together, highlighted the contrast between women's partly sanitised, "public" writing in the form of clichés ("the weather was glorious"; "the view was breathtaking") and their "private" unsanitised talk in the collective ("my husband was in depression at the time"). The method has generated many layers of meaning from which patterns of experience can be identified. These many layers have also been repeated across groups. It has been possible, through memory-work, to trace women's and girls' construction of the tourist experience. It is considered that this wealth of data has resulted from the method employed. If the researcher asks the participant the correct questions and the participant responds fully, whatever method is employed will be appropriate. The difficulty is in knowing which questions to ask. The findings from the present study, in which the emphasis has been on the telling rather than the asking, have presented themes which might not have been anticipated. There are many examples throughout Chapters 7 to 11, where the public discourse of holidays has been judged irrelevant, where destination, sightseeing, weather, facilities, service and cost were not significant for an experience to be considered good or bad. In other examples there was no *a priori* reason for assuming a construction one way or the other. The opposite response might have been equally plausible.

The women, in trying to make sense of their current holiday experiences, moved in a recursive fashion from memories at one age to memories at another age. For example, for the women currently aged in their 40s, the lack of responsibility they had experienced on holiday at age 12 years and at 20 years was understood in terms of the

responsibility they currently experienced on holiday. The women also situated their experiences in the social context of the time and compared their own holiday experiences at ages 12 and 20 years to those of current 12- and 20-year-olds. They were engaging in what Portelli (cited in Douglass 1994) calls "shuttlework" (p.235).

The women also anticipated how future holidays at age 65+ might be different from their current holidays. Additionally, they tried to understand how their mothers aged in *their* 40s would have experienced holidays. In attempting to understand their own perceptions, the women at times used men as a reference point, comparing their experiences as women to how they imagined men would experience a holiday. They also at times made these comparisons with single women without children.

Writing the Memory (*Phase 1*)

The benefits cited by Crawford et al. (1992) in writing a memory were evident in the present research. The writing provided a discipline for all age groups. It created boundaries around a particular experience which allowed the groups to focus on that experience. This became evident in Phase 2. In writing the memory a certain status was allocated to the women's everyday experiences. There was mention that the written memories provided an "autobiography" which could be passed on to the next generation, a documentation of a woman's life. The trigger, although specified by me as the researcher, was kept as broad as possible to allow the participants a wide field from which to select their memories.

Despite a number of women reporting difficulty in remembering a holiday at an earlier age, when it came to the collective meeting, almost all had a memory to report. As one woman said:

> *Helen [Age 40]: ... I found it really difficult trying to remember back that far [to age 12] and trying to think of a holiday but I did come up with one.*

The task of writing was found to be unproblematic for most participants. However, there were some participants who expressed concern at their ability to "put" a holiday experience "in writing". This uncertainty was due either to their perceived inability to remember a holiday experience at a particular age or to their lack of

confidence in their writing skills. These participants usually fell into the 65+ age group and the 40-year-old group.

> *Joan: I must admit I found it very hard 'cause I haven't done anything like [this] since school (Other: No)… I found it very difficult. 'Oh, I don't know if I can do this!'*

There were also situational difficulties in writing.

> *Megan [age 40]: I'm typing and he's [son] reading over my shoulder, 'Get out of here!'… I got out of the habit of thinking, writing. I mean like, I've actually got to have quiet … I cannot compose anything (Other: Mmm) if there's anyone talking, the TV's going (Other: Mmm)…*

While the current 12-year-olds might have had no problems with the task of writing, a number of their mothers (with whom the project was discussed) doubted their daughters' ability to write 1-2 pages on holiday experiences. Wherever there was doubt, they were reassured that they could write as much as they could. The current 20-year-olds were the least likely to comment about the task of writing. Being university students, they were familiar with such tasks.

With such a large number of memories (371 – when good and bad memories were combined), a thorough analysis of whether participants adhered to the writing instructions (see Appendix C) was not carried out. However, analysis was undertaken on the number of memories which were *written* and, of these, the number which were written in *sentences* in contrast to a dot point format. Writing in sentences gave some indication of the detail in which the participant had written. A frequency count was also taken of the memories written in the *third person*. See Table 10.

Table 10 : Adherence to Instructions for Written Memories

Age of participant	**Potential number of memories**	**Adjusted* number of potential memories (a)**	**Number of memories which were *written* (b) % = b/a**	**Number of memories which were *written in sentences* (c) % = c/b**	**Number of memories which were *written in 3rd person*** (d) % = d/b**	**Percentage of memories written, in sentences, in 3rd person, over adjusted number of potential memories % = d/a**
12 years (n=26)	52	52	50 (96.2%)	44 (88%)	27 (54%)	51.9%
20 years (n= 25)	100	93	92 (98.9%)	76 (82.6%)	68 (73.9%)	73.1%
40 years (n=18)	108	100	86 (86%)	83 (96.5%)	78 (90.7%)	78%
65+ years (n=17)	136	126	116 (92.1%)	111 (95.7%)	93 (80.2%)	73.8%
Total =	396	371	344 (92.7%)	314 (91.3%)	266 (77.3%)	

Note: * Adjusted number of memories takes into account participant's lack of holiday or lack of positive or negative holiday memory at a particular age, participant's loss of instructions for writing a memory or the possibility that the participant had written the memory but not submitted to the researcher.

** All memories which were written in the third person were also written in sentences. Therefore column (d) also indicates the number of memories which were *written*, *in sentence format*, and *in the third person.*

Despite the women's and girls' busy lives, most arrived at the meeting with a written account. Of the adjusted number of potential memories, 92.7% were written. The above results indicate that the group least likely to submit a written memory was the current 40-year-old age group (86% of memories were written), the group which was perhaps the most time-restricted of all the groups.

A large percentage of each age group wrote in sentence format, with the two older age groups most likely to do so. Not only were the women and girls committed to the task through the act of writing, but some also dedicated a considerable amount of

their limited "free" time in going beyond a simple description of the memory to write an elaborate, literary account. The most detailed accounts were found in the written memories of those aged 65+. However, some commented that it was hard to remember the detail of holidays at younger ages.

> *Jane [Age 65+]: ... it's funny your memory plays tricks on you, doesn't it (Other: Mmm). And I don't always remember things in their proper sequence (Amelia: No; Susan: No, no, no) ... It's funny certain trips, I guess you remember details of. And others are kind of a blank (Other: Mmm, mmm).*
> *...*
> *Susan: You know, what I find too, with each of these, I had experienced all the emotions.*
> *Jane: Yes, yes, I had too.*
> *Susan: I go back to the feeling in the one that I was writing about when we were teenagers (Jane: Yes). And suddenly I felt all the emotions for those different girls, you know (Jane: ... yes; Other: Mmm) and all these different relationships.*
> *...*
> *Susan: I sort of felt that age again (Jane: Yes; Amelia: Yes; Lou: Mmm). And even when I was writing about the childhood one (Jane: Yes), I suddenly remembered how I felt as a child when I did it (Jane: Yeah) ...*

It was interesting that even one group of 20-year-old women claimed it was difficult to remember details of holidays at age 12. Sometimes when a woman had experienced a number of similar holidays at a particular age, memories would become "jumbled".

> *Susie [Age 40]: ... you forget which summer it was.*
> *Others: Yeah, Yeah.*

The women differed in the detail with which they remembered holidays. In some of the groups, the women expressed surprise and amazement at the detail they could remember of holidays past.

> *Jean [Age 40]: This has really stirred up so many memories.*

> *Cordelia [Age 65+]: It's marvellous what comes back to you when you actually sit down and think about it.*
> *Anne: Mmm.*
> Later
> *Cordelia: ... never actually thought about it (Anne: No) for years and years and years. We're just sort of forced to recall things, to come up with something for this. And it's marvellous what you can suddenly pull out (Other: Yes) you know.*

The act of writing the memory was perceived favourably.

Roberta [Age 40]: ... when you sit down and start writing it comes back,(Others: Yeah; It does) the picture comes back in your brain (Others: Mmm, Mmm) as you start writing. But it's very hard when you're remembering something to know ... whether ... it's an honest memory (Marie: Yes) or whether it's influenced by what has happened to you since. Do you know what I mean?
Other: Yes, of course.
Roberta: It's very difficult…
Ruth: ... you tend to sort of embroider it to a certain extent (Other: Exactly, you do yes), but I don't know if it was that much, that much so.
Marie: I think the feeling, the pleasure definitely was there ...
Ruth: Oh, of course.

Cordelia [Age 65+]: It was interesting ... writing about it, there were things that I thought about now, that I hadn't thought about at the time. What made these people what they were.

Megan [Age 40]: ... writing is certainly the preferable way to do it because things come to you as you write (Other: Mmm, mmm). Little snippets of things that you don't remember, haven't thought about… since you were there, probably (Others: Yeah,Mmm, Yes). You just don't remember till you[r'e] actually physically writing it (Karen: Yeah). And then (Karen: something comes) it keeps coming to mind.
Karen: I know, I know.

Women in the above group claimed that having to write the memory probably made it easier to discuss. Writing gave them time to contemplate the memory. Interestingly, a couple of 20-year-old groups observed that they had used the language of a 12-year-old in their written holiday memory at age 12, as opposed to the language of their current age.

The instruction to write in the third person was most likely to be followed by the current 40-year-olds (90.7% of the written memories) and least likely by the current 12-year-olds (54% of the written memories). It might be that the girls had not read the instructions or they did not understand what was meant by "third person". They might also have felt self-conscious writing in third person. The latter is a likely explanation since, even when they had written in third person, they often read their written memory using the first person.

When examining overall those who had written a memory, in sentence format and in the third person, there is a noticeable difference between the different age groups in their adherence to instructions. Those most likely to follow the instructions were the current 40-year-old women (78% of the adjusted number of potential memories were written per instructions) and the least likely were the current 12-year-olds (51.9% of the adjusted number of potential memories were written per instructions).

The Collective

The value of the collective was that it allowed for the sharing and triggering of memories.

> *Other (Kristen's group)[Age 20]: ... when other people are saying parts of their holiday, then you remember other bits of yours that you didn't remember.*
> *Other: Yeah.*

The women and girls through the collective were able to identify themes and articulate a shared meaning. Through the presentation of different views new meanings could be constructed which might otherwise have been overlooked. A number of groups tried to make sense of the notion of memories.

> *Roberta [Age 40]: ... Are you looking at it from a 12-year-old's eyes or as an observer looking back on that time?*
> *Lizzy: As an observer looking back.*
> *Helen: It has to be an observer (Others: Mmm) because we know so much. We are still the same people but we have blossomed a lot.*
> *Ruth: We have learnt a lot, we have come a long way.*
> *Roberta: ... The feelings are still the same.*
> *Other: Yeah, the feelings.*

The above group agreed that in their 40s they could now analyse their feelings and put a name to that emotion they experienced at age 12. It was also agreed that:

> *Roberta [Age 40]: ... Memories can be warped and changed depending on what happened to you afterwards ... the things that are obviously just ordinary and have no emotional effect on you, you obviously forget ...*

The procedure in the present study differed from that of other users of the method: the researcher participated in only one of the twenty groups. Nonetheless, since they were the private voices of the different age cohorts which I was attempting to capture, it could be argued that my absence allowed this talk more easily or clearly to be heard. When an adult researches children, there is the potential problem that children feel they have to please the more powerful adult. The method in the present study allowed the girls, as it did the other age groups, to construct the experience for themselves. Being in a group with same-aged friends of similar backgrounds meant their knowledges were similarly constructed.

The 65+ age group was most likely to read verbatim (or with minor changes) their written memories, as per the rules. Of the current 12- and 20-year-old age groups there was a sizeable number who "ad-libbed" their written memories, often reverting to the first person. The behaviour of the first participant to report her memory often set the tone for the rest of the group. As stated previously, perhaps the younger aged groups felt self-conscious in reading their memories. Amongst the younger groups, it appeared that additions/changes were often made for effect, to look "cool" and thus be accepted by the collective. For example, in reading her written memory, one girl changed "peeved" to "pissed off", another introduced "stupid" to describe her brother and another, after being teased as a "goody-goody", attempted to reverse this reputation by adding to her written memory how she had "ignored the teacher".

The order in which groups discussed the memories (positive and negative experiences) was not specified in the guidelines. Most commenced with their positive experiences but there were some groups who chose to start with their negative experiences. In most groups, discussion began after all participants had read their positive or negative memories. For some of the older members of the 65+ age group, it was decided to discuss each memory after it was read as it was difficult to recall all memories and then discuss.

The guidelines for Phase 2 stated that in an attempt to gain a social understanding of holiday experiences, commonalities, differences, clichés, contradictions and silences in the memories were aspects the group might like to consider. Table 11 exhibits the groups' attendance to these features in terms of the identification of the presence or absence of the features in the memories. Table 11 does not indicate the extent to which these features were discussed. For the most part, there was little discussion. Often one member of a group would call the group's attention to the guidelines and raise the concepts for discussion, but they were usually treated superficially or dismissed by the others. The feature to which groups were most likely to attend was "similarities". One 12-year-old group took discussion of similarities to an extreme by methodically comparing each memory to every other memory. Only four groups attended to contradictions and, of these, only one group identified a contradiction in the memories. The group most likely to address the guidelines was the 40-year-old age group, while those least likely were the 12-year-olds and 65+-year-olds. The

dismissal of the guidelines is possibly due to the women's and girls' perception that they were a constraint to their otherwise natural conversation. It is also possible that the groups (especially the 12-year-olds) did not understand the meaning of the concepts. Certainly a few women commented that they did not understand what was meant by "silences". Although the participants might have had difficulty understanding the concepts, I as the researcher was able to identify many silences and contradictions in their holiday memories. Perhaps these concepts are more easily understood by academic women such as the participants in Haug et al.'s (1987) and Crawford et al.'s (1992) studies. On the positive side, the collective's rejection of the guidelines for discussion suggests that the normal social construction process was indeed being captured.

Table 11: Attendance to the Phase 2 Guidelines by each Age Group in Discussion of Holidays at each Age

	Similarities	Dissimilarities	Clichés	Contradictions	Silences
12-year-olds (n = 6 groups)					
- discussion of holidays at age 12	✓✓✓	✓✓✓✓	x		
20-year-olds (n = 6 groups)					
- discussion of holidays at age 12	✓✓✓✓✓✓	✓	x✓✓✓	✓	✓
- discussion of holidays at age 20	✓✓✓✓✓✓	✓	x✓	xx	✓
40-year-olds (n = 4 groups)					
- discussion of holidays at age 12	✓✓✓✓	✓	✓✓✓	x	✓x✓✓
- discussion of holidays at age 20	✓✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓		✓✓✓
- discussion of holidays at age 40	✓✓✓✓	✓✓✓	x✓		✓✓x✓
65+-year-olds (n = 4 groups)					
- discussion of holidays at age 12	✓✓✓✓	✓	✓x		
- discussion of holidays at age 20	✓✓✓✓		✓✓		✓
- discussion of holidays at age 40	✓				
- discussion of holidays at age 65+	✓✓✓	✓	xx		✓x

Note: ✓ = A group identified the feature as present in the memories.
x = A group identified the feature as absent in the memories.

Despite the fact that the specific purpose of the meeting was not normal behaviour for the women and girls, they fell naturally into the situation and seemed to enjoy the sessions. Unlike the current 12-year-old girls, the older groups had the opportunity to dig deep into the past. In most discussions, the women (especially the current 40-year-old and the 65+ age groups) enjoyed the nostalgia of reminiscing.

All of the groups were committed to the task of discussing their written memories. However, there was variability amongst the groups in how focussed they were on the task. It is inevitable that a group left on its own will detour to other topics of discussion. While the focus of the discussion was holidays, the groups in a very natural way often found themselves discussing other topics and then returning to the topic being investigated. The group least likely to be distracted by other topics of conversation was the current 20-year-old group. They took the task in hand and "got into it". Their focus may have been the consequence of the formal institutional venue (university), the timing of the meetings (often between classes), their familiarity with academic group discussions or their regular contact with each other which did not necessitate any "catching up" during the meeting. The group most likely to become distracted was the current 12-year-old group. However, there was variability amongst the groups of girls. While one group introduced only one unrelated topic, another group, in addition to discussing holiday experiences, managed to talk about 28 other topics! One distracted 12-year-old group explained that it was not that they found the research task boring but since they hadn't seen each other for a while, "we want to talk about other stuff, kind of".

Most of the groups accepted the absence of a researcher from their discussion sessions. However, amongst the 65+ age groups there were some who indicated that they would have quite liked the researcher present in Phase 2. These women gave the impression that they would have liked direction and discipline. They could not quite accept the "freedom" they had been given to talk amongst themselves. It was sometimes difficult for them to realise that *that* was what was of interest to me. Perhaps they would have liked the formality of the presence of a "professional" researcher to give more status to their participation, differentiating their research talk from their everyday activity of chatting. Perhaps they desired the input of the professional perspective on tourism and holidays. Whatever the reason, they were the 65+-year-old women and, to a certain

extent, the current 40-year-old women who somewhat dubiously would say, "I hope we've given you what you wanted". It is unclear whether the older groups' judgement of their performance as participants, in terms of "doing the right thing" by the researcher, was due to an ethic of care and a feeling of responsibility to the research (which might be age-, family life stage- or historically related) or whether their commitment was the consequence of an historically constructed concept of research which entails formal rules, authority and hierarchy. The current 12- and 20-year-olds were more self-assured and unquestioning of their participation in the research. Having grown up in a postmodern world, the girls and young women, unlike some of the older women, had no doubts that I would be interested in their ordinary life experiences.

There were differences in the group dynamics of the collectives as they met and discussed holiday experiences. While leaving the women and girls to themselves had the benefit of the participants controlling the discussion, there were some interesting differences between the age groups in terms of how they related to each other. As discussed in Chapter 8, the current 12-year-olds could become distracted and disruptive. Whereas I would disappear from the premises when other age groups were meeting, I needed to stay within earshot of the girls and intervene when things sounded like they were getting "too" rowdy – the microphone was a great source of fun! It was after the first meeting with the girls that I decided to be present at the end of each session to hear the girls' summary of their discussion. I was fearful that, with some of the groups, I might not be able to hear their holiday voices amongst the other noise. I later decided to do this for all the age groups as it was a means of confirming my understanding of their collective discussion.

Collective Theorising

Memory-work stresses *collective* theorising. What resulted from the discussion group was the collective's perspective. It was the inter-subjective nature of memory-work, as opposed to a subjective or objective claim for the status of knowledge produced, which differentiates memory-work from other research methods for all of the age groups.

It is impossible to distinguish the group's approach to the research experience (as discussed above) and the theorising that resulted in Phase 2. The bravado exhibited by the girls in their behaviour to each other and also to the task was also reflected in the content of their memories. A positivist might view the girls' disruptive behaviour in the research setting as interfering with the researcher's task to achieve a "true" measure of the dependent variable. A social constructionist would interpret the girls' behaviour as "data".

An aim of the method was to uncover the multi-layered voices of each of the age groups. Challenging the authority of one accepted way of knowing, one reality, the method provides the opportunity to go beyond the public knowledge which is objectified through language and rules. The proper and acceptable public story can be revealed through clichés and contradictions. Memory-work created a space for the girls' and women's voices to be heard. All groups went beyond the public discourse of the travel brochure in their discussion of good and bad experiences. However, there appeared to be less challenging of the public discourse than Haug et al. (1987), Crawford et al. (1992) and many other users have found with memory-work. An explanation probably lies in the very public nature of the topic under discussion, holidays, and the difference in type of participants. In the present study the participants were not academics. It is also probable that many of them would not have identified themselves as feminists. For the most part, the women and girls appeared unused to challenging the public discourse. The age groups least likely to question the social discourse were the current 12-year-olds and the 65+ age group. The older women's talk appeared to be the most rehearsed with less of the "jagged stuff of personal lived experience" (Onyx & Small 2001, p.776) than found in some of the younger groups. Of all the groups, the current 65+-year-olds might be least accustomed to questioning the public discourse. Another explanation is that as the women have aged, life and holidays have become "sweeter"; in other words, the public and private voices, with regard to holidays are not so different. The "jagged stuff of personal lived experience" might now be smoothed over. The group most likely to challenge the conventional version was the 40-year-old group. Perhaps they are at an age/ life stage when peer pressure is not so important and also at an historical time in which "keeping up appearances" is less important than it was in the past. Questions arise, however, as to what constitutes public and private

discourse. How easily can one identify which is the conventional and which is the challenged discourse for each of the age groups?

The Researcher-Researched Relationship

A key component of the method is that the researcher is also a participant and all participants are considered researchers. The object and subject become one. The breakdown in the hierarchy between researcher and researched, a characteristic of the method identified by Haug et al. (1987) and Crawford et al. (1992), was less easy to achieve in the current research. Firstly, a research design which involved different age groups meant that the researcher could position herself with only one of these. Other memory-work research has usually involved only one collective. Secondly, the present research is doctoral work with institutional impediments to other participants being "co-researchers" with equal ownership of the research. Even when age did not preclude the researcher from being a co-researcher (as in the 40-year-old group), the purpose of the research did. Although the studies of Haug et al. (1987) and Crawford et al. (1992) have involved fellow academics, social researchers or professionals in joint research and publication, most use of the method (at least in Australia and New Zealand) has been in postgraduate student research. Other research students (Cadman, Friend, Gannon, Ingleton, Koutroulis, McCormack, Mitchell, Onyx, O'Regan, Rocco & Small 2001) have also identified the impossibility (under the present educational system) of sharing the research as the method was originally intended to do.

When participating in one of the 40-year-old groups I attempted to create a sense of co-participation by assuring the group that researcher and researched were equal. However, my words were not enough to overcome an entrenched construction of the researcher-researched relationship. This proved worrisome to me as being "co-researchers" was a key element of the method. In a unique study by Cadman et al. (2001) eleven memory-workers (including myself) undertook memory-work *on* memory-work to explore unresolved issues of power. The experience of others confirmed that

> tensions were particularly strong where participants had not met as equals – where a researcher/ lecturer/ teacher/ expert met with research participants whose co-

> operation she had solicited for her own research purposes and whose relative age and/or occupational status may be less powerful than hers. (Cadman et al. 2001, p.79)

From my perspective as the researcher, it was at times tempting to take on the role of facilitator rather than the role of co-researcher. It was difficult to stand back and not remind the others of the possibilities for analysis (looking for similarities, dissimilarities, clichés, contradictions, gaps/silences etc.). There was a tension between letting the discussion take its natural course and going deeper, exploring my feminist convictions. I wanted the experience to be liberating for the women. It was necessary to keep reminding myself that whatever was being produced was data. As Koutroulis (1993) also found through using memory-work in her PhD research, the researcher is "simultaneously facilitating and participating in the collective with a constant tension between the two" (p. 84). As Koutroulis explained, "in an effort to resist the all powerful researcher role that feminist methods are critical of, I had to become increasingly willing to accept the dismantling of the power differential" (p. 83). However, the Cadman collective (2001) confirmed that this was not always so easy. As the collective state:

> Collective memory-work 'models a way of doing inquiry that promotes new forms of subjectivity via a refusal of individuality and a diffusion of the sites and practices from which dominance can be challenged' (Lather, 1991, p.96). However, this 'refusal of individuality' was experienced as almost impossible within the academic contexts which framed our research. We were highly sensitive to the ambiguities of our situation, and the tensions engendered were deeply felt … (Cadman et al. 2001, p.79)

The collective also acknowledged:

> The contradictions and uncertainties arising from the necessary disruption of taken-for-granted relations of power inherent in more usual research methods were evidently confusing for participants and researcher alike. From a poststructural perspective these relations of power and their disruption can be seen to hinge upon particular hierarchical binaries such as speaking-silence, researcher-researched, objectivity-subjectivity, rational-emotional, male-female. The dilemmas we wrote

> and spoke about indicated the effects of our attempts to disrupt these binaries. (Cadman et al. 2001, p.79)

In the present study, the "researched" also found it difficult to dismantle the power relationship. They were happy to "help" in whatever way they could. However, despite their commitment, they did not have the same investment in the research as I did. They were content for me to take charge. In my own memory-work group of 40-year-olds, I was sensitive to the women's busy lifestyles and thus it was difficult for me to suggest they take on more responsibility for the sessions. If they were to share control of the meetings, the initiative needed to come from them.

Although the co-researcher relationship in the present study was not as equal as Haug et al. (1987) and Crawford et al. (1992) proposed, the adapted method allowed for a *more equal* relationship between researcher and researched than would likely be possible with other methods. Although I, as the researcher, had designed the study, the "rules" were kept to a minimum and the collective as a whole determined the outcome of the analysis in Phase 2. Where I participated as a member of one of the middle-aged groups, I was positioned with women similar in social background and life experiences to myself. I completed the same tasks as the other women in Phase 1. In Phase 2, self-disclosures were found to be similar; nuances, laughter, subtleties and hesitancies were understood. Despite the special researcher role, for a large part of the process I was positioned, if not together, at least closely with the women. The collective theorising did not appear to have been influenced greatly by my part-role as facilitator. Hohnen (1996), who undertook a related study, concluded similarly. In relation to her perception of her unequal role in the group she commented, "I can conclude that this self-perceived inequality probably had no direct influence or impact on the discussion or findings" (p. 13).

For all of the other memory-work groups, I was present only at the beginning of each session to explain the nature of Phase 2 and at the end of the discussion to hear the group's summary. For the most part I was absent which assisted in a breakdown of the traditional researcher-researched hierarchy as the group had control over the discussion and the outcome of Phase 2.

Phase 3 – My Interpretation of the Collective Theorising

Ideally, the researcher is positioned with the researched at all stages of the research. As stated, I could not do this with all collectives in Phase 2. Neither could I do this in Phase 3 (as a result of age and academic impediments). While reflexivity was less of an issue in Phase 2 for all of the age groups, I could not avoid it in Phase 3 in the interpretation and production of the research account. While Phase 2 involved some amendments to Haug et al.'s (1987) feminist "ideal", perhaps of greater concern to an advocate of feminist methodology was my exclusion of the collectives in my independent analysis in Phase 3. Although in Haug et al.'s (1987) and Crawford et al.'s (1992) collectives one individual might have taken responsibility for writing one section of the report, presumably the other members had access to the account.[1] Koutroulis (1993) voiced a worry similar to my own in relation to her own PhD work. She considered that

> There is an assertion of power and domination in the technique of taking away, interpreting, analysing and applying a theoretical framework independently of the group, unless I guarantee to everyone, the right to their theorising and my taking account of that. (Koutroulis 1993, p. 90)

There was the danger that the hierarchical relationship between researcher and subject, which feminists have sought to dismantle, was maintained in Phase 3. Koutroulis (1993) asked, "Is a third level of analysis too far removed from the core of memory-work (collective analysis)" (p. 90). Where memory-work has been used in a large study (as in the present case) or has involved groups differing in terms of one or more characteristics (in this case, age), it is not theoretically possible that all members could be involved in the analysis of all groups in Phase 3. While it is possible that each age group could be involved in the Phase 3 analysis of its own age group, someone must take responsibility for the collation of the findings across all groups and the identification of themes and interpretation of them. To enable interpretation of the themes in the light of tourism literature and industry practice, those involved in Phase 3 must be knowledgeable in the field. In Koutroulis's (1993) words, what the researcher can offer in Phase 3 is a "meta analysis, not necessarily a better analysis" (p. 90). Even

if the researcher has no additional interpretations to make at this stage, there are operational difficulties associated with ongoing input from the members. As Koutroulis (1993) said, "it is totally impractical and inconceivable to the majority of women in the collective that we reconvene every time each or everyone of us have subsequent reflections" (p. 91).

Regardless of such obstacles to truly egalitarian research in Phase 3, the fact remains that in the case of PhD research, institutional academic requirements dictate that it is the PhD student who "owns" and takes ultimate responsibility for the research. In Stage 3, it was I, the researcher, who examined all the transcriptions, drawing out the overall themes from the different aged groups' discussions. The Cadman et al. (2001) collective voiced the dilemma experienced by researchers when they were singly responsible for Phase 3 of the research. We agreed that

> There was a dilemma for us about our role in selecting which memories would be appropriate for the public arena and how the public might interpret these memories. There was concern that researchers, in suppressing certain knowledges in favor of others which would 'count' [in the traditional academic domain], could be acquiescing to and colluding with repressive discourses. (Cadman et al. 2001, p.84)

The dilemma of which voices to include and which to omit was experienced in the present study and, while Appendix E includes additional quotations to supplement the data in the body of the thesis, there are many more which have been excluded.

The question arises as to how well I was able to re/present the voices of the different age groups. By asking the groups to summarise their discussion by themselves and later to me, I hoped to get closer to *their* understanding of holiday experiences. Were some groups disproportionately disadvantaged? Perhaps my own age group was the group least disadvantaged. Alldred (1998) discusses the adult-child difference (or divide) in research involving children by adult researchers. It could be argued, however, that the difference between adult researcher and older adults is even greater. At least the researcher has experienced childhood, not the childhood

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[1] Due to the lengthy process of transcription and analysis of forty-six group discussions and the time constraints of the participants, it was not feasible in the present study to return the Phase 3 account to the participants.

of today, but childhood nonetheless. The researcher has yet to experience an older age.

Participants

On a number of occasions I have been questioned about the generalisability of my findings to other groups of women, those who are not white or middle-class or Western. I have sensed a tinge of accusation in this questioning that I am maintaining the status quo by focusing on the dominant group – white and middle-class. However, I follow the view of Kaplan (1992) that "Understanding this prevailing or 'dominant' discourse is crucial even for groups that the dominant marginalizes" (p.9). Through comprehension of the dominant discourse one can get a better understanding of how the dominant discourse oppresses minority groups and "how its very presence constructs (as part of its ideology) other groups as 'marginalized'" (Kaplan 1992, p.9). In studying holidays, I needed participants who holidayed. An educated, middle-class group of women had the propensity and knowledge to travel (Chen & Kerstetter 1999). Another argument to support the study of such a group was that, however dominant this group of women, they have received little scholarly attention. The group might be privileged in terms of social class, race/ethnicity, sexuality and able-bodiedness but in terms of gender, the group was not privileged, neither were all women privileged in terms of age.

Ethical Issues

Although feminists advocate the positioning of the researcher with the researched, there are intrinsic moral dilemmas. In discussing the interview as a research method, Oakley (1981) notes that ethical dilemmas "are greatest where there is the least social distance between the interviewer and interviewee" (p.55). Finch (1984) echoes Oakley's views:

> The moral dilemmas which I have experienced ... have emerged precisely because the situation of a woman interviewing women *is* special, and is easy only because my identity as a woman makes it so. I have, in other words, traded on that identity. I have also emerged from interviews with the feeling that my interviewees need to know how to protect themselves from people like me. (Finch 1984, p.80)

Memory-work with its emphasis on telling rather than asking has the benefit of guarding against some of the dangers of manipulation and exploitation. The women have control over what and how much they want to tell. Nonetheless, there is still the concern that the more relaxed the women and the easier the social situation the more "off guard" the women might be, divulging information to each other which in another social situation might be withheld. While they may be comfortable with the participants knowing their experiences, they may be less happy having their experiences published. Women's tendency to "want to please" or to "help out the researcher" may make women vulnerable. Perhaps they don't know how to say "No" to a researcher. This raises the issue of using a group of friends as participants. Social pressures may be such that women find it difficult to decline the "invitation"/"request" to participate in a study. The use of pseudonyms and assurance of confidentiality is of particular relevance for those who might have concerns regarding participation.

In the present study, Phase 3 presented specific ethical concerns. There was the possibility of manipulation and exploitation when women's (and girls') experiences were taken away by the researcher to be analysed. Cotterill (1992) states that, "From now on the researched are vulnerable. Their active role in the research process is over and whatever way it is produced is beyond their control" (p.604). There is also the difficulty for a feminist researcher in dealing with data generated by women who are not feminists. As Cotterill (1992) says, the women "may not agree with the researchers' interpretation of their lives if they do not share the political view which shapes those interpretations" (p.604). Stanley (1984) also recognised "the conundrum of how not to undercut, discredit or write-off women's consciousness different from our own" (p.201). In the present study, I tried to be faithful to the unique experience of the individual girls and women while, at the same time, promoting women's collective interests. Finch (1984) and Cotterill (1992) found they were able to do this by distinguishing between women's structural position and the women's own experience of it. By making this distinction Finch (1984) claimed she was able "to see that evidence of women successfully accommodating to various structural features of their lives in no way alters the essentially exploitative character of the structures in which they are located" (p.84).

When looking at ethics, vulnerability and power of the participants, it is important to recognise that there is a "changing nature of interaction in research relationships and ... [a] delicate balance of power between researcher and researched" (Cotterill 1992, p.604). While I, in the present study, held the ultimate power in interpretation of the findings, I also felt vulnerable during Phases 1 and 2 of the research. Having the greatest investment in the research, I was dependent not only on others' interest in participation but also on their ability to coordinate their busy lives to find a common time to meet for the required number of occasions (four times in the case of the older groups). Once the research group was underway, there was always the added concern that one or more participants might cancel at the last minute. This was a very real concern since the method required that all members be present on each occasion. If one participant cancelled, I would have to reschedule the meeting.

The Emotional Experience of Memory-work

As a feminist researcher, I was committed to the ethical values of memory-work. Throughout the process of Phases 1, 2 and 3, I was aware of my own feelings and my part in the research. I was not the neutral researcher which positivist research espouses; I was physically and emotionally deeply involved. The research process was an embodied experience for me. Other users of memory-work (Cadman et al. 2001) have reported similar experiences. It is clearly not appropriate in mainstream academic research which stresses rationality and objectivity to disclose the feelings of the researcher in the research process. However, Cadman et al. (2001) defend the acknowledgement of emotion in the research process:

> Emotion states include decision-making and a disposition to act, and as such, emotion contains elements of reason and action as well as of feeling. Emotion can no longer be regarded as a synonym for irrationality. Rather, our analysis suggested that emotionality is an acceptable, necessary and vital aspect of the embodiment of experience and therefore of the research process. Incorporating our feelings and emotions to understand, direct, analyze and interpret our stories in the memory-work process disrupts the rational/irrational binary that, within positivist traditions, has served to silence embodied feminist knowledges. (Cadman et al. 2001, p.82)

To suppress knowledge of my experience of the method, I would be, as Cadman et al. (2001) state, "acquiescing to and colluding with repressive discourses" (p.84).

In the present study I experienced many moments of pleasure but also many instances of doubt and anxiety. There was tension in trying hard to remain true to the method, to ensure equality of experience for the participants and, at the same time, having to adapt the method. I was also disrupting traditional research methodology. Being "true to the method" involved a very close relationship with the participants and concern, as a woman, for their wellbeing. Perhaps naively, I expected the women to be as committed to the project as the Haug et al. (1987) and the Crawford et al. (1992) participants had been. I also had the same goals of liberation as other memory-work users. I was anxious for the women to benefit from their participation. When other members of the Cadman collective (2001) discussed their experiences of memory-work, it was with relief that I realised I was not alone. An overwhelming and unexpected outcome of our memory-work *on* memory-work was the shared feeling of anxiety. Despite our fears, we all tried to present as competent researchers. We found that

> Regardless of having successfully completed memory-work research and of our levels of credibility and experience as researchers, we all wrote about and discussed our feelings of incompetence. We recalled being anxious about 'being good researchers' both in collecting and presenting the research, and about its reception by others in the wider research community. Particularly in regard to the collective process of the memory-work methodology, our anxieties were deeply felt. We felt anxious about our sense of responsibility to 'get it right'. We were responsible for the layout of the room, the furniture, the food and drink, and whether the technology worked. But more than that, we felt responsible for the participants and for the outcomes. (Cadman et al. 2001, p.86)

In the present study, being a "hostess" was an important part of the research process. The researched were treated as guests. Where I was responsible for the meeting (of my own group and the groups who met on campus), I made the room comfortable and served the participants food and drinks. There was a need to nurture, to look after both

the physical and emotional comfort of the participants. Other memory-workers have also focussed on the significance of nurturance in their experience of the method.

> Nurturance, a sense of the need to nurture, emerged as a dominant theme within the stories we told. This theme goes beyond our academic training to our primary social construction as women. The stereotypical hostessing role was represented in our stories by clichés such as 'waiting for the guests to arrive', 'the frilly apron cast aside', and 'the white cloth serenely covering the table'. Within the usual conditions and habit of binary logic and the prevailing discourses of gender differences, nurturance is usually ascribed to the feminine position. It is embodied as female (Gilligan, 1982). Typically, we, as feminist researchers, felt compelled to invest time and energy into providing a nurturant atmosphere. Frequently this meant engaging in obvious, taken-for-granted practices of nurturing such as the preparation and presenting of food. (Cadman et al. 2001, p.87)

In the present study attention was given to appropriate food and drinks to serve to the different groups depending on the age of the group and whether they were meeting during the day or evening. My experience of hospitality was similar to other memory-workers. As one member of the Cadman collective (2001) said, "I spent so much time and energy on the bloody food it was ridiculous" (p.88). As we, the Cadman collective, concluded,

> The presentation of food is not usually considered relevant to the obtaining of research data and it is certainly not specified in the prescribed practices of this method. Indeed it may seem antithetical to the expressed desire by the researcher to present as rigorous and competent. Nonetheless, in most of the memories food takes a central part in creating an appropriate atmosphere. (Cadman et al. 2001, p.88)

Conflict between my role as "co-researcher" and my role as "hostess" is exemplified in an experience at the third collective meeting of the group in which I was a participant. I had, up to that point, been disappointed that the women's investment in the research did not reflect Haug et al.'s (1987) and Crawford et al.'s (1992) experience. When at the third meeting one of the women made a move towards sharing the research

experience by offering to bring supper for the following meeting,[2] I, without thinking, promptly declined, reassuring her that there was no need, I would provide. However much I wanted to "do it right" and be a co-researcher, I was not able to escape my entrenched female role as hostess. How could I accept a contribution from this participant? I couldn't escape the feeling that the women were doing *me* a favour. I was grateful to the women for participating and sensitive to their time demands.

The experiences of other memory-workers confirmed my own experience of the method:

> we came to realize the significance for us of our need to nurture, to balance the human needs and expectations of participants against the imperatives of the research process… Clearly the levels of social formation in which we were involved were multiple and highly complex. (Cadman et al. 2001, p.88)

Involvement in the Cadman et al. (2001) collective allowed me to acknowledge my own experience of unresolved power issues in the memory-work process. Shared meanings emerged. We discovered that "using memory-work within the dominant positivist discourses and patriarchal structures of academia could, at times, leave feminist researchers feeling powerless" (Cadman et al. 2001, p.76). Memory-work on memory-work allowed me to "unravel" *my* subjectification and understand how I had worked myself or subordinated myself into social structures. I learnt how my concerns with methodological issues related to my subjectification as a woman and academic researcher. As the group concluded:

> From an individualistic perspective, an anxious researcher may consider herself to be inept or unsuited to academic work. With the collective insight that memory-work brings, we began to see that what we had felt as a weakness for each of us as individuals, could actually be a resource from which we all drew in our commitment to the success of our project for everyone involved. From this realization we can go on to challenge the institutions and disciplines within which we work and study about procedures for gaining academic credentials and publications, and about how

[2] In the group in which I participated the collective met on four occasions. The final meeting was to confirm that I had understood the themes which had been generated at the previous meeting.

> research is conceptualized within and outside academia. Our own agency is thus multi-faceted. (Cadman et al. 2001, p.90)

The critique of memory-work as presented in the present chapter should not be perceived as a weakness of the method. The research findings are the result of the method. Memory-work recognises that the holiday experiences which eventuate from the written and discussed memories are socially constructed and contextual. The research findings are produced out of the research setting. The complexity of that context must be recognised. Although I acknowledge experiencing anxiety, this was born out of a commitment to the method rather any doubt as to its relevance or appropriateness to the study of women's and girls' holiday experiences. I also concur with other memory-workers that "memory-work, as a research methodology, generated great joy" (Cadman et al. 2001, p.91). Proffering their views of participation in memory-work, the following women claimed:

> *Fran [Age 40]: ... it's been an interesting experience thinking back on that [holiday camp at age 12] because I haven't thought about it for yonks and yonks and yonks. And thinking about it was really, really good and remembering the friends that I had.*
>
> *Amelia [Age 65+]: It's really quite an enriching experience I think (Jane: Yeah; Susan: Yes). I felt we should be thanking Jennie for the ...*
> *Jane: Yeah, for the opportunity to do it.*

Through the focus on intersubjectivity, the method resulted in the confirmation of holiday experiences and empowerment in voicing the individual and collective voice. Although the participants and I experienced memory-work differently from Haug et al. (1987), I concur with Haug (1987) that

> Despite our own experiences of bottlenecks, dead ends and running on the spot, we would nonetheless plead, in conclusion, that this form of story-writing is a solid method. Writing stories is fun. More than this, it expands our knowledge enormously, sharpens our social perception, improves our use of language, changes our attitude to others and to ourselves. It is a politically necessary form of cultural labor. It makes us live our lives more consciously. (Haug 1987, p. 71)

CONCLUSION

Memory-work with its collective approach allows for the possibility of liberation, "an intervention into existing practices" (Haug 1987, p.35). The method takes the approach that women and girls participate in the formation of their own past experience. Thus there is the potential for women to change and move to a more autonomous happier position. In the present study, the women, through memory-work, came to understand their contemporary experiences of holidays in relation to what had gone before. The age group most constrained, most in need of liberation, in their present-day holidays was the current 40-year-old group. From situating their holidays at age 40 in the life-course, the women discussed the means by which they could overcome their contemporary gendered subjectivities in holiday taking.

Memory-work in its adapted form was well suited to the needs of a study investigating women's and girls' tourist experiences. It is doubtful that another method would have served the purpose so well in generating rich, valuable data and addressing the research questions. Although my "elite" position as a researcher did not conform to feminist ideals, awareness of my responsibilities and commitment to representing all participants hopefully minimised the possibility of manipulation and exploitation of the participants. It was possible to be guided by the principles of the method even where the institutional requirements of the research prevented their application. If the aim of feminist research is social change for all women, including those who resist or are constrained from participating equally in research, adaptations to the method, such as those in the present research, are necessary. One must be flexible in selecting or designing a research method so as not to lose sight of the critical issue. In using memory-work, Haug (1987) came to the conclusion that what is needed is methodological imagination: "We can, perhaps, say quite decisively that the very heterogeneity of everyday life demands similarly heterogeneous methods if it is to be understood" (p.71).

Through the employment of memory-work in my study of women's and girls' holiday experiences, I have developed a deeper appreciation for the potential of the method. As B. Davies (1994) says, in using memory-work researchers "spin the web of themselves and find themselves in the act of that spinning, in the process of making sense out of the cultural threads through which lives are made" (p.83).

CHAPTER 13: HOLIDAY EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS OVER THE LIFE-COURSE: AN INTERPRETATION

INTRODUCTION

> From the Roman empire to the eighteenth century European grand tour, the rise of Cooks Tours and Club Med, travel for pleasure and adventure has been profoundly gendered. Without ideas about masculinity and femininity – and the enforcement of both – in the societies of departure and the societies of destination, it would be impossible to sustain the tourism industry and its political agenda in their current form. It is not simply that ideas about pleasure, travel, escape, bed-making and sexuality have affected women in rich and poor countries. The very structure of international tourism *needs* patriarchy to survive. Men's capacity to control women's sense of their security and self-worth has been central to the evolution of international politics. (Enloe 1990, p.40)

Domestic tourism also needs patriarchy to survive. While most of the contemporary literature on gender and tourism has centred on the host, the present study has focussed on the central, but largely forgotten, element of tourism, the tourist. However, taking the approach that tourist experiences are more than individual choice, that they reflect the discourses of the broader social context, requires the tourist experience to be situated and understood both within the context of "the societies of departure" and "the societies of destination". An understanding of the gendered host experience contributes to an understanding of the gendered tourist experience. The omnipresence of gender is expressed by Green et al. (1990): "even women who resist prescriptive definitions of femininity, the family and so on, do so in reaction against them. It is impossible simply to ignore them" (p.167).

The gendered nature of the holiday experience at particular ages/family life stages has been the focus of Chapters 7 to 11. The present chapter draws together the findings to address the research questions which have guided the study. The chapter examines the coherency of the women's and girls' subject positions as tourists within a particular socio-cultural and age/family life stage, historical context.

Themes which cut across age groups and cohorts are identified and an "embryonic" theory of women's and girls' holidays is developed. The holiday as a site of oppression and/or resistance to dominant gender and age discourses is discussed. Of particular significance are the historical differences suggesting cultural shifts in both gender and age discourses.

ADDRESSING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Question 1 asked: *Within each age cohort of women and girls what are the commonalities/differences in the holiday memories at a specified age?*

While there was not always consensus within a cohort about what made for a good or bad (not so good) holiday experience at a specified age, commonalities within cohorts were found to outweigh the differences. Postmodernism's stress on heterogeneity and cultural atomisation was not evident *within* age-cohort experiences.

Question 2 asked: *What are the commonalities/differences in holiday memories between same-aged women and girls at different historical times?*

Across the different cohorts, common themes in holiday experiences at a particular age emerged. However the themes were often experienced differently at different historical times. There were also themes which were specific to one age cohort. With only one cohort examining holidays at age 65+, there were no comparisons between cohorts.

Holidays at age 12 were distinguished from holidays at other ages by their focus on the physicality of the body. The stress was on fun. In the positive experiences this was reflected in bodily movement through swimming, skiing and other holiday sports. Sharing the holiday experience with a girlfriend of the same age was significant in defining the experience as positive for the current 12-, 20- and 40-year-old groups at age 12. Holidays which allowed the girls at age 12 freedom from the gaze of parents were valued. At the same time, a number of adult memories of holidays at age 12 were warmly inclusive of the family. Holidays at age 12 were remembered in terms of excitement, novelty, and adventure, particularly by the previous generations of girls. At age 12, different foods consumed on holiday distinguished the holiday as a special time. For the current 12-year-olds, the

experience of “luxury” conferred status and signified the holiday as a time for indulgence. While the relationship with travel companions was a positive theme, it could also be a negative experience for the four cohorts at age 12. In the negative memories the body appeared as a “hurting” body which had been stung, sunburned or was ill. Fear was an emotion which was common across the cohorts but of less significance to the 65+ age group than the other age groups. The title of Chapter 8 is “The Physical Me”. The focus on “me” was most relevant to the current 12-year-olds whose memories were often characterised by self-interest and lack of regard for others.

Holidays at age 20 were defined by social connectedness with peers. Holiday activities were less important than sharing the holiday with friends. Other people were also the source of negative experiences. The cohorts differed, however, in terms of travel companions. Usually the travel companions were female friends but for those aged 20 in the 1970s, the time of the “sexual revolution”, the travel companion was often a boyfriend. The meaning of the holiday was quite different when accompanied by a boyfriend as the women negotiated intimacy and respectability. Holidays at age 20 were a watershed for the women. This was the time of the first independent holiday, free from family and other adults. Holidays at age 20 were often distinguished from holidays at other ages by a lack of planning and spontaneity. These features were recalled as contributing to positive holiday experiences or negative experiences, depending on the circumstances. Lack of security and safety was apparent in the negative memories of the three cohorts at age 20, with men featuring in the memories of the current 20- and 40-year-olds as a source of fear. No doubt, the types of holidays undertaken in the second half of the twentieth century would expose women to greater risk to their personal safety than the holidays of 20-year-olds in the 1930s to 1950s. All three cohorts recalled experiences of physical discomfort during the holiday but this was most significant as a negative experience for the current 20-year-olds. Although the current 40-year-olds recalled physical discomfort, they downplayed this feature. Any discomfort was outweighed by their memories of a time in which they were free to indulge themselves on holiday, free from the responsibility for others. Caught up in the thick of motherhood and domesticity at their present age, memories of holidays at age 20 had a dreamlike quality. The importance of bodily appearance was evident

across the cohorts. Clothes were recalled as part of the holiday experience and, for many of those currently aged 20, a suntanned body completed the picture.

Holidays at age 40 were distinguished from holidays at other ages by the women's desire for freedom from the responsibility for others. A break from the emotional and physical work of mothering was sought, particularly by those currently immersed in active mothering. Alongside a desire for autonomy was the women's concern for the wellbeing and happiness of their families. The older cohort defined their holiday pleasures at age 40 in terms of their *children's* happiness. As with holidays at younger ages, sociability was an important component of the holiday experience at age 40 for both cohorts.

Holidays at age 65+ were examined by the cohort presently positioned in that age category. The holiday at age 65+ was defined by a pleasure in the world, particularly the natural environment. Once again, social connectedness was a significant theme in the women's holiday experiences. Physical comfort was important at 65+ years. Reported negative experiences related to the failure of the tourism industry to provide for the women's comfort and physical abilities. Safety and security were relevant features in a holiday for this group of women. The focus on competence by some of the women at age 65+ might be age-related or cohort-related.

Question 3 asked: *What are the commonalities/differences in holiday memories of women and girls of different ages at one historical time – the late 1990s?*

The titles of Chapters 8 to 11 depict the general consensus of what holidays mean for those currently aged 12, 20, 40 and 65+ years in the late 1990s. A comparison of these chapters depicts commonalities and differences in holiday experiences of different age groups at the present time. The commonalities relate to women's sociability, their pleasure in other people and, at the same time, freedom and autonomy from family. The holiday experience as embodied was also evident across the age groups. The study has also illuminated the different life worlds of girls and women at the end of the twentieth century. Evident from the findings are the different ways the various current age groups, located in specific family life stages, relate to themselves and others. That ego-centredness is related to age/family

life stage is apparent in the women's and girls' holiday experiences. The current 12-year-olds focussed on "me" in this moment. Their pleasure was hedonistic with no responsibility for self or others. The current 20-year-olds were becoming aware of responsibility for self as they commenced separation from family. The 40-year-old women, active in their motherhood role, were responsible for others. The current 65+-year-old women enjoyed freedom from responsibility for others. They were responsible for self (and good at it). They were only internally focussed if the tourism industry was not meeting their physical needs.

Associated with the women's and girls' social relationships was their age-related relationship to the physical environment of the destination. The current 12-year-olds actively related to the physical environment. Their bodies were fully located in the destination as they threw themselves into lots of physical activities. The environment was there for their enjoyment. By age 20 the physical environment was increasingly filled with other people and was the space in which the women interacted with others. Away from family, they had to negotiate an independent existence in this space. The physical environment was less important for the current 40-year-olds. For many women, it seemed any destination would do; any alternative to the home environment. The current 65+-year-old women had a more spiritual relationship to their physical environment. There was a respect for and wonderment of the planet. As with the women travellers of the past (described in Chapter 2), they did not want to dominate or conquer the landscape. They appeared to see themselves as a small dot in the larger whole. Their relinquishment of responsibility for others and the vast sweep of ages from which to reflect armed them with the capacity to detach from their immediate world, to step back and quietly survey. They had the luxury of time and space for themselves, which the current 40-year-olds lacked, to integrate that which they appraised. Immersed in the world, their gaze was not the detached gaze of the flâneur.

Question 4 asked: *How has each cohort constructed the holiday experience over their life-course?*

Through memory-work I aimed, like Haug et al. "to retrace in memory the patterns whereby individuals have worked their way into the social world" (Haug 1987, p.57). Holiday experiences were not factual events but were produced from the

discourses available to the women before, during and after the holiday event. The women drew on an abundance of life experiences to construct the holiday memories. A number of the women discussed the *concept* of memories, aware that what they were recalling had changed in the intervening years; memories were socially constructed. Taking a life-course approach I was interested in "the interlinkage between phases of the life course, rather than seeing each phase in isolation" (Arber & Evandrou 1993, p.9). Certain patterns of behaviour were evidently linked to earlier life experiences, indicating that holidays at particular ages gained their significance from the whole life-course: what was happening in the women's lives at the present time and what had gone on before. The presence of certain themes in the holiday experiences of the various cohorts at different ages was significant in relation to their absence at other ages. The women interpreted holidays in terms of what they had lost or gained in the interim periods. The focus on bodily appearance, for example, in the holiday memories at age 20, by the current 40- and 65+- year-olds, can be interpreted in terms of both previous and current discourses on "the body beautiful". The beautiful body is significant in the memories of holidays at age 20 since it was considered to have diminished by ages 40 and 65+ years.

The most apparent indication of an interlinkage was in the meaning of responsibility at different ages. Positioned as adults with responsibility for themselves and others, when recalling holidays at younger ages, the women focussed on their *lack* of responsibility. The 40- and 65+-year-old women, having now experienced motherhood themselves, also incorporated their mothers' responsibility for holidays into their memories of childhood. The focus on lack of responsibility at younger ages was demonstrated most strongly by those who were currently embedded in the motherhood role (the 40-year-olds) recalling holidays at age 20. Their memories highlighted the contrast between their holidays at age 20 and their holidays now. In turn, the 65+-year-old women, from a current position of lessened responsibility for others, recalled family holidays at age 40 more favourably than did those who were in the life stage of active mothering and full-time responsibility. The hardships at age 40 may have dulled or been reinterpreted in the light of loss of family (children and, for some, husbands) at age 65+. Despite society's disrespect for motherhood, circulating discourses see women as more relevant at age 40 than 65+ years.

Associated with memories of a lack of responsibility in childhood were the women's fond memories of family security and warmth at age 12. With few exceptions, the women as children felt loved, cared for and safe in the family fold. "The family" took on new meaning, more central to women's lives when the women became mothers. I repeat the memory of one 40-year-old who in recalling a holiday at age 12 said:

> *Jenny [Age 40]: ... as a 12-year-old, I had no insight into the ... family as a value thing. But as I grow older that's something that I consciously value more. So the meaningful holidays surround family, because that's what's important to me now ...*

Despite the women's lack of responsibility for others at age 12, their memories of childhood indicated greater care for others than did the memories of the current 12-year-olds. One interpretation is that women as adults through complying with the social discourse of adult femininity have produced memories of childhood from a framework of care. On the other hand, there is a common view that society is changing, that members are becoming more self-centred. In other words, the differences between the memories of the women and the girls at age 12 might have resulted from cohort changes rather than age differences. Certainly, it is difficult to imagine the adult women at age 12 exhibiting the same behaviour in the research setting as did many of the current 12-year-olds.

There are many other examples of the ways in which the women have "worked their way into the social world", such as the value the adult women placed on the simplicity of holidays in childhood and the meaning the 65+-year-old women attached to the world around them in later adulthood Bialeschki and Michener (1994) refer to "full circle" leisure (p.64) where women in later life can focus on the self, as they did prior to motherhood. However the place at which women arrive at age 65+ is a different place than the one left in their 20s. The tourist experience for women at age 65+, and all other ages, is meaningful only in terms of experiences across the life-course.

AN "EMBRYONIC" THEORY OF WOMEN'S AND GIRLS' HOLIDAYS

Drawing together the themes as identified in the previous chapters, it was evident that, although expressed differently at different ages/family life stages and historical

times, there were themes common to most age cohorts. It was also apparent that the themes were, for the most part, not those of the traditional holiday discourse. A strong element of the traditional holiday discourse is the search for difference in the physical destination through the landscape, culture and people. In the present study, there were some girls and younger women whose travel motives were exploration and learning but only in holidays at age 65+ did these motives appear as a theme. MacCannell (1976) claims that tourists travel in search of authenticity and yet there were only a couple of references to authenticity out of the many hundreds of holiday memories circulated. The lack of reference to photography which is considered "central within the tourist gaze" (Urry 2002, p.x) suggests that the destination was not important (or perhaps that women are not the photographers in the travel group). Neither was weather a major characteristic of good or bad experiences. Relaxation is often considered part of the tourist experience but this motive was prominent only in holidays at age 40. Crompton (1979) refers to regression in the holiday experience but this was not apparent in any of the memories. Prestige was a feature of holidays only at age 12. It might be expected that the tourism industry would figure prominently in the women's and girls' memories but its presence was strong only in memories of holidays at age 65+.

The following discussion expands on Question 5: *How can one theorise the holiday experience of women and girls?* In other words, how have the women come to experience tourism as they do? How have gendered and aged power relations constructed the women's tourist experiences? A theory of women's and girls' holiday experiences must acknowledge that women's voices are multiple. However, from the written and discussed memories across the age groups and cohorts, patterns of lived holiday experience and shared meanings can be identified. A theory of holiday experiences of this particular historically-situated, socio-cultural group of women and girls needs to incorporate the following themes: social connectedness, attentiveness to others, freedom from others and embodiment of the tourist experience.

Social Connectedness

A theory of women's and girls' holidays must acknowledge the significance of social connectedness for women, a theme well documented in other types of

women's leisure. At all ages women's lives are interwoven with others through the circulating discourses but for women the discourse of social connectedness links us directly with others. It is this socially constructed embeddedness in social interaction and personal relationships which differentiates women's lives from those of men (Chodorow 1989). While most prominent as a theme at age 20, social connectedness was an enduring theme for holidays across the age groups.

For holidays at age 12, having a girlfriend with whom to share the physical activities was essential to the success of a holiday. Peer relationships were a defining feature of both girls' and young women's subjectivities. At age 20 social relations were *the point* of the holiday. Through the holiday as a public arena (Reimer 1995) the young women could explore social relations. For holidays at age 40, the women were seeking a liminoid period, a time apart from their life at home. Although they wanted a change in their social relations, a full or partial reversal of their caring role as mothers, sociability remained a characteristic of their holiday memories. Graburn (1983a) explains the liminoid period as proposed by Turner:

> The content of the social relations is no longer normative, hierarchical and distant, but close and egalitarian, a state that he [Turner] calls communitas … people feel they are communicating with each other as individual persons rather than as performers of roles. (Graburn 1983a, p.14)

While communitas might be achieved in holidays at other ages, it was often not attained by the 40-year-old women holidaying with their children. A holiday was experienced negatively when there was no change from their home roles of mother, wife and homemaker. By age 65+ the tensions evident at age 40 had diminished. There appeared to be an easy-going relationship with travelling companions. Any problems appeared to be with tourism industry personnel, rather than travelling companions.

Developmental theories which view separation as leading to attachment and adulthood do not take into account women's experience of ongoing social connectedness. The view that intimacy and identity are connected runs counter to Erikson's (1963) androcentric life span development model which posits identity as

a stage before intimacy and generativity. For women the two are merged and appear to develop throughout life. Although such views which equate sociability and women might be accused of essentialism, such a relationship was apparent in the present study, although the relationship was less evident in holidays in later years when the women appeared to move "beyond me, us and them".

Tourism scholars writing on tourist motivation acknowledge social relationships as a reason for travel. Crompton (1979) refers to "Enhancement of Kinship Relations" (family bonding) and "Facilitation of Social Interaction" (meeting others, usually other tourists) and Pearce (1993) refers to "Relationship Needs" (self-directed and other-directed) while Krippendorf (1987) writes, "Travel is communication" (p.26) (by escaping the social isolation and alienation of home life, tourists are able to spend more time with family and close friends and meet other tourists). Dann (1977) considers that tourists who are escaping anomie in their home region will seek social interaction at the destination while MacCannell (1976) claims that tourists seek the real life of the host since their own society has lost meaning. In the present study, there was no evidence that the women or girls were escaping an anomic society or a society that has lost meaning. There were only a few references to women experiencing authentic "others". Significant social interaction was primarily with the women's and girls' travel companions, other tourists or family with whom they were staying. Crompton (1981) discusses the importance of the social group in enhancing a pleasure vacation: travel companions lower the cost of a trip, remove the risk of unwanted loneliness, share perspectives during the holiday and provide an interested party with whom to reminisce on return. The women in the present study cited similar reasons for travelling with another but they did not refer to any financial benefit. The tourism literature on solo travel identifies safety as a concern for women travellers. Other people can offer physical security as well as act as an emotional buffer in socially uncomfortable situations. Since being alone in public spaces such as restaurants and hotels can be uncomfortable for women, women may be particularly constrained by the lack of a travel companion. That the women and girls in the present study had no desire to travel solo suggests that they were well socialised in the mainstream holiday discourse which promotes the holiday as an activity for heterosexual couples, family or groups of young people. There was the general view amongst the women and girls that travelling solo would

not be a pleasurable experience and therefore certainly *not* a holiday. Women are increasingly experiencing the joys of solo travel but at the same time it is important not to lose sight of the benefits of travel in maintaining relationships.

A criticism of the traditional malestream tourist motivation theories is that they view the social motive as one of a number of travel motives. The theories fail to appreciate the totality of the social for most women. For most of the age groups in the present study, other people (travelling companions, other tourists, hosts, tourism industry personnel and even significant others at home) did not *enhance* the experience; they *were* the experience; they were the *essence* of the holiday. Throughout the collective discussion the women often claimed "other people make or break a holiday", confirming that "the meaning lies not in the activity itself … but in the context of relationship and responsibility" (Bella 1989, p.168).

> *Joan [Age 40]: It just seemed to me in most of the holidays ... if you were comfortable with the people, then everyone had positive experiences. And if they were negative it was because ... [you] weren't comfortable with the people. So it was, you know, like a relationship type of thing. And that seemed to come across through all the ages I thought (Others: Mmm, mmm).*

In addition to the functional benefits of a travel companion, it was clear in the present study that sociability, the inherent pleasure of being with others, was significant in the holiday experience. Wearing (1998) refers to Simmel in explaining sociability:

> Sociability is the pure play form of sociation where individuals meet together purely for the sake of meeting with others, with no serious motive or goal in mind – 'sociability has no objective purpose, no content, no extrinsic results, it entirely depends upon the personalities among whom it occurs. Its aim is nothing but the success of the sociable moment and, at most, a memory of it' (1950:45). (Wearing 1998, p.116)

The relationship of sociability and women's leisure is acknowledged in leisure studies writings. As Green et al. (1990) claim, "'Real leisure' should offer the opportunity for having fun in company, usually outside the home environment" (p.6). The findings in the present study confirm the view of others (Arber &

Evandrou 1993; Bernard & Meade 1993; Sizoo 1997b) that the theme of sociability continues throughout women's lives. According to Colley (Henderson et al. 1996) the chief incentive in leisure activity for women is social and for men it is competitive.

In the present study, fun and laughter were features of good holiday experiences, with fun being particularly apparent at ages 12 and 20. In the words of the 1980s Cyndi Lauper song, "Girls just want to have fun" and especially when on holiday. The tourism industry recognises fun and excitement as desirable elements of a holiday. As Makens (1992) says, "Resorts and children have much in common. Both are dedicated to having fun" (p.25). The scholarly tourism literature, strangely, has next-to-nothing to say about holidays and fun, nor has the leisure studies literature analysed the experience (Podilchak 1991). An explanation for the silence on fun can be found in the gap between the cultural code of leisure which "emphasizes individualistic, self-referential enjoyment models" (Podilchak 1991, p.137) and the defining features of fun: "a social emotional interactive process which deconstructs the social and historical biographical inequalities of lived experience to create a with-equal other social-human bond" (Podilchak 1991, p.134). The assertion that for men the incentive for leisure is competition and for women the incentive is social suggests that the cultural code of leisure is a masculine code which has no room for the non-hierarchical social dimension and consequent fun. Traditionally, fun and the social are seen as unrelated to self-development and a constraint to the concept of flow (Podilchak 1991). However, such distinctions might not be appropriate for women. The establishment of fun as a relationship construction indicates its relevance for women. The importance of the social in leisure for women's identity suggests that for women, fun contributes to subjectivity. When fun was experienced by the women and girls in the present study there was what Poldilchak (1991) called a "fusion of emotional intersubjectivity" (p.145). Rather than viewing fun passively, a more appropriate view, at least for women, is to see fun as resulting from the active engagement and the reframing of ("a growing out of" [p.140]) an activity with others (Podilchak 1991).

In the present study, there was a strong relationship between social connectedness and fun. Fun was most prominent when the participants holidayed with other

women and girls. Where women holidayed in hierarchical tourist spaces, for example, holidaying with their husband and family, the holiday was less likely to be experienced as fun. Patriarchal controls were reinforced. The question arises as to whether fun is more attainable in women-women holidays or whether there are dimensions other than gender of travel companions, such as a participant's age/family life stage, which militate against holidays at ages 40 and 65+ years being experienced as fun.

The interactive theme of women's holiday experiences is absent in theories of tourism which stress a subject/object relationship to the tourist destination, a "gazing" (Urry 1990) on the destination. In the present study, valued holiday experiences did not entail "gazing" on the destination. Even at age 65+ when the destination was most significant, the relationship between the women and the destination was not so much subject/object as interactive. The women were a part of the environment appreciating "the world in which I belong".

That the flâneur is an inappropriate concept for the women and the girls in the present study is evident. Wearing and Wearing (1996) more appropriately suggest that women's relationship with place can be better understood by thinking of the destination as "chora", an interactive space, and the woman tourist as "choraster". The focus is on the social interaction in that space. As Wearing and Wearing (1996) argue, "It is the experience of the interaction in this space that affects the socially constructed self that comes with and goes home with the tourist" (p.230). As they explain, "Tourist destinations as 'chora' allow tourism … to be seen as a process rather than as an activity in which a specific place as the object of the tourist gaze defines the specific experience open to the tourist" (p.235). Although it is the tourist-host interaction which interests Wearing and Wearing, the concept of "chora" as interactive space is also useful for explaining tourist-tourist interactions at the destination. In the present study, interactions with travelling companions or other tourists were the significant interactions in holidays at ages 12, 20 and 40 years. These were the interactions in the tourist space which for the most part affected what Wearing and Wearing referred to above as "the socially constructed self that comes with and goes home with the tourist" (p.230). As discussed later in this chapter, the

holiday space, as different from home space, allowed for new subjectivities to emerge.

While holidays at ages 12 and 20 were a site for reinforcing female friendships, at ages 40 and 65+ the women usually holidayed with the family or as a married couple, thus conforming to tourism operators' heterosexual image of holidays for middle-aged and older women. The older women might not have considered other possibilities. The women's choice of words in the following quotation indicates that these women had nothing against women-only travel but women were not their first choice as holiday companions at age 40.

> *Megan [Age 40]: ... But I could go on a holiday with a girlfriend. I mean, you know, that wouldn't bother me.*
> *Joan: Yeah, I would too, wouldn't bother me either.*
> *Other: Mmm.*

However, despite the customary presence of the husband on holiday, the women in the study rarely mentioned their relationship with their spouse as a positive feature of the holiday. An occasional reference to husbands arose in the positive memories where the current 40-year-olds holidayed as a couple without children. On the other hand, where women travelled with other women at ages 40 and 65+ it was evident that there was pleasure in sharing the experience. As the Crawford collective (1992) found, in women-only travel "there was a sense of shared adventure, shared satisfaction, mutual support … nobody was RESPONSIBLE" (p.144). Leisure studies writers claim that women's relationships with other women in leisure activities can be significant in identity construction, empowerment and resistance (Woodward & Green 1991; Ganetz 1995; Hamson 1995; Green 1998). Green et al. (1990) refer to "the sheer pleasure women can experience from the company of other women" (p.143).

Attentiveness to Others

Inherent in the women's memories of social connectedness was an awareness of and attentiveness to others. While not insensitive to *peer* approval, the memories of the current 12-year-olds did not display the consciousness of others that was evident in the women's memories of holidays at different ages. The women were alert to

others' emotions and activities; they could appreciate the responsibility of other women, such as mother or sister, for maintaining the holiday. They imagined men's holiday experiences and the women currently aged 40 envisioned the holiday experiences of women without children**.** The positive and negative emotions the women recalled in holiday experiences were born out of sensitivity to their relations with others: joy, excitement, embarrassment, shame, guilt and fear. The women were concerned how others viewed them and, as such, were no different from women travellers of previous times who "because of their socialisation as sexualised objects of a male gaze" (Mills, S. 1991, p.98) were concerned about appearances. They were attentive to others' perceptions of their behaviour and bodily appearance.

A dominant feature of "awareness of others" was concern and caring for others. Lesko (1988) explains that "Caring assumes a fundamental relation among people and their actions and is grounded upon a relational and interpretive form of thinking" (p.139). The women in the present study were similar to those described by Job (1984), "the behavioural 'blueprint' was based on network-maintenance" (p.198).

It was apparent in the memories of the women at different ages across the life-course that much of the labour to maintain the holiday was undertaken by the woman in the family. As one of the 40-year-old groups claimed, in examining holiday memories across the life-course "the feeling of responsibility for another comes up". Especially in the memories of holidays at age 40, the women anticipated, facilitated and monitored the needs of others. As with the findings in leisure and sport studies (Malaxos & Wedgwood 1997), it is women who provide the space and time for children and husbands to participate in leisure. Writers (such as Urry 1990; Crawford et al. 1992) have claimed that the holiday as an escape from one's life at home is a source of knowledge *of* life at home. Urry (1990) says that "rather than being a trivial subject tourism is significant in its ability to reveal aspects of normal practices which might otherwise remain opaque" (p.2). Through an examination of the extraordinary, the ordinary is revealed. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the holiday experiences of women at age 40. This study highlights the profound burden on women of emotionally and physically caring for others. Since the home is not a leisure space for mothers but rather a site for physical labour and emotion

labour (Hochschild 1983), the women needed to leave home to experience leisure benefits. Wearing (1998) asserts that if women are also required to employ "deep acting" in the paid workforce, "where true feelings are hidden and the smile covers all" (p.122) then "the need for alternative leisure spaces, apart from the family, for emotional expression for women becomes imperative" (p.122). Despite exhibiting the greatest need for a holiday, this was the group least likely to achieve a break from routine.

Women's servicing of others allows little time for women to satisfy their own leisure needs. As stated by Walkerdine (1990b), the danger in women's and girls' immersion in caring is that anger and conflict can be displaced. It is women's interconnectedness and responsibility to others which according to Gilligan (1993) defines women's morality and differentiates it from men's ethic of justice. Gilligan claims that "women not only define themselves in a context of human relationship but also judge themselves in terms of their ability to care" (p.17). It is the conflict between caring for self or other which poses a moral problem for women. It is when women are able to blend an ethic of justice and an ethic of care that relationships move from a "bond of continuing dependence to a dynamic of interdependence" and "a source of moral strength" (p.149) in which women find their own voice. Gilligan's "ethic of care" was evident in the women's memories of holidays at different ages. The ethic of justice, while generally not as predominant as the ethic of care, was also apparent in the holiday memories. The girls and women in the present study could be seen to blend ethics of justice and ethics of care in different combinations. Such findings coincide with those of Gilligan (1988), Gilligan and Attanucci (1988) and Lyons (1988) who found that modes of moral thinking are "related to but not defined by or confined to gender" (Lyons 1988, p.39). While the above writers contribute to an understanding of women's and girls' relationships to others, they do not explain the differences found in the present study between memories of holidays at different ages by different age groups. The memories need to be considered within their socio-cultural historical contexts since cohort differences were apparent especially in holiday experiences at age 12.

Modes of moral orientation are also related to modes of identity. In holidays at age 40, women's subjectivity was defined by their position as mothers, as carers.

Holidays at this age were understood in terms of caring (negative experience) or absence of care (positive experience). Although Henderson (1991c) claims an ethic of care can "empower women to gain great satisfaction from their relationships with others," she acknowledges that caring is experienced negatively when "women have no choice in when it will be offered" (p.x). In the present study the women may have had no choice in caring for others. The core beliefs of the ideology of motherhood as expressed by Wearing (1984) were particularly apparent in the memories of holidays at age 40 for those women currently aged 65+. The older women at age 40 had been always available to their children, putting their needs first. They assumed total responsibility for their children. The women believed that motherhood was rewarding despite the lack of financial and status rewards.

Gilligan (1993) has been accused of essentialism; that she is forcing on all women one version of womanhood which is relevant for Western women who are white and middle class. Porter (1991) argues that what is called a "maternal morality" is not restricted to women but is open to anyone who is in the position of regularly caring for others. I agree with Holstein-Beck (1995) that "Theories should be explicitly historical and remark on what is specific to different cultures" (p.111). However, when white middle-class women from a Western country are those who are being studied, it is senseless to throw out the views of Gilligan, especially when they are intelligible in explaining the women's memories of their holiday behaviour. Women's memories of feelings of guilt and selfishness when they exerted control on the holiday by putting themselves first can be explained by Gilligan (1993): "guided by the perception of others' needs, they can see no way of exercising control without risking an assertion that seems selfish and hence morally dangerous" (p.143). As Nay (1999) states, "The guilt associated with breaching the moral imperative also constitutes a strong controlling influence" (p.153).

In terms of achieving a strong and mature sense of self, Porter's (1991) notion of a synthesis of voices rather than Gilligan's convergence of voices is perhaps a better explanation. As Porter says, "I assume the *inseparability of the self context*, and advocate a genuine self-in-relations" (p.170). Porter's preference for "self-in-relations" over Gilligan's female relational-self or male self-and-relations is based on a belief in multiple voices rather than a female- or male-dominated voice.

Bella (1989) argues against the malestream definition of leisure which "[refers] to a dichotomy between work and leisure, and has been associated with the idea of freedom from obligation" (p.172). She considers that people's lives can be better understood through an examination of relationships rather than the leisure-work dichotomy. Since obligation is always present in relationships, Bella (1989) claims that "freedom from obligation has no meaning or value" (p.168) within the principle of "relationality". In the present study, "relationality" was, as Wine (in Bella 1989) claims, the "principle centrally representative of women's experience" (p.168). However, in holidays at age 40, the women were, at the same time, seeking freedom from obligation: they wanted relationships but not obligations. Overloaded with obligations to others at home, in the holiday they sought relief from the pressure of caring. They would have been very happy with a malestream definition of leisure! They certainly could imagine leisure in terms of unobstructed time and physical space to pursue their interests. Women know what leisure ought to be when, on return home, they complain that "it wasn't a holiday!" A theory of women's holidays needs to acknowledge relationality but also women's need to escape obligations to others. In departing from one's home region and staying overnight elsewhere a holiday can be experienced as qualitatively different from other forms of leisure. The concept of escape is more often associated with tourism than other forms of leisure.

Women who are immersed in the family to such an extent that their sense of identity merges with the family need space away from the family to try to regain a sense of themselves. Holidays provided a space for women to expand their sense of identity beyond that of carer of others. Taking control of their lives, many of the current 40-year-old women resisted the motherhood discourse which states that mothers should be in attendance to the needs of their children at all times. The obverse was also evident; especially in holidays at age 40, women's traditional identity of carer was reinforced.

Freedom from Others

In a discussion of tourist freedom, Dann (1997) identified the constraints of home from which the tourist wants to escape: weather, social position, fear of death,

purchase constraints and oppression from modernity and fear of postmodernity. None reflected the constraints outlined by the women and girls in the present study. Neither was the freedom enjoyed on holidays by the women and girls freedom from academic study or paid work. These findings highlight the difficulty and irrelevance of defining *women's* leisure in terms of paid work. Although one group of women did recall holidays at age 20 as being an escape from their employment, the work from which they were escaping entailed physical and emotional care, similar to the mother role.

> Eleanor [Age 65+]: It was wonderful to have a holiday from the busy life of nursing, to move away from caring for sick people, to have fun by ourselves…

The freedom of which the women and girls primarily spoke was autonomy from family members. I take the view of Everingham (1994) that autonomy

> is a form of subjectivity that is constructed in relation to another's claim to autonomy, in concrete social situations which are imbued with power … autonomy cannot be analysed as a developmental concept, achieved through the acquisition of cognitive and linguistic skills or through the inevitable struggle with an authoritarian father. (Everingham 1994, p.6)

In holiday memories at ages 12 and 20 freedom was autonomy from the authority of parents. Holiday spaces can satisfy what Ganetz (1995) describes as a distinguishing feature of youth culture, "this search for places where one can be in control; a place to be alone with friends, a place free from parental or other adult interference" (p.87). As Ganetz (1995) says, "These free spaces are absolutely essential if the individual, together with others in similar situations, is to be able to seek, experiment and shape his or her own identity and subjectivity" (p.87). While girls have always been more controlled than boys, girls today are entering more public spaces than they did in the past. However, as Ganetz (1995) says, they still use these spaces differently than do boys: "girls do not control the street in an outgoing, aggressive way but utilize it as an arena for relationships in a mixed- or single-sex gang" (p.87).

Holidays at age 20 can be seen as having a special significance. Tourism has been referred to as a rite of passage marking "the passage of personal life from one status to another" (Graburn 1983a, p.12). For young adults the holiday might be the first extended time away from parents or the first time overseas. As Reimer (1995) says, "it is during the restless and mobile period of youth that the need and desire to test the new and carve out individual identities is strongest" (p.128).

Positive holiday experiences at age 40 were associated with freedom from children and the associated domestic and caring tasks: an escape from the motherhood discourse. Such freedom was attained through physical and emotional separation. It is paradoxical that women not in the paid workforce often see themselves as unentitled to leisure and holidays and yet, for those women who are in the paid workforce, it is their home role, not their paid position from which they have the greatest need to escape.

Betschild (1995) found in her study of women's leisure in mid-life that it wasn't until women were free from the obligations of responsibility for others that they had the freedom to choose what they wanted to do for themselves. She additionally claimed that,

> this 'shift' of perspective also seems to occur to a degree, with women who have not had the specific roles of wives and/or mothers. It is almost as though they take on aspects of these roles to fit into the cultural norm. Certainly the role of being a prospective bearer of children is an issue and perhaps it is not until the 'biological clock' runs out that they can feel free of this restriction. (Betschild 1995, p.100)

Although the women at 65+ recognised that they could now please themselves on holiday, freedom was not a significant theme at age 65+. At this age "escape" was less important to the women. It might be that the women by age 65+ are experiencing a sense of freedom in their everyday lives: they do not have to become a tourist to experience freedom. The women were enjoying family holidays. Since their children were no longer living at home, spending time with their offspring and with their grandchildren on holiday could be interpreted as an "extraordinary" experience for the women. Family holidays might be even more precious for the

next cohort of older women who, due to employment and other activities, have had less time to spend with their grandchildren.

Embodiment of the Tourist Experience[1]

The emergent themes which have been outlined in Chapters 7 to 11 cannot be understood without reference to the body, since it is through the body that the holiday is experienced. Indeed, a definition of tourism implies a body which travels from the home region to another geographical space and stays overnight at the destination. And it is the body in proximity to a particular place, person or event at the destination which allows for bodies to be "corporeally alive" (Urry 2002, p.155) and for "intense moments of co-presence" (Urry 2002, p.150) to occur.

In the present study the body was evident in a number of ways. It was a body which was engaging in the physical activities and providing sensory feedback from bodily movement. This could be positive as in skiing or negative in terms of travel sickness. In addition to the kinaesthetic sense, the body emerged in the holiday memories through the other senses: sights, smells, tastes, sounds and touch. Illness and physical discomfort which emerged as themes in holidays at certain ages cannot be comprehended without acknowledging bodily sensations. The body was present in the recalled emotions of the women and girls in their holiday experiences. The body also inserted itself into the tourist experience through the physical appearance of the women. Of relevance in the holiday experience were clothing and suntans. The changing body was also apparent as women grew older. Monthly changes were also noted by a few women. Although the participants did not identify "the body" as a common theme, they shared an understanding of the positive and negative bodily *aspects* of a holiday. From the present findings, it was apparent that subjectivity is not defined singly by the mind. The body also defines subjectivity. In the present study, there was some evidence of cohort differences but there were also commonalities between cohorts; bodies were in many ways chronologically age-specific.

[1] The term, "embodiment" is used by B. Turner (1996) to capture "the notions of making and doing the work of bodies – of becoming a body in social space" (p.xiii).

Bodily Movement

Holidays at all ages involved physical activities. Holidays provided the women and girls with time and space for exercise, especially swimming and walking. The beach was a popular holiday site for all age groups. In line with Towner's (1995) findings of beach usage, the women and girls were more likely to cite swimming than surfing as a beach activity. Physical activities differed according to age and cohort. While swimming was a popular activity of holidays at all ages and for all cohorts, enjoyment in skiing and theme park rides was associated with holidays at ages 12 and 20, and only for those currently of those ages. Walking increased in popularity as the women aged. However, it was only at age 12 that a strong pleasure in bodily movement emerged as a theme. Enjoyment in the body at age 12 related to fun rather than the development of power and strength. After age 12, bodily movement was only rarely cited as a positive holiday experience. Wearing (1998) cites the findings of Young to explain women's constraints in using their bodies in space.

> Constraints begin to appear as soon as they are told not to get hurt, not to get dirty, not to tear clothes and not to attempt dangerous challenges. In order to transcend such prescriptions a conscious effort is needed. Boys have been encouraged to use space quite differently from an early age – they see it as their natural right to throw their bodies into the available space, to get dirty and to attempt challenging bodily tasks. (Wearing 1998, p.110)

Girls' diminishing involvement in sport during adolescence is well documented (Roberts 1996). In the present study, when sports were mentioned, they were individual sports; most activity was informal, swimming, jumping, bike riding etc. There was no evidence of competition. The importance of having a friend with whom to share their holiday activities is reflected in the sports studies of girls and women which document the value of social interaction over competition for girls and women. Although studies have found some negotiation and resistance to the feminine discourse of women and physical activity (Henderson & Bialeschki 1993; Little & McIntyre 1995) subordination to the feminine discourse was more evident in the present study. There was only one woman (currently aged 20) whose holiday involved organised sport (a trip interstate to represent her university). However, her memory of the trip related to bad relations with her team mates. The fact that she

didn't get to play her sport *at all* was only mentioned as an afterthought. Another 20-year-old said of a skiing holiday:

> *Other(Kristen's group) [Age 20]: ... you go away and you're with your friends so ... you don't feel like you have to go skiing.*
> *Kimberley: Yeah, like you don't have to do anything.*
> *Other: Mmm.*
> *Other: You're on holidays, you decide you're different. You don't need to do anything.*
> *Other: No problem.*
> *Kimberley: Yeah.*

Holidays can offer opportunities for physical activity. Squire (1995) in her analysis of earlier women tourists in the Canadian Rockies found that tourism offered the women the opportunity for physical exercise that would have been unacceptable at home. Grace Seton-Thompson (cited in Squire 1995) explained in 1900:

> 'It is [a] pleasure to use your muscles, to buffet with the elements, to endure long hours of riding, to run where walking would do, to jump an obstacle instead of going around it, to return, physically at least, to your pinafore days when you played with your brother'. (Squire 1995, p.8)

The benefits of physical activity surpass the health benefits. Through physical activity, the body can be liberated. As Wearing (1998) says:

> When women do make the effort to refuse what they have been told they are and to reach towards their potential in the area of bodily movement and the use of space, there is some evidence from the leisure literature of a corresponding increase in self-confidence and a new and exciting awareness of bodily power. For example, women who participate in outdoor adventures such as rock climbing, canoeing, camping, bush walking, scuba diving, body-building and weight-lifting report emotional, physical and psychological benefits. (Wearing 1998, p.110)

A renegotiation of the boundaries for women's use of their bodies in space leads to "a femininity that is expansive rather than constrictive" (Wearing 1998, p.112) and "indicates a possible change in subjectivities for women away from that predicated on the fragility of the female body" (p.113). The benefit of using the body gives women control over their bodies rather than being the object of men's gaze and control.

Sensual Experience

It was evident from the present study that a holiday could be not only a kinaesthetic experience but a complex sensual encounter. The instructions for writing the holiday memory suggested that participants "might find it helpful to think, not only of the visual sights, but also, sounds, smells, tastes, and touch". In the women's and girls' memories it was apparent that the visual sense dominated but that many holiday memories were associated with other senses: sounds (the crisp sound of snow, animals), smells (salt water, animals, toilets, flowers), taste (food and drink) and touch (weather, pebbly beaches). The report of strong bodily sensations by women backpackers in different travel contexts led Elsrud (1998) to suggest that "intensified bodily sensations appear when clock-time is moved out of focus and living becomes a 'being in the present'" (p.321). The traveller has the time to listen to the body, "to let the body do the talking, creating and signalling its own rhythmical time" (p.323).

Traditionally our understanding of the tourist experience has privileged the visual (which has more to do with the mind and masculinity) over the body and other senses (which are related more closely to femininity). Until recently the holiday has been portrayed as a "sensory void" (Dann & Jacobsen 2002, p.211). The findings in the present study support those of Selänniemi (cited in Dann & Jacobsen 2002) that "'Everything in mass tourism is not about looking at places, or to put it more exactly, to see places. The sense of sight is not exclusive in experiences of the vacation'" (p.210). A gendered understanding of the holiday must go beyond Urry's (1990) visual gaze. Urry's (2002) revised edition of *The Tourist Gaze* is more relevant in an understanding of women's and girls' experiences. While acknowledging that the typical Western tourist experience is visual, Urry in the later edition of his text also recognises that "there is nothing inevitable or natural about this organising power of vision" (p.146). As he claims, "There are … complex connections between bodily sensations and socio-cultural 'sensescapes' mediated by discourse and language" (p.152).

In the present study, the sense of touch was present in both positive and negative memories. Physical comfort and discomfort resulted from the air temperature, the feeling of clothes, bluebottle stings, the texture of the ground etc. Physical

discomfort was a particularly strong theme for holidays at age 12 and holidays at age 65+. Illness from travel motion, sunburn, heat stroke, food poisoning etc. resulted in pain While tourism writers have written about travel illness (and by implication, the body) the meaning of illness has not been studied. In the present study, illness emerged as a theme in many of the memories but was most dominant for the current 12-year-olds and the 65+ age women recalling holidays at age 40. In their review of travel-related illnesses, Cossar et al. (cited in Clark & Clift 1994) also reported age differences but these did not correspond to those found in the present research. The sense of taste has been discussed in Chapter 7 and is represented in the pleasures and displeasures of certain food and drink for all age groups, particularly in the memories of holidays at ages 12 and 20. A developing interest in this sense is evident in food and wine tourism (Hjalager & Richards 2002; Hall, C.M., Sharples, Mitchell, Macionis & Cambourne 2003). The senses least likely to be present in the women's and girls' memories were hearing and smell and they were less likely to appear in the memories of the younger groups than the older groups. These senses appeared more often in the written memories than in the discussion. It is uncertain whether age differences were a result of differences in accessibility to sensations or ability to articulate sensations. As stated previously, the younger participants were less likely to follow the instructions for the written memories (part of which required attention to the different senses) than were the older women.

It is only recently that tourism scholars have considered the olfactory as a component of the tourist experience. If the sense of smell is superior in women than men (Synott cited in Dann & Jacobsen 2002), the traditional denigration of this sense in the tourist experience is also a denigration of women's experience. Dann and Jacobsen (2002), while highlighting the role of the olfactory in the tourist experience, also report the difficulty in articulating smells and our need to rely on "the help of those with a special gift for words … who are particularly adept at evaluating and conveying their lived impressions of places and peoples" (p.215). Having stated that smells are learned and women have a superior sense of smell, one might then question why Dann and Jacobsen (2002) omit from their discussion (with the exception of Jan Morris) any female writers "with a special gift for words" to express their olfactory "lived impression of places and peoples"! Ironically, even

when male tourism scholars venture across the binary to the woman's position - the body, it is male knowledge of the body which is presented as the norm.

A theory of women's (and men's) tourist experiences also needs to account for sensual changes with age, particularly hearing, taste and smell as well as sound and the fluidity of meanings of the tourist experience contingent on these changes. Discourse may not create the senses but it helps us "make sense" of the senses.

Veijola and Jokinen (1994) explain: "When you hear, see, smell, sense and taste, you are in a context, connected. Thoughts may wander around and emotions vary, but a person has become a part of the unity, become a participant" (p.140). Being part of the unity is apparent in the following holiday experience recalled from 1925:

> Susan [Age 65+]: [At age 12] Summer at the Lake was sheer heaven … A pump outside the door delivered the sweetest water one could ever drink, and visitors from town declared it a beautiful nectar … Every day they donned their pure wool bathing suits, neck to knee (*Other: neck to knee*), with a waist to knee all round skirt as well. Susan's mother's bathing suit had sleeves to the elbow, but Susan's was more modern, with only a bit of a sleeve covering her shoulders (*Other: Oh*). How hot and scratchy they were, and how heavy when one walked out of the water, with all that sodden mass of material. And how itchy as they dried. But oh to be swimming in that refreshing cold lake … The beauty of the night noises to a city child are still fresh in Susan's mind. Whip-poor-wills, owls and the lonely call of a loon from the lake. The lake, they knew her every mood. Early morning while it was still dark, rowing off quietly into the middle of the lake to be there before the sun rose. Rowing noiselessly so as not to disturb the fish, the fowl and the birds, the glory of watching the sun rise behind the trees, the ducks swimming and from their night time nesting spot, the geese flying overhead.

Emotional Experience

> Freund points out that our feelings are constantly in process and are not only expressed through mental activities but through the mind and body acting as a unity, so that emotions are always in some way embodied (1990:458). (Wearing 1998, p.126)

Memories of emotions experienced in holidays clearly situate the body in the holiday experience. Wearing's (1998) assertion that leisure spaces have the potential "to contribute to the expression of emotions in a positive way under the emotionally constrained circumstances of contemporary society" (p.123) also applies to tourist spaces. Although there were age and cohort differences in terms of *which* emotions were remembered from holidays at different ages, holidays were

emotional experiences for all age groups. Tourism sites allowed for the expression of positive emotions, such as happiness, joy and the excitement of adventure. If adventure is to be found beyond everyday, common routines, as Goffman (cited in Mitchell, R. 1988) claims, holidays can offer opportunities for women and girls to experience emotions which cannot be experienced at home. Adventure is part of the traditional masculine discourse rather than an element of femininity. S. Mills (1991) highlights the historical silence on women and adventure. According to S. Mills (1991), even in women's travel writing of the colonial period adventure could not be highlighted as it would be read as odd or false.

As portrayed in the present thesis, the tourist site is also the location for negative emotional experiences which are part of the discourse of femininity: shame, guilt, embarrassment, fear and hurt. Although fear of men emerged as an experience of negative holidays for a number of women in the present study, S. Mills (1991) in her analysis of women's travel writing in the colonial context found no references to fear or experience of sexual threat. Just as the women were constrained in admitting to adventure, they were no doubt constrained in admitting to fear. The emotions identified in the present study are similar to the emotions which emerged in Crawford et al.'s (1992) study of women's memories of holidays.

At the same time as the mind/body dichotomy has been challenged by feminists and social constructionists so too has the rationality/emotion dichotomy. Once again this dualism is male/female with men associated with rationality and women with emotion, men at the centre and women at the margin.

The emotional experience of holidays was not limited to the duration of the holiday; it was often lasting. A number of women in recalling holidays at younger ages reported reliving the *emotion* of the experience and also the sensations. Many women "could still" taste/smell/feel/hear and see the elements of the holiday. The memory-work session was an embodied experience of the past!

Bodily Appearance

In the present study the body "as project" appears in the experiences of holidays at different ages, particularly at age 20. It was at this age that bodily appearance

(through clothes and suntan) was most discussed. To illustrate the meaning of bodily appearance, it is useful to situate the holiday experiences within the life-course. The suntan emerged as a theme for the current 20-year-olds at age 20. It was not a memory of the 65+ age group at any age. A few of the current 12-year-olds referred to suntanning suggesting that this aspect defining the older girls' bodily project is taken on board at an earlier age. As Urry (1990) says, "*The* ideal body has come to be viewed as one that is tanned" (p.38) and the holiday is closely associated with the suntan. On the negative side, the suntan is a resistance to the medical discourse which warns against the dangers of tanning. Clothes are also part of the body project. In the women's memories at age 12 clothes were a sign of aspiration, whether they be the "groovy outfits" of air hostesses or the glamorous clothes of a visited aunt.

> Susie [Age 40]: [Aunt] Shirley was a beautiful woman and had beautifully elegant clothes. Susie and all her sisters tried everything on, including her wedding dress and pearl tiara and veil almost every day.

It was at age 20 that clothes were written about and discussed in detail (and examined in Chapter 9). The clothes reflected the fashion of the time for the different age groups. Memories of clothes had a different meaning as the women aged. The fondness with which the women remembered their clothes (and bodies) at age 20 can be understood within the women's contemporary experience of their body.

At age 20, the women saw themselves as the objects of the gaze of others and themselves. As J. Berger (1972) maintains, women "do to themselves what men do to them. They survey, like men, their own femininity" (p.63). In reference to women's self-surveillance, Wolff (1990), says, "Sandra Bartky identifies the 'panoptical male connoisseur' in women's consciousness" (p.126). Foucault (1980) emphases the power of the gaze:

> there is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorising to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against himself. (Foucault 1980, p.155)

The women's experience of others' gaze was depicted in the negative experiences of lacking the correct clothes or lacking privacy where the naked or semi-naked body was exposed to others. Outside the privacy of the home space which occurred on holiday women could find themselves in the unpleasant situation of having their femininity threatened. They experienced embarrassment when that which was normally hidden was exposed. As Bordo (1989) says:

> Through the exacting and normalizing disciplines of diet, make-up, and dress – central organizing principles of time and space in the days of many women – we are rendered less socially oriented and more centripetally focused on self-modification. Through these disciplines, we continue to memorize on our bodies the feel and conviction of lack, insufficiency, of never being good enough. (Bordo 1989, p.14)

Ganetz (1995) refers to 'womanliness as a masquerade'.

> This very obvious element of the masquerade, of 'dressing up', has prompted some researchers to suggest that femininity and, by extension, women's clothes, are actually a mask – something that conceals something else. What this 'something else' is, is much disputed: according to some of the post-modernists who most enthusiastically promulgate the theory, it is 'emptiness'. Femininity is nothing in itself, it is not a biological core or essence. (Ganetz 1995, p.78)

As Ganetz states, the problem with this theory is that "pleasure and satisfaction in the aestheticizing of one's own body, is made invisible, as is subjectivity, or the possibility of expressing and finding oneself" (p.79). There can be a pleasure in resistance to dominant images of the body. However, there is debate as to the extent of the opportunities for subversion (Bordo 1993). The argument that all women, including the most subordinate, can resist the dominant discourse of the female body is countered by the claim that such an approach "fails to account for the success and durability of this precarious male dominance" (Holland, Ramazanoğlu, Sharpe & Thomson 1994, p.35).

Absence of the Body

As stated above, in different ways the body was present in the holiday experience. However, in other unexpected ways, the body was absent. Of the eighty-six women who took part in the study and the hundreds of holiday memories, it might have been expected that female bodily processes would have featured – menstruation, pregnancy, breastfeeding, sexuality. Pregnancy and breastfeeding were never mentioned and in only three instances did menstruation figure. When the topic was raised it was "dealt with" quickly and quietly "disposed of" with little fuss. Despite the identification of holidays with the "four Ss" (sun, sand, sea and sex), sexual behaviour figured only in memories of holidays at age 20, and even then it was more allusion than direct comment. Such observation confirms Davidson's (1996b) finding that sexual relationships did not feature in women's discussion of holidays. As stated in Chapter 9, there was much tension for many of the current 40-year-olds when holidaying with their boyfriends at age 20. Holland et al. (1994) refer to "the careful social construction of disembodied sexuality" (p.24). Sexuality must be concealed in order to be considered respectable and decent. It is possible that female bodily processes and sexuality were irrelevant to women's holiday experiences. However, the collectives' response to the raising of such matters (quiet dismissal) suggests that the women were relegating female bodily processes to the private sphere and, in doing so, were reinforcing patriarchal control of women's bodies. Tinkler (1995) confirms that for those growing up between 1920 and 1950 "the external and also internal dimensions of the female body were cross-cut by a public/private division such that the breasts and genitalia, the changes of adolescence, menstruation and pregnancy were not publicly discussed" (p.185). Despite changes in the construction of girlhood, the private/public division appears to still exist especially for the older groups of women.

In examining the socially constructed body, the question remains, is the body no more than discourse? In the present study, the women's and girls' experiences reflected a materiality, a physicality, a *lived* bodily experience: bodily movement, the pain of sunburn, the sensation of happiness and fear. It is difficult to consider the body as simply a blank slate to be inscribed. It is alive: a breathing, digesting, defecating, sleeping, menstruating, lactating organism. Physical processes and sensations are not independent of discourse but neither are they the consequence of

discourse. Harper (1997) refers to "the ongoing tension between the body as constructed and the body as experienced, the body as an inscribed exterior and the body as a lived interior" (p.161). Grosz (1993) deals with this tension by connecting the "two" bodies. Grosz (1993) explains the body "as a kind of *hinge* or threshold: it is placed between a psychic or lived interiority and a more sociopolitical exteriority that produces interiority through the *inscription* of the body's outer surface" (p.196). To avoid the dichotomous, mutually exclusive categories of mind and body, new terminology is required. Grosz (1994) suggests that "some kind of understanding of *embodied subjectivity*, of *psychical corporeality*, needs to be developed" (p.22). The body is matter but it is not a fixed essence on which the social is inscribed. As Holland et al. (1994) say, "The material body and its social construction are entwined in complex and contradictory ways which are extremely difficult to disentangle in practice" (p.22). In terms of the women's and girls' tourist experiences, the body is the matter to be adorned, the seat of physical activity, illness, discomfort, smells, sounds, taste; "as well as of the social images and meanings of these" (Holland et al.1994, p.34). However, as Bordo (1989) says, the body is more than "a *text* of culture". It is also "a *practical*, direct locus of social control" (p.13). The body is gendered and aged.

Contemporary consumerism's emphasis on "pleasure, desire, difference, and playfulness" (Turner, B. 1996, p.2) is enacted in tourism. The tourism industry recognises the body in tourism through the various senses: sights (attractions); smells (flowers, food etc); sounds (music, birds, animals etc.); taste (food and drink); touch (climate, massage, comfort of accommodation etc.); and kinaesthetics (movement of the body in snorkelling, skiing etc.). The tourism promotional literature is emotionally charged to attract the tourist. The tourism discourse constructs the tourist body as slim, tanned, young, Caucasian, female and bikini-ed. Underlying the discourse are power relations. The body is at the core of different types of tourism: sex tourism, sports tourism, health tourism, snowbird tourism. Hargreaves (1986) comments that, "The body is clearly an object of crucial importance in consumer culture and its supply industries" (p.14). Tourism is an industry in which the body is central to its purpose. Given that the selling of tourism by the tourism industry involves the commodification of the body, Shilling's (2003)

reference to the body as an "absent presence" is even more significant in tourism studies than in many other fields of study. Veijola and Jokinen (1994) claim:

> one starts to feel that tourism researchers (including us) have, in analysing the authentic, the undestroyed and the nostalgic in tourism, squeezed their subject too tight – without ever really embracing it. Or embracing only rhetorically, ignoring the body. (Veijola & Jokinen 1994, p.126)

In recent years there has been a developing feminist interest in the commodification (and exploitation) of women's bodies in the promotion of tourism (discussed in Chapter 3). Nonetheless, the gendered body is an under-researched area of tourism (McCabe 2002) as is the aged body.

The privileging of the mind over body is perhaps more evident in tourism studies than in other fields of study, as scholars have struggled to be taken seriously, to be seen as engaging in a legitimate topic of scholarly endeavour. In making the field academically "respectable", writers, including those taking a social constructionist approach, have maintained a separation of body and mind ignoring the body in favour of the mind. Culture has dominated the body; the male has dominated the female. Scholars can be accused of elitism in shunning the hedonistic "beach" tourist in favour of the "cultural" tourist. They have ignored the fact that many tourists travel for corporeal reasons rather than for improvement of the mind or to experience authenticity of others' lives. They have also failed to acknowledge that even the "cultural" tourist has a body!

THE HOLIDAY: A SITE OF COMPLIANCE OR RESISTANCE?

Holiday experiences, for the most part, were pleasurable for the women and girls. They usually found it easier to recall a positive experience free of constraints than a negative experience. Nonetheless, the claim by Graburn (1983a) that tourism is "the epitome of *freedom* and personal choice characteristic of Western individualism" (p.13) is not the conclusion from this study of women's and girls' holiday experiences. In comparing leisure studies and tourism studies, Jordan (1998) says:

> There is a stark contrast between feminist studies of leisure which have identified social control and male regulation of public space as a major constraint to women's leisure participation, and tourism research which suggests that the holiday is a site for leisure where the individual is relatively unbounded by social norms. (Jordan 1998, p.72)

The leisure studies literature contains a body of knowledge on gendered leisure constraints. As Rojek (in Henderson 1991a) states, "at every stage in the life cycle, the leisure time and space of females is obstructed by constraints that do not intrude so insistently upon the leisure preserves of men" (p.363). The girls and women, in the present study, confronted both intervening, structural constraints and antecedent constraints, "the *a priori* social context" (Henderson 1991a, p.368) in terms of gender and age. The participants' negative experiences related to obstacles which prevented them from satisfying their leisure needs through tourism. The present study found that holidays are no different from other forms of leisure in terms of comprising both constraints and opportunities. Considering the pleasure the participants experienced through holidays, it would be misleading in this thesis to focus on constraints. Samdahl and Jekubovich (1997) and Raymore (2002) have also argued against a focus on constraints in leisure studies. More appropriate is to view "constraint" as one construct of many in understanding leisure (Henderson 1997). Leisure also offers possibilities for resistance (Wearing 1990).

The present findings indicate that holidays can serve to reinforce the dominant discourses to which the women are exposed in their day-to-day lives, but they may also offer women and girls escape from gendered and aged constraints. The theoretical approach taken in this study views women not as victims but as having agency to resist oppression. In the present study women who chose holidays for the purpose of personal development may not have been deliberately attempting to influence discourses surrounding gender and age/family life stage. Nonetheless, as S. Shaw (2001) says, these situations "may also be considered to be resistance if they function to empower individuals in disadvantaged situations, or to challenge dominant views and discourses around gender or other relations of power" (p.197).

Tension between compliance and resistance was more apparent in the women's memories than the memories of today's girls. The women's memories often revealed conflict between the public version of feminine behaviour, "doing the right thing": being a good girl/woman/friend/daughter/mother/grandmother etc., and their private desires or hankerings for holiday pleasures. The conflict was between what Esson (1999) refers to as "normalised femininity", described as "an other-oriented, self disavowing way of being in the world, in which the body and lived self are controlled, often in the service of others" and "embodied responsiveness" which refers to "an uninhibited and embodied way of being in the world, in which the body and lived self are free to just 'be', and to relate openly with others" (p.2). Sometimes the women followed their own desires and resisted normalised femininity.

Holidays at age 12 could provide a space for girls and women to resist a discourse of childhood and gender which required them to be under the parental gaze. They might completely escape their family by holidaying with another family/relatives or participating in a school tour or camp. At other times the holiday offered partial escape when the physical nature of the destination, a resort, ship or small town provided a safe place to play. The tourism industry through Kids Clubs also provided safe opportunities for girls to absent themselves from their parents. Holidays provided opportunities for the challenge and excitement of adventure which could lead to empowerment, confidence and self-esteem, outcomes which are difficult to achieve within a traditional discourse of femininity. The holiday for current 12-year-old girls was not a site of oppression. The focus was on "me"; there was little conflict between self and others. The current 12-year-olds resisted a feminine discourse of caring. For the women looking back at holidays in childhood, gendered emotions of shame, embarrassment, guilt and fear of others constrained the freedom they might be expected to experience in a holiday. The holiday at age 12 represented a space for girls to experience their physical selves. While there is evidence to suggest that, for women, physical exercise diminishes through adolescence, it is not clear whether the current 12-year-olds had yet encountered gendered constraints. Perhaps there were no physical constraints yet to resist. Resistance to adult authority and to the discourse of passive, compliant femininity

was displayed in the memory-work sessions of a number of the current 12-year-old groups.

By age 20, the women were complying with a gendered and aged discourse which, in promoting adult femininity, discourages unconstrained bodily movement. However, holidays at age 20 were also opportunities for resistance. A holiday was a legitimate reason for spending time away from the family. When the current 20-year-olds holidayed with family they experienced tension between their own desires and a feminine edict to please their parents. They reported feeling guilty and selfish when the two conflicted. A feminine ethic of care and responsibility for others' happiness was also evident in the holiday relationships of the current 40-year-old and 65+-year-old women at age 20. The 40-year-olds at age 20 resisted the feminine discourse of respectability through holidaying with a boyfriend but many could not completely throw off the vestiges of propriety. They were struggling at the interstices of feminine respectability and the "new age" woman and her sexual and social needs. The current 20-year-olds further challenged the dominant discourse by resisting heterosexual coupling all together and choosing to holiday in mixed groups or groups of women. Postmodernity supposes multiple gender identities; nonetheless, as Black (2000) found in her study of British travellers abroad, "the risks associated with hegemonic masculinity do not appear to be diminishing" (p.261). While holidays were an opportunity to feel independent and powerful, powerlessness, especially in heterosexual relationships, was evident. It was not always easy to resist men's harassment. The young women were the object of the male gaze, thus reinforcing the view that the young woman, at least, could not be a *flâneuse*. The young woman was also not invisible. By travelling away from home, often to foreign destinations, the young women of today were moving beyond their mothers' boundaries at that age. The women and destinations might have changed but the men had not. The women at age 20 had to negotiate their own safety while still exploring the world. Marshman (1997) claims that physical safety is the most significant factor for women travelling on their own. It also appeared to be an important factor for young women travelling together.

It was at age 40 that the women were most constrained in having their leisure needs met. The women who continued their domestic responsibilities on holiday, with

little expectation of shared responsibility, were reinforcing the oppressive discourse of motherhood. Those who physically separated themselves from the motherhood discourse could be said to be challenging the discourse. Sometimes the women employed the tourism industry to provide childcare. At other times the women negotiated their own arrangements independently of the industry. They holidayed with other families, they took along another child as playmate for their child or they left their children in the care of family at home. The current 40-year-olds were more likely to achieve complete separation from their children than were the 65+-year-olds at age 40. At the same time, the women's concern for their children's happiness and wellbeing implied the women had not completely resisted motherhood even when children had been left at home. Davidson (1996b), in studying holidays of mothers of young children, found that there were some women whose resistance took the form of "rejecting the label of holiday" (p.88). As stated previously, the 40-year-olds in the present study had no difficulty in distinguishing "a holiday" from "*not* a holiday". When the current 40-year-old women could not negotiate a space for themselves, there were some women who escaped the family holiday situation. One woman packed up the family and returned home. Another left the family and drove home alone. One woman who had completed an assertiveness course claimed that she was now able to stand up to her husband and declare that she would not take the camping holiday he desired; he could go on his own with the children.

> *Liz [Age 40]: ... I'm teaching a thing called Interpersonal Skills ... and it's about clear communication, active listening, assertive communication, that sort of stuff. And I've just decided that I will be assertive around this, and say ... to [husband] Martin, 'Look, I appreciate that that's what you really want to do. I know that you love that sort of stuff, but actually (Sue: and I don't want to stop you doing it) I can't do it, yeah. I don't want to stop you' (Other: Mmm) but I know what gives me pleasure and what gives me pleasure is staying somewhere nice. And I actually don't want to stay down in the town in nice accommodation. I'd like to stay somewhere where there's an outlook, because I actually like the idea of having a view. And it doesn't have to be, you know, a squillion dollar place. I'd like that. But, you know, the compromise is, if I can stay there for seven days and they can go off and do their eco- (Jenny: Mmm, that's pretty good) something, for two or three days.*
> *Jenny: Mmm, That's wonderful.*
> *Liz: ... it's really taken me doing this sort of assertive listening thing (Other: Mmm), assertive communication to ... I've really learnt so much [from] teaching it.*

There was no evidence that renegotiated subject positions during the holiday carried over into the non-holiday space on return. The amount of reported domestic work

on return from the holiday suggests that even those women who had negotiated a shift in subjectivity on holiday slid back into their old lifestyles once they arrived home. The women, while complaining about their workload at home seemed to accept that as their lot: all they asked was for a brief break from that load on holiday. As Davidson (1996b) claims, if women are resisting the dominant discourse of motherhood on holiday in order to regain their strength to continue their motherhood role on return, they are at once resisting and reinforcing the dominant discourse. Twenty years ago Wearing (1984) found that

> Within middle class female networks there is room for some questioning of the ideology of motherhood, but the general impact of the solidarity engendered by such networks is to improve the standards of individual mothering, rather than to make any challenge to women's 'natural' propensity for mothering or to the male dominated structures which enforce this view. (Wearing 1984, p.178)

In the present study, participation in a collective discussion about holidays brought women's individual private experiences into the public women's realm and allowed other women to consider the possibilities of negotiation and resistance. The number of current 40-year-olds managing to gain space for themselves hopefully suggests that improvements are moving from an individual to a social basis. As S. Shaw (2001) says, "any one act of resistance would be expected to have both individual and collective outcomes" (p.194).

The 65+ year olds did not appear to be resisting a gender discourse but rather an age discourse. They were redefining ageing. They were not "disengaging" from society as has been theorised by some writers nor were they continuing the activities of youth. They were living fully and making choices which suited them at their particular age/family life stage. They had an enhanced appreciation of the world. There was never any hint that they might withdraw from life; holidays had been and would continue to be an important component of their lives. Holidays took the women into the public realm and made them visible. Burden (2001) found in her study of older women's leisure that "busyness and never being home was a particularly strong aspect of the lives of people from higher socioeconomic backgrounds and people in their sixties" (p.19). Through busyness, women asserted

their independence and remained connected to others and life. Holidays can be seen to provide such benefits.

Leisure writers (Woodward & Green 1991; Green 1998) have explored the meaning of women's female friendships and talk ("having fun together") in the leisure context and questioned whether other women provide a context for resistance of oppression or whether they reinforce patriarchal controls. In the tourist setting (and in the memory-work setting) women and girls could be seen supporting each other in challenging oppressive discourses. Other 12-year-old girls encouraged the current 12-year-olds to resist the kind, helpful discourse of femininity. Laughter, originating from shared meanings, can be a means of bonding through subversion of the rules of behaviour of the dominant group. The example below of two women travel companions cooking an out-of-the-ordinary meal indicates, as Green (1998) says, that "humour can pinpoint incongruities in the way 'things are supposed to be and the way things are'" (p.181).

> Frances [Age 65+]: … Frances and Hazel had a laugh thinking how their husbands would have hated such a meal, but it was just what they felt like.

At other times the women reinforced the dominant patriarchal discourse of gender, in their attention to appearance and feminine behaviour. Criticisms of the current 40-year-old mothers by the older generation of women implied collusion with the accepted version of "good" and "bad" mothering. Other women could be "caretakers" of the discourse (Wearing 1984) upholding the status quo and controlling the holiday behaviour of the participants. One current 40-year-old woman recalled a holiday at age 20 in which her travel companion had acted as "a Mother Theresa", surveying her behaviour and preventing her from enjoying relationships with men.

An aim of memory-work as a feminist research method is liberation. The method offers the opportunity for consciousness raising. The women and girls in the present study varied in terms of their awareness and commitment to feminist discourses. Their readiness or willingness to be liberated by the memory-work process was cohort-contingent, with the 65+-year-old women less critical of their position than

the 40-year-olds who were more critical than the younger women and girls. Perhaps the 40-year-olds were speaking from an age/family life stage of greatest disadvantage or, perhaps, their age cohort was more conscious of feminism. Another possibility is that the younger age groups are already "liberated". The normative holiday discourse which sees holidays as being unproblematic could work against possibilities of consciousness raising. When women perceive the holiday as an indulgence, they feel less entitled to explore their dissatisfactions. I am not sure if the outcome for all participants was consciousness raising. In some ways, participation may have worked to reinforce the status quo. On the other hand, most of the 40-year-olds at the end of their group meeting discussed the possibilities for alternative holidays to those they were currently taking, namely holidays with each other – holidays with women. Although their intent is uncertain, a seed had been planted which hopefully with time and reflection will germinate.

While the power to resist may be present in all of us (Foucault 1991), resources are required for resistance to occur. In the present study, awareness of the possibility for resistance and age-specific structural requirements were necessary for the women and girls to challenge the dominant gendered and aged discourses. For the girls at age 12, carers other than family and a safe physical and social environment were required for the girls to escape family and adult control. In turn, these resources were required for the women at age 40 to escape their children. If other family members or friends were not available to provide care, the women required financial resources to release them from childcare and domestic chores. Financial resources were also necessary for the 20-year-olds to experience independent holidays. The greater the women's financial resources, the more choice they had in their type of holiday. At age 65+, choice was particularly important to secure the level of comfort required. At age 65+, good health and mobility were vital resources to enable older holidaymakers to resist an aged discourse of disengagement. The likelihood of resistance relates to the strength of the antecedent constraints, the social discourse, which determines to a great extent the gendered and aged structural constraints which are put in place. As Henderson (1991a) describes, these antecedent constraints are "*multidimensional* and *cumulative*" (p.368).

A CULTURAL SHIFT

If the memories of holidays at a particular age are different for the various cohorts, it is often difficult to know whether these differences can be solely explained by shifting constructions as one ages or whether there have been historical changes in the conventional cultural scripts. For example, are girls today more egocentric than their mothers were at their age or have the women in the intervening years (from age 12 to age 40) learned caring behaviours which have provided a framework from which to recall experiences at age 12? The following discussion draws on my empirical evidence and the perspectives of other writers.

The present study reflects socio-cultural changes in "the holiday" over the past eighty years. While some of the current 40-year-old women had not taken holidays at age 12, the current 12-year-olds were very experienced holiday-takers. As Urry (1990) says, "To be a tourist is one of the characteristics of the 'modern' experience" (p.4). Destinations visited had also expanded geographically over the years. Whereas a holiday in the past might have meant visiting an aunt and uncle in the country, holidays today for this middle-class group of women and girls were often overseas. Transportation had also changed with a decrease in train travel and an increase in air and car travel. The guest house, popular in the past, was now replaced by resorts, hotels and ski lodges in the women's and girls' holiday memories.

The present study also found that the meaning of the holiday had changed in the intervening years. A cultural shift in subjectivities is proposed for this particular middle-class Australian group of women and girls. Twelve-year-olds today did not exhibit a feminine ethic of care which was evident in the memories of the women at age 12, nor did they portray the respectful behaviour that one might expect of children. Similarly, although the current 20-year-olds, on occasion, judged themselves as "selfish" for their negative feelings toward family holidays, the consensus was confirming that "this is my holiday too". Holstein-Beck (1995) proposed that, compared to previous generations, young women today require greater concentration of the self. Holstein-Beck (1995) claims that:

> Present-day young women are meant to retain their capacity for relationships in order to attain a feminine gender identity. They are also to make themselves autonomous in order to be able to live as equal, independent and free individuals in a society in which men comprise the norm. (Holstein-Beck 1995, p.118)

In the present study, the 20-year-olds appeared to negotiate successfully these competing discourses in comparison to many of the younger girls who gave the impression in the memory-work sessions that they were not so easily able to be autonomous and at the same time caring of others. A cultural shift was also apparent in the composition of the holiday group at age 20. The 20-year-olds had moved from heterosexual coupling to being members of a "tribe" (Mackay cited in Marriner 2003). Relationships with men were not so apparently the source of the younger women's identities as they had been for their mother's generation. The patriarchal discourse was less evident in the holiday experiences of the current 12- and 20-year-olds than it was for the older generations at ages 12 and 20.

A shift in the construction of the holiday at age 40 was also evident in the findings. The current 40-year-olds were taking space for themselves, having a holiday from motherhood, reflecting Kaplan's (1992) observation of "a plethora of discourses in which the mother now figures as *subject*" (p.26). The finding by V. Griffiths (1988) and Green and Hebron (1988) that women's expectations for leisure decline as women become adults was apparent in the present study but the current 40-year-old women were less prepared to sacrifice themselves than were their mothers at that age. The women were beginning to take responsibility for themselves as well as for others. The discourse of femininity which hinges on heterosexuality, maternity and domesticity can be seen to be gradually changing. The argument that ageing can be a "burden" if the resources for pleasuring have not been established earlier in life (Dangott & Kalish 1979) is another reason for a woman to learn to care for herself.

From the present study, the only knowledge available about holidays at age 65+ derives from those currently of that age: there is no comparative data from which to conclude whether or not there has been a cultural shift. However, when evaluating the women's experiences against the traditional social understanding of this age group, it is clear that the women were reinventing ageing. The women were

certainly not withdrawing from life. They were out there in the world, overcoming challenges and very much engaged with life. Travelling can be physically demanding. The style of holidays taken by the 65+ age group was, for the most part, no less strenuous than those taken by the current 40-year-olds. That women today are continuing their travelling into older age suggests a blurring of the age stages, "an emerging de-institutionalisation and a de-differentiation of the life course" (Featherstone & Hepworth 1991, p.372).

The holiday can be a liminoid space separate from everyday life, a space to reconstruct one's social world. However the holiday, as extraordinary, cannot be understood without knowledge of the ordinary world from which the holiday-makers originate. The present study, in illuminating the differences in holiday experiences between the women and girls at different historical times, also informs us of cultural changes occurring in the home society. Resistance must be seen within this larger social context. The changing positions of women and girls in the traditional social discourse of gender and age and the associated shifts in power relations provided the springboard from which to challenge everyday constraints through the holiday experience. In turn, hopefully, empowerment experienced through the holiday carries over to the everyday life.

CONCLUSION

The research methodology allowed me to look at women's and girls' holiday stories from a diachronic (multigenerational) as well as synchronic (intragenerational) viewpoint. The research method, memory-work, allowed for the social construction of the tourist experience to emerge at different ages. The constructions which emerged highlight the weakness of the traditional holiday discourse to account for women's and girls' holiday memories at different stages of the life-course at particular historical times. An understanding of the holiday experiences of the particular groups under study needs to incorporate both the social and bodily experiences of a holiday. The components of an "embryonic" theory of women's and girls' holidays: social connectedness; attentiveness to others; freedom from others; and embodiment of the tourist experience, indicate broad commonalities in women's and girls' holiday experiences across different age groups and historical cohorts. To researchers working within a positivist framework the employment of

memories as data would be unsatisfactory. That memories do not provide a "true" picture of what the experience was "really" like when the women were younger would be considered a weakness in the research. A social constructionist approach, on the other hand, is not looking for the "true" holiday experience at age 12 but attempting to understand the experience from different perspectives, from different age and historical vantage points. The holiday experience that is produced is born out of the socio-cultural and historical context of the home environment, the holiday environment and the research setting. A close inspection of the individual age groups and cohorts (as discussed in Chapters 7 to 11) reveals that the women and girls experienced these themes differently at different ages/family life stages and historical times. In distinguishing the four age groups and identifying them with labels, "The Physical Me" at age 12, "The Social Us" at age 20, "The Caring for Them" at age 40 and "Beyond Me, Us and Them" at age 65+, it is tempting to present these stages as a new gendered lifespan development theory for women, to replace the androcentric lifespan models of psychologists such as Erikson (1963) and Levinson et al. (1978). However, the goal of the present study, is not to arrive at a grand theory to explain women's holiday experiences. Life is a "process" (Featherstone & Hepworth 1991, p.375) rather than inflexible stages of development. The subject positions with which the age groups are identified have emerged from specific socio-cultural historical contexts with fluid discourse and associated shifting power relations. As women, the participants were located at the margins but some girls/women were less marginalised and more privileged than others depending on age/family life stage and historical time. The holiday can be seen as a site for resistance of discourse, for reinforcement of discourse or a tension between the two. Cumming and Henry (1961) propose that women experience "a smoother passage" through the later stages of life than do men since "women remain in their same basic socio-emotional roles and need to learn no new skills" (p.159). However, Markson (2001) argues that, on the contrary, there is discontinuity in women's roles but that women are more likely to approach the changes with more flexibility than men, that women gain support from women friends.

CHAPTER 14: IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

INTRODUCTION

The present study has established that, although the holiday could be a site for the reinforcement of gendered and ageist discourses, it is also a site of ruptures and resistance where women and girls can construct different gender, age/family life stage relations and identities. The tourism industry can be seen, on the one hand, as reinforcing patriarchal and ageist discourses and, on the other, as providing opportunities for women to control their own lives. By the end of the twentieth century the tourism industry was more relevant in holiday experiences than it had been in earlier times. The women and girls *used* the tourism industry for their benefit, whether it be theme parks for the girls or caravan parks for the grey nomads.

A basic tenet of contemporary feminism is "that we should speak with our own voices and be listened to by other women" (Stanley 1988, p.28). Giving voice to women amongst themselves is the first step to women's awareness of their subjectivity and their understanding of shared subject positions. Giving voice to women and girls can lead to empowerment. However, it is also important that others *hear* these voices and respond to women's needs. This final chapter looks ahead to suggest future directions for tourism research and to make recommendations to the tourism industry of ways in which it can facilitate rather than obstruct women of different ages/family life stages in benefiting from the holiday experience.

MOVING FORWARD

The benefits of travel have been identified at different stages of the life-course. Social changes in Western society in the second half of the twentieth century have made leisure travel an expected activity of modern life. Hopefully, future generations in older age will not experience the regrets that DeGenova (1996) found amongst contemporary older people: regrets that they had not undertaken more education and more travel. The women in DeGenova's study were more likely than men to have regrets in the area of education and development of the self. Travel can provide opportunities for both.

For the women and girls in the present study, holidays, for the most part, were pleasurable life experiences. Nonetheless, there were sufficient negative memories of holidays, denoting gender and age constraints, to legitimate a bid for social change and recommendations for future research and tourism industry initiatives.

A Change in Social Attitudes

Although a holiday is (hopefully) a time set apart from day-to-day life, no holiday exists in a social vacuum. Women's and girls' holiday experiences reflect broad societal attitudes toward women. Tourism is neither a gender-neutral nor age-neutral social activity. The present study has demonstrated women's resistance to societal constraints in order to achieve the rewards of a holiday. However, resistance is often associated with costs. The ease with which women can resist is dependent on material and power infrastructures. The argument has been made by Henderson et al. (1996) that a danger in the differentiation of perceived and absolute freedoms in the definition of leisure is the possible assumption that if freedom and lack of freedom are perceived, the solution for women is to change their attitude.

> For example, if some women feel constrained by the responsibilities of caring for children or other family members, the suggestion might be that they should change their attitude to give themselves relief from feeling their responsibilities. This attitude change, however, ignores the profound socialization into such responsibilities and the value women place on caring activities and concern for others' well-being. A change of attitude in this case may be neither easily accomplished nor necessarily desirable from the woman's point of view. (Henderson et al. 1996, p.104)

As Rothman (2000) says, "The liberal feminist claim too often boils down to women having the rights to be like men. If some women choose not to assert those rights, choose not to be like men, then largely that's their lookout" (p.196). One needs to examine the socio-cultural context to see what alternatives there are for women. As Henderson (1997) says,

> To eliminate leisure constraints requires more than just what any one individual can do … To consider constraints negotiation as only an individual's problem is to miss

> an important aspect of social responsibility. Many people are not aware of the macro aspects of constraints constructs. Perhaps they have never thought about it or perhaps they feel helpless in addressing concerns outside their personal sphere. Social issues ought to be examined more carefully if we really want to understand the micro and macro impact of constraints and the meanings of leisure in people's lives. (Henderson 1997, p.457)

Until women are respected, women, especially the younger women, will feel unsafe in holiday destinations and will be subjected to abuse by men.

Until men share responsibility for the care of others, women will continue to bear the emotional and physical burden for social welfare. The findings from the present study suggest that girls may be relinquishing the caring role, but unless the boys and men pick up that which the girls are discarding, society will be profoundly disadvantaged. The problem is not that women are caring too much but rather that men are caring too little. The solution is not for society to become less caring.

Until women's work at home is visible and identified as work, women will not be considered by themselves or others to be entitled to space to themselves. Nor will their maintenance of the holiday be recognised for what it is. Lack of remuneration for a woman's tasks has the further disadvantage of affecting her independence and ability to take a holiday. Nicholson (1983) says:

> If the powers-that-be, the men of state, church and business, who preach to us incessantly about the glories of motherhood, believe in it for one minute, why do they not do something about it? Why do they not care for these women? (Nicholson 1983, p.20)

Until older members of society become visible and valued members of the community, older women's needs will be ignored in the tourist experience.

Future Directions for Tourism Research

The conclusions from this thesis are the starting point for further exploration into gender and the tourist experience. The following are suggested research questions for future study.

- Do differences between holiday experiences at a particular age by different cohorts reflect cohort differences (a historical, cultural shift) or are the differences explained by age/family life stage differences (developing social constructions due to age/family life stage changes)?

A longitudinal study might partially address this question. For example, by studying the current 12-year-olds at ages 20, 40 and 65+ years a researcher could investigate whether the current girls' lack of caring carries through into adulthood to ascertain whether there has been a cultural shift in the caring behaviour of women. In advocating longitudinal research, I am also cognisant of the fluidity of the social context which makes exact comparisons difficult.

In the present study there was an association of age and family life stage which leads to the following questions:

- Is age or family life stage a more critical dimension for holiday experiences?
- Do women without children at ages 40 and 65+ experience holidays differently to the women in the present study who were mothers?
- Do young mothers aged 20 experience holidays differently from the childless 20-year-olds in the present study?

The present research in examining the life-course identified four age groups/family life stages for study. However, there are gaps here in the life-course which warrant future study.

- How do children under the age of 12 experience holidays?
- How do adolescents experience holidays?
- How do women in their 30s experience holidays?
- How do women in their 50s experience holidays?

- What are the commonalities and differences in the holiday experiences of different age groups over the age of 65 (the younger old, the mid-old and the older old)?
- What are the commonalities and differences in the holiday experiences of women with young children (under age 5) and women with older children?

Silences (or "skirted over" topics) also open up possibilities for further investigation.

- What role did the male partner play in the holiday experience?
- What are the benefits of physical exercise for all age groups in the travel experience?
- Are sexuality and women's bodily processes such as menstruation, pregnancy and breastfeeding relevant in the holiday experience?
- What are women's and girls' perceptions and attitudes to solo holidays and women-only holiday experiences in relation to heterosexual holidays?
- From the women's and girls' perspectives, what can the tourism industry do to meet their holiday needs?

The present research focussed on one group of women. Since gender, age and cohort intersect other dimensions – family life stage, marital status, social class, sexuality, race/ethnicity, dis/ability and other bases of differentiation – which structure social life, there are many questions yet to be addressed in terms of the opportunities and constraints encountered in holidays:

- How do single mothers experience holidays?
- What is the holiday experience for women who differ along dimensions such as social class, sexuality, race/ethnicity and dis/ability?

There are many other areas of research which relate to the role of the tourism industry in the women's and girls' holiday experiences. Broadly one might ask:

- Is the tourism industry colluding with or challenging gender and age/family life stage oppression?

More specifically, different sectors of the tourism industry can be studied in terms of how well they are meeting the needs of women and girls and, more particularly, different age/family life stage groups of women.

It is hoped that other researchers will be stimulated by the findings in this study to expand on our knowledge of tourists. There is still a distance to go before women are fully incorporated into mainstream concepts and thinking in tourism studies. The congruence between the subject matter, women's and girls' holidays, and the research method, memory-work, leads me to suggest the method for other researchers wishing to pursue the study area. The method is open to adaptation. Indeed, Haug (1987) acknowledged, in the original text, that memory-work could be/should be developed to suit the "heterogeneity of everyday life" (p.71).

The present study centred on women and girls but, as Deem (1992) says, "Gender is emphatically not 'a woman's problem!'" (p.30). There is a need for tourism studies to address issues of masculinity which, as a subject area, has been absent in tourism publications (Swain 1995b). Masculinity and femininity exist in relation to each other; both are socially produced and continually shifting. Just as there is no *one* woman's tourist experience, there is also no one man's experience. Power and privilege are unevenly experienced amongst men. Men also experience and respond to constraining gender and age/family life stage discourses. Male researchers who can position themselves with male participants might consider the following research questions:

- How do boys, young men, fathers, older men experience the holiday?
- Has the holiday experience for men and boys changed over time?
- Is the holiday a site of resistance or oppression for men and boys?

Future Directions for the Tourism Industry

Feminists have written about the role of the tourism industry in perpetuating patriarchal discourse in the presentation of women in promotional material, interpretations of tourist attractions, sex tourism etc. (as discussed in Chapter 3). By excluding women, or certain women, the tourism industry stigmatises those who are not visible. The view of Foucault that commoditisation and commercialisation are "forms of control to strengthen larger, hierarchical systems which aim to institutionalise racism, sexism and social class privileges rather than to seek salvation for the victims" (Rao 1995, p.32) is relevant to the tourism industry. Dann

(1996) explains tourism as a "language of social control" in promotional material, touring and hotels and resorts. Although not always discussed, one can only assume that the women and girls in the study were not immune to the prevailing gendered and aged discourses circulated through the tourism industry.

An examination of holiday memories in the present study indicated there was much in the traditionally accepted holiday discourse which was not relevant to the women or which was relevant only at a certain age/family life stage and historical time. Indeed, the tourism industry was not significant in the holiday memories of many women and girls. The tourism industry was more apparent in contemporary holidays than in those of the past but even still, the use of the industry varied between age groups and often within age groups. Where the industry was accessed, for many women and girls it was the background, the context in which other more significant experiences were occurring such as social relationships. Where the industry was involved in the quality of the holiday experience, the sectors most frequently cited in the memories were the accommodation and carrier sectors. The tour operator sector was relevant only for those aged 65+ years. The finding in the study that the "destination" is not as relevant for the younger age groups as it is for the women aged 65+ is important knowledge for tourism destination marketers and managers.

The present study indicated that when the tourism industry featured in the women's and girls' holiday memories, industry sectors, such as accommodation and carrier, were often recalled favourably. Nonetheless, there were enough negative memories to suggest that in many ways the industry is not providing for women and girls. Tourism operators need to become age-/family life stage- and gender-aware to avoid treating tourists stereotypically. A homogenised image of what tourists want is often grossly misleading and inaccurate for women. The focus of the present study was not to identify market segments for the prosperity of the tourism industry. Nonetheless, knowledge of women's holiday needs and provision of such needs in turn benefits the commercial prospects of tourism firms and organisations. This final section of the chapter examines the means by which the tourism industry can contribute to successful holiday experiences of women and girls at different ages,

thus assisting them to resist constraining discourses and to experience the benefits that can accrue from a holiday.

Providing for Women of Different Ages

The present study found that the meaning of holidays at different ages could be understood through social relationships. At some ages connectedness with older and younger generational family members was desired: at other ages the women and girls wanted freedom from these family members. At age 12, the girls enjoyed freedom from parents and at age 40, the mothers enjoyed freedom from their children. At age 20, the women also enjoyed freedom from parents, but, according to the current 20-year-olds, mothers at this stage enjoyed family holidays. Grandmothers enjoyed the company both of adult children and grandchildren. The challenge for the tourism industry is to satisfy the needs of the different generations.

Holidays at ages 40 and 65+ were primarily family-based or couple-based reflecting Green et al.'s (1990) finding that

> For most women who live in a family situation with male partners, couple-based leisure seems to be the ideal, reflecting dominant ideologies of romantic love and togetherness … Men are more likely than women to continue patterns of independent leisure established while they are single, whereas married women tend to sacrifice such pursuits, particularly when they become mothers. (Green et al. 1990, p.120)

As stated in Chapter 3, the tourism industry promotes limited market types. Women are promoted as part of a family, part of a heterosexual couple, and are only presented in a non-family group in youth. The heterosexual holiday and the relationship of the holiday with romance are strong at all ages. The older woman is presented as part of a heterosexual couple, growing old together and reconnecting with romantic youth. However, if women are "limited" to a particular configuration of a travel group, the possibilities for holiday experiences are restricted. If a woman has experienced only heterosexual holidays, the loss of a partner can restrict her view of future holiday taking. Travelling outside the heterosexual couple and the family can allow a woman to free herself from her everyday caring self and create a

space for herself. If she is in a women-only environment she can explore ways of being other than a wife/girlfriend or mother. If holidays are becoming more numerous (more holidays but of shorter duration than in the past) perhaps women can experiment with different types of holiday outside family and coupledom. The pleasure that the girls and young women revealed in holidaying with female friends leads to the question of whether women need to give up all-women holidays when they marry. Through their discussions, women in the present study, especially the current 40-year-olds, contemplated all-women holidays. Certainly those travel organisations which cater for women-only holidays vouch for the benefits to women of holidaying with other women (outlined in Chapter 3).

To avoid perpetuating the dominant discourse of heterosexual coupledom and family as the only holiday experiences for women in middle and older age, the tourism industry needs to:

- Change its products and promotional tactics to present a variety of different tourist types and combinations of travellers. However, providing women with opportunities to travel outside the prescribed configurations requires more than changing the graphics and text in the travel brochure (and the single supplement!); it requires providing women with spaces in which they feel physically and emotionally safe and comfortable.

Providing for 12-Year-Old Girls

To meet the needs of 12-year-old girls the tourism industry, particularly through the accommodation and attraction sectors, needs to:

- Provide "a lot of physical activities" and stimulating activities.
- Make available opportunities for girls to meet other 12-year-old girls with whom to share the activities.
- Recognise the girls' penchant for treats and "luxury" to make the experience enjoyable and memorable ("luxury" can be interpreted merely as a swizzle stick/paper umbrella in a drink!).
- Provide safe spaces where the girls can play independently of the parental gaze. Resorts and cruise ships provide these bounded spaces. Other accommodation sites might consider enclosed areas in which children are safe to roam. Supervised children's play areas or children's tour guides in

attractions such as museums and art galleries would provide time and space for children and mothers to be separate for a period of time.

- Negotiate with local councils in holiday destinations to provide children's activities during school holidays and promote such activities to visiting families.

While the different sectors of the industry might currently provide for children through facilities and services, the present findings suggest that the provisions should allow for mothers and children to be physically and emotionally *separated* at least for periods of time during the holiday.

Providing for 20-Year-Old Single Women

The most significant issue for the 20-year-olds of relevance to the tourism industry is women's safety as tourists. Women's safety is a major social issue and managed tourist facilities should:

- Ensure women's safety and women's *feelings* of safety.
- Be sensitive to the various meanings of "group fun" for young women. The youth tourism product traditionally stresses action and group fun. Young women in the present study, although favouring group holidays, were not always so keen on "the group fun" promoted by the industry – the boorish and drunken behaviour of some youth tour groups.

Providing for 40-Year-Old Mothers

Women who are mothers may not be receiving the recuperative, stimulating or empowering benefits of leisure that holidays can offer. In the present study the women interpreted their holidays at age 40 in terms of their identity as mothers, suggesting that catering for their children is also catering for them as mothers. As Rothman (2000) says, "when a society *cares* for its children, takes some collective responsibility for its children, mothering is a lot easier" (p.12). Separating parents and children for defined periods of time during the holiday would provide for women's need for space for themselves and release them from their duty of care. However, if the women are to achieve space for themselves, it is essential to know

that their children are safe and well cared for. Once the women have such space the tourism industry should:

- Understand how women will use this space and provide for their needs.
- Organise and promote father-children holiday activities which allow for "bonding" time for fathers, normalise fathers' involvement in care and release the women from their everyday activity of attending to others.
- Provide opportunities for mothers to be relieved of domestic work.
- Encourage fathers and older children to share the workload. Caravan parks/camping grounds could promote certain days in the week as work-free days for mothers.

Providing for 65+ -Year-Old Empty-Nesters

There is a responsibility for society to provide access and opportunities for all older Australians to live their later years in wellbeing. In addition to a moral duty there are economic benefits for society. As Laslett (1989) claims, "We need a new outlook, a new language and we need above all a new institution, or set of institutions" (p.3). The tourism industry is one such institution which needs to be aware of the changing nature of older age. The industry in Australia has a role in the National Strategy for an Ageing Australia (Australian Government Department of Health and Ageing 2003) to promote positive ageing. The benefits of leisure for older people are documented, but the benefits of tourism as a leisure activity for seniors are less understood. Leitner (1999a) makes the point that for *all* seniors, including those who are low-functioning and their spouses, tourism is a highly desirable and beneficial leisure activity. In addition to educational and spiritual benefits, tourism can provide opportunities for optimum arousal (McGuire et al. 1999). Leitner and Leitner (1996) propose that benefits elders derive from travelling include higher self-esteem, keener mental abilities, feelings of achievement, greater social interaction and lower incidence of depression and loneliness. Golik (1999) quotes the findings by AC Nielson: "Seniors report feeling better during and following a trip, and say that the possibility of travel motivates them to maintain good health" (p.63). Unfortunately, senior tourists, especially those who are low-functioning, may be constrained from enjoying such benefits due to a lack of facilities and services. The benefits of travel are gendered. As the findings in the

present study indicated, holidays for older women can lead to an enhanced sense of self and autonomy which may have been repressed at younger ages as women followed traditional gender scripts of attending to the needs of others before their own. Tourism operators need to:

- Appreciate the individual and social benefits of travel for women in older age.
- Recognise older women's interest in the holiday destination; their desire to learn about different places and peoples. In the present study there was a great interest in exploring their home country, Australia. The industry should promote the learning opportunities of leisure travel.
- Develop grandparent holidays whereby grandparents holiday with grandchildren. Already well established in the United States, such travel can satisfy the travel needs of three generations, grandmother, daughter/daughter-in-law and grandchild. Benefits from senior tourism are expanded when tourism becomes intergenerational. Elders can provide opportunities for young people to travel which might not be possible if parents are working; children can benefit from the knowledge of their elders; and grandparents, less fraught than the children's mothers, might enjoy experiencing a holiday through the eyes of the child.
- Recognise cultural differences between American seniors and Australian seniors with regard to long-term touring. That which satisfies the American "snowbirds" does not necessarily satisfy the Australian "grey nomads". While meeting others during their travels was important to the Australian women, they appeared more self-contained and private in their travels than the American snowbirds. Sightseeing, learning and pleasure in the landscape were the primary satisfactions. It is doubtful that the Australian women in the present study would have appreciated the recreational facilities and group programmes that are provided for snowbirds in the RV parks in North America. Such provision is likely to run counter to the more spiritual, contemplative relationship the women had with their environment.

Moschis (1992) in *Marketing to Older Consumers* refers to the redefinition of the older consumer "from a disadvantaged, inactive, unhealthy and underprivileged

person to a more positive, active, healthy and wealthy individual" (p.3). However he warns that the more positive, "upbeat" image of the older person can hide the differences amongst older people. Travel might be the favoured activity for seniors on retirement (Teaff & Turpin 1996) but health and mobility can have a differential effect on seniors. A decline in income on retirement is also a factor which can affect the propensity to travel and the type of travel undertaken, although, in the present study, only one woman was constrained by income from taking holidays. A theory of social oppression sees limitations as a function of society rather than the individual. The tourism industry in designing for older tourists, rather than seeing the older tourist as incompetent because she cannot adapt to the touristic environment, should "first identify the structural and societal constraints that act to suppress the older person's capabilities, then work out what is modifiable, alter the environment if required" (Ranzijn 2002, p.83). The 65+-year-old women in the present study were able-minded and mostly able-bodied. They were positive, active, and outward looking. However, on a number of reported occasions the women were prevented from fully engaging in the tourist experience due to a lack of consideration by tourism operators. In the present study it was the senior group of women who were most critical of the tourism industry. The women wanted comfortable accommodation. The older members of the senior group required consideration for their mobility limitations. Where these needs were not met, the tourism industry was at fault in *over*estimating the older senior women's abilities. The lower the definitional chronological age of "senior tourist" employed by the tourism industry, the greater the likelihood that the differences amongst senior tourists will be ignored. Defining a senior tourist as age 50+ years of age fails to recognise the huge difference in the tourist needs and capabilities of the 50-year-old and someone nearly twice that age. In the present study there were clear differences in the experiences of those aged in their mid-60s and those in their 80s. Tourism operators need to:

- Appreciate the heterogeneity of the senior market.
- Regularly review the definition of "senior tourist" by researching both the tourist behaviour of current older groups and the tourist behaviour of the forthcoming senior tourists, the current 40- and 50-year-olds. With increased life expectancy, greater education, technological changes and different social

expectations, it may even be inappropriate to define those aged 65+ years as "aged". Moschis (1992) refers to the mature market as "a moving target" (p.321). The second wave of feminists is coming of age and entering their "older years". They bring with them resistance to the traditional construction of older age. With a higher percentage of women in the paid workforce, women's concept of retirement needs to be understood since the male concept does not adequately describe women's experiences (Mason 1988; Onyx & Benton 1996; Ellison 1999; Carp 2001).

- Design tours which meet the needs of the different groups of older tourists and clearly communicate the physical capabilities expected of tour participants. Failure by the tourism industry, whether ignorantly or deliberately, to make clear the conditions of the tourist experience can be interpreted as ageist.
- Design accommodation which is senior friendly. In the present study, the height and comfort of beds was cited as was ease of use of bathrooms.
- Promote senior friendly hotel attributes. Rating systems, as advocated by Environmetrics (1991) and Lago and Poffley (1993), would enable older tourists to make informed choices regarding accommodation.
- Do not neglect the Fourth Age as a tourism market. There is no reason that the benefits of travel cannot apply to many in the Fourth Age but it will require imagination and care and a sense of social responsibility on the part of the tourism industry. As Leitner (1999a) says, it is a challenging task to enable "low-functioning" seniors and their spouses to experience tourism but "with some creativity and imagination, there are many services and facilities that can be offered to enable and enhance the tourism experiences of low functioning elders and their spouses" (p79).

While the senior market can be perceived as a market segment, addressing the travel needs of older tourists can often satisfy the requirements of younger tourists. A useful approach for the tourism industry to adopt for disablement is a "universal" approach (Bickenbach et al. 1999) which considers that "No human has a complete repertoire of abilities, suitable for all permutations of the physical and social

environment" (Bickenbach et al. 1999, p.182). Ability–disability is viewed as a continuum, difference is respected and the range of "normal" is broadened.

AND SO TO THE FUTURE…

Women's tourist experiences cannot be conceived in static terms. They are transforming over the life-course and at different historical times. The present study examined the "modern" nuclear family but "the family" is changing in Western societies in what Stacey (cited in VanEvery 1999) calls "'the post-modern family revolution'" (p.165). To imagine future age markets the tourism industry must look back over the shoulders of current age groups. The cultural shifts in the holiday experiences of current age groups compared to previous cohorts suggest the direction of future holiday experiences. As the younger cohorts move on to the next generation they take with them the holiday experiences of their earlier years. Shifts in gender discourses suggest that future generations of women will be more demanding in their holiday requirements than their predecessors. New meanings of ageing also suggest that these women will expect to holiday well into older age and will require the tourism industry to provide for their needs. The confidence of today's girls and young women indicates a certainty in what they desire in holidays. Cohort-related trends point to changes in gender and age power relations: the young women's move away from the heterosexual, "couple holiday" of their mothers' generation; the middle-aged women's willingness to take some space from the family holiday of *their* mothers' generation; and the older women's continuing engagement with holidays, which previous generations of seniors might not have experienced. Women of all ages are defying prescribed ways of holidaying. It is anticipated that as women's position in society (which includes their situation in employment, finances and health) shifts from the margins to the centre, so too will women of all ages experience more equity in the holiday experience.

While discourse shifts require consensus from others, for all of us as agentic tourists, we have a part to play. Foucault (1982) maintains:

> Maybe the most certain of all philosophical problems is the problem of the present time, and of what we are, in this very moment.

> Maybe the target nowadays is not to discover what we are, but to refuse what we are. We have to imagine and to build up what we could be … (Foucault 1982, p.216)

There are many possibilities for women's holidays at all ages. If women and girls can, as Kaplan (1992) says, "function only within the linguistic, semiotic constraints of their historical moment – within … the discourses available to them" (p.16), the only solution to avoiding oppression is the creation of alternative discourses to the patriarchal and aged discourses, however slow their development might be. As Hopwood (1995) says, "Given that we have choices, it is incumbent on us to choose and/or construct discourses which are true to our experience but which also bring out the best in us" (Hopwood 1995, p.80). Leisure and tourism spaces can provide the opportunity to construct these discourses. As Wearing (1998) says, these spaces might be used to this end by men and women in different ways "but also hopefully in co-operation" (p.126).

The choices that are available to women and girls will be the consequence of their socio-cultural position. Not all women can afford holidays, let alone paid childcare or the cost of comfort and convenience which may be required by senior tourists. Women may be constrained by the discourses surrounding family life stage, health and mobility. Issues of equity amongst women will continue.

The study of women's and girls' holiday experiences at ages 12, 20, 40 and 65+ has exposed different elements which constitute a good holiday experience and a bad (or not so good) holiday experience and indicated that gender, age/family life stage and historical cohort are significant in defining the tourist experience. However, at all ages and times, simple pleasures, good company and a space of one's own were key ingredients to an enjoyable holiday experience. The joy in sharing the holiday with other girls and women, particularly evident in the holiday experiences at ages 12 and 20, suggests that women should not allow heterosexual relationships to preclude the pleasure they can experience with other women in their holiday leisure. The 40-year-olds who contemplated divergence from their normal holidays with husbands to holidaying with other women should be encouraged to experience all-women

holidays. Whether at age 12, 20, 40 or age 65+ holidaying with a close female friend was fun, freeing and supportive. As cited earlier:

> Lucy [Age 20]: [Recalling a holiday at age 12] Lucy was so excited to be going on holidays with her mum, sister, her sister's friend and Lucy's best friend. It was hot, the sun was shining and it was time to pack the car. Packing the car for five females was an experience in itself and the car was such a bomb that it almost wouldn't move … The car trip was so much fun. The five of them singing, playing 'I Spy' and warming in anticipation.

> Lisa [Age 20]: [Recalling a holiday at age 20] Having no set destination, time limit etc., it was great. Lisa felt like a different person with no worries and the fun and adventure ahead. Plans, to discover places she'd never been before, were unfolding as they both flicked through the tourist books and maps. To swim at at least three different beaches a day and stop at every cute little town, taking in all the beauty of the south coast was the plan … Lisa and Olivia pretend[ed] that they were Thelma and Louise looking forward to the adventure ahead. Driving on an open road in unfamiliar territory, stopping to buy fresh and cheap orchard fruit on the side of the highway was freedom.

> Frances [Age 65+]: [Recalling a holiday at age 65+] Frances and Hazel travelled with sleeping bags, sheets and pillows, together with food they might require during the trip so they could be self-sufficient and decide to stop or stay whenever they wanted … Had a walk around Grafton before cooking a dinner of soup, omelette (made in an electric jug-cum-egg cooker/food warmer …) and rice cakes with peanut butter together with a couple of cups of tea. Frances and Hazel had a laugh thinking how their husbands would have hated such a meal, but it was just what they felt like.

A conclusion which advocates women experiencing holidays with each other brings the thesis full circle. At the same time, it is hoped that the intervening chapters have illuminated the holiday experiences of one socio-cultural group of women and girls over their life-course. To experience the pleasures and empowerment of the freedom-to-be which a holiday can provide, women might consider the holiday depicted by Caines (1984) – "No boys and no men – just us women".

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APPENDIX A

AUSTRALIAN DOMESTIC AND OVERSEAS TRAVEL FOR PURPOSE OF HOLIDAY AND VISITING FRIENDS AND RELATIVES BY GENDER, 2000-2003

Table A.1: Australian Domestic Travel - Overnight trips and Visitor Nights for Purpose of Holidays/leisure and Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) by Gender, 2000-2003

		Holidays or leisure	**VFR**	**Holidays or leisure**	**VFR**
		Overnight trips (000)	**Overnight trips** (000)	**Visitor nights** (000)	**Visitor nights**(000)
2000	**Females**	15,785	13,197	74,920	52,074
	Males	16,734	10,135	74,222	34,250
2001	**Females**	15,558	13,296	72,356	51,643
	Males	16,588	10,718	73,163	34,930
2002	**Females**	15,352	14,313	72,466	54,083
	Males	16,158	11,248	71,404	39,400
2003	**Females**	14,785	14,993	68,203	58,587
	Males	15,706	11,365	71,800	40,615

Source: Bureau of Tourism Research, *National Visitors Survey* (Unpublished Data), Various years, BTR, Canberra

Table A.2: Australian Overseas Departures for Purpose of Holiday and Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) by Gender, 2000-2003

		Holiday	VFR
2000	**Females**	83,7176	49,2972
	Males	74,7517	40,4081
2001	**Females**	81,7169	46,7483
	Males	72,5277	39,2861
2002	**Females**	77,0646	48,4432
	Males	72,8208	40,4131
2003	**Females**	73,8631	49,4941
	Males	70,0216	41,8534

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Overseas Departures 2000 – 2003*, Unpublished Data.

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS

Table B.1: Demographic Profile of the 12-Year-Old Participants (Number of participants = 26)

	Age	Suburb	Education Mother	Education Father	Occupation Mother	Occupation Father	Socio-ec class
Group 1							
Ashley	12	Hornsby Hts	Univ P/G	Univ P/G	Lecturer	Man Consult	Up.MC
Vanessa	12	Hornsby Hts	HSC	HSC	Hairdresser	Butcher	MC
Christie	12	Hornsby Hts	< HSC	TAFE/Dip	Home Duties	Self employ	Not Avail
Sally	12	Hornsby Hts	Univ	Not Avail	Photographer	Not Avail	Not Avail
Group 2							
Felicity	11	Hornsby Hts	HSC	HSC	Hairdresser	Butcher	MC
Zoe	11	Asquith	< HSC	< HSC	Home Duties	Salesman	Low.MC
Jackie	12	Hornsby Hts	Univ	TAFE/Dip	Teacher	Mech Engin.	MC
Kate	12	Hornsby Hts	TAFE/Dip	TAFE/Dip	Radiographer	Motor Mech.	Not Avail
Jennie	12	Hornsby	Univ	Univ	Teacher	Teacher	MC
Group 3							
Kelly	12	Lindfield	HSC	Univ P/G	Book-keeper	Banker	MC
Joanna	12	Lindfield	Univ P/G	Not applic	Lawyer	Not applic	NA
Phoebe	12	Willoughby	TAFE/Dip	< HSC	Nurse	Co. Director	Low.MC
Elizabeth	11	Greenwich	< HSC	HSC	Home Econ.	Theatre Prod	MC
Rebecca	12	Gordon	<HSC	Univ	Caterer	Scientist	MC
Group 4							
Vicki	12	Wahroonga	Univ	Univ P/G	Practice Man	Physician	MC
Briony	13	Roseville	Univ P/G	Univ P/G	Legal Writer	Accountant	Up.MC
April	11	Roseville	Univ	Univ P/G	Student	Manager	Up.MC
Naomi	11	Wahroonga	Univ P/G	Univ	Academic	Inf.Sys Cons	MC
Group 5							
Laura	12	Killarney Hts	TAFE/Dip	Not applic	Finance Man	Not applic	MC
Tessa	12	Killarney Hts	TAFE/Dip	< HSC	Legal Sec.	Salesman	Up.MC
Tracy	12	Lindfield	TAFE/Dip	TAFE/Dip	Sales Consult	Man Director	MC
Fiona		Not Avail	Not Avail	Not Avail	Not Avail	Not Avail	Not Avail
Group 6							
Emily	12	Lindfield	Univ P/G	Univ P/G	Librarian	Lecturer	MC
Kristina	12	Lindfield	Univ P/G	Univ P/G	Town Planner	Univ Dean	MC
Alex	12	Chatswood	Univ	HSC	Dent Surgeon	Co Director	MC
Bridget	12	Turramurra	Univ	Univ	Co Director	Man Director	MC

Table B.2: Demographic Profile of the 20-Year-Old Participants (Number of participants = 25)

	Age	Suburb	Education	Occupation	Marital	Children	Socio-ec class
Group 1							
Tania	20	Beverly Hills	University	Student	Single	Nil	MC
Crystal	20-24	Gordon	University	Student	Single	Nil	MC
Stephanie	22	Monterey	University	Student	Single	Nil	Up.MC
Paula	21	Greystanes	University	Student	Single	Nil	MC
Group 2							
Kristen	20	Warrawee	University	Student	Single	Nil	Up.MC
Samantha	20	Pymble	University	Student	Single	Nil	Up.MC
Brooke	20	Pennant Hills	University	Student	Single	Nil	Up.MC
Kimberley	20	Killara	University	Student	Single	Nil	Up.MC
Hayley	20	Crows Nest	University	Student	Single	Nil	Not Avail
Group 3							
Edwina	20-24	St Ives	University	Conf Co-ord	Single	Nil	MC
Alice	21	Turramurra	University	Conf Co-ord	Single	Nil	MC
Elissa	20	Berowra	University	Temp	Single	Nil	MC
Belinda	20-24	Baulkham Hills	University	Research	Single	Nil	Low.MC
Group 4							
Clair	20	Clovelly	University	Student	Single	Nil	MC
Louise	21	French's Forest	University	Student	Single	Nil	NA
Monica	20	Burwood	University	Student	Single	Nil	Up.MC
Cara	20	Nth Sydney	University	Student	Single	Nil	MC
Group 5							
Claudia	20	Clovelly	University	Student	Single	Nil	MC
Kylie	20	Cherrybrook	University	Student	Single	Nil	MC
Amanda	19	Rose Bay	University	Student	Single	Nil	MC
Hannah	21	Dee Why	University	Student	Single	Nil	MC
Group 6							
Nicole	20	Castlecrag	University	Student	Single	Nil	MC
Lisa	21	Epping	University	Student	Single	Nil	MC
Barbie	21	Baulkham Hills	University	Student	Single	Nil	Up.MC
Lucy	21	Pymble	University	Student	Single	Nil	MC

Table B:3 Demographic Profile of the 40-Year-Old Participants (Number of participants = 17)

	Age	Suburb	Education	Occupation	Marital	Children-Age	Socio-ec class
Group 1							
Karen	46	Hornsby Hts	Univ P/G	Lecturer	Married	12, 9	Up. MC
Megan	Not Avail	Hornsby Hts	Univ	Photographer	Married	12,	Not Avail
Rachel	38	Hornsby Hts	Diploma	Teacher	Married	13, 11, 9	MC
Jean	45	Hornsby Hts	Univ P/G	Univ Tutor	Married	25, 14, 12, 10	MC
Joan	42	Hornsby Hts	Diploma	Teacher	Married	12, 9	Not Avail
Group 2							
Helen	45-49	Frenchs Forest	Univ P/G	Tourism Cons.	Married	20, 8, 6	MC
Marie	40	Frenchs Forest	Diploma	Nurse	Married	17, 16	MC/ LMC
Lizzy	40-44	Forestville	HSC	Home Duties	Married	18, 11	MC
Ruth	45-49	Allambie Hts	< HSC	Self Employed	Married	12, 7	MC
Roberta	45	Allambie	TAFE/Dip	Rest. Manager	Married	22, 19, 16	MC
Group 3							
Annie	40	Pymble	TAFE/Dip	Housewife	Married	16, 15, 8	Up.MC*
Sarah	45	Wollstonecraft	Univ	Vigneron	Married	15, 10	Up. MC
Susie	41	Turramurra	Univ	Graphic Design	Married	9, 4	Up. MC
Carly	44	Turramurra	Univ	Housewife	Married	15, 14, 10	Up. MC
Group 4							
Liz	45-49	Lane Cove	Univ P/G	Teacher	Married	26, 24, 15, 11	MC
Jenny	43	Lane Cove	Univ P/G	Psychologist	Divorced	11, 8	Low. MC
Fran	45-49	Gordon	Univ P/G	Lecturer	Married	14, 11	MC
Sue	40-44	Turramurra	< HSC	Home Duties	Married	21, 21, 18, 14, 8	Up. MC

Table B.4: Demographic Profile of the 65+-Year-Old Participants (Number of participants = 17)

	Age	Suburb	Education	Occupation	Marital	Children-Age	Socio-ec class
Group 1							
Susan	84	Turramurra	Univ	Social Work	Widowed	48, 45	Up. MC
Lou	72	Castle Hill	Diploma	Nurse	Separated	38, 34	MC
Amelia	72	Lindfield	TAFE/Dip	Ex Secretary	Married	48, 46	MC
Jane	84	Pennant Hills	Univ P/G	Social Work	Widowed	43	MC
Group 2							
Mary	65	Clareville	Diploma	Nurse	Married	41, 39, 34, 33	Up. MC
Topsey	65	Belrose	Diploma	Nurse	Married	37, 32	MC
Eleanor	65-69	Clareville	Diploma	Nurse	Married	42, 38	Not Avail
Gillian	64	Collaroy	Diploma	Nurse	Married	37, 35, 34, 30	Up. MC
Group 3							
Frances	64	Wahroonga	TAFE/Dip	Secretary	Married	35, 32	MC
Margaret	74	Wahroonga	Univ	Teacher	Married	52,48,46,43,39	MC
Carmen	63	St Ives	Diploma	Teacher	Married	38, 36	Up. MC
Barbara	71	Hornsby Hts	TAFE/Dip	Draughtp/son	Married	48, 45	MC
Lorna	65-69	Lindfield	< HSC	Admin Assist	Widowed	38, 35, 32	MC
Patricia	65-69	Berowra	TAFE/Dip	Secretary	Married	34, 32	MC
Group 4							
Cordelia	65	Forestville	Univ	Tutor	Divorced	46, 44, 37, 33	MC
Anne	70-74	Lilyfield	TAFE/Dip	Admin Assist	Widowed	44, 42, 40, 38	Lower C
Marcia	76	Wahroonga	< HSC	Secretary	Widowed	38, 37	MC

APPENDIX C

INSTRUCTIONS TO PARTICIPANTS

(Example of Instructions to Participants Aged 65+ Years)

1 August 2000

Dear

Thank you for your interest in the study, "Women and Holidays". The purpose of my PhD research is to look at women's understanding of what makes a holiday experience good and what makes a holiday experience bad. I am looking at groups of women and girls of different ages and asking them about holiday experiences at different stages of their life.

The research involves a group of 4 to 5 women meeting on 4 occasions to discuss holiday experiences. Each participant is asked to write a short piece about a particular holiday memory prior to the group meeting and to bring it to the meeting. These written memories are shared with the group and form the basis for the discussion.

In terms of the time involved, the group would need to allow about 2 hours for each of the meetings. The 4 meetings are best spaced about 2 - 3 weeks apart (that is, the group would be meeting over a period of about 6 - 9 weeks). Some groups choose to continue to meet beyond the required 4 meetings, but this is dependent on the agreement of all members. The actual dates and places of meeting are up to the group, the only requirement being that the place is quiet as the discussion will be tape recorded.

Any information shared in the meetings is treated as confidential. Each participant chooses what she wants to say so there is no obligation to disclose any information which you do not wish. The tape recording will be heard only by me (and possibly a transcriber). Each participant will be identified by a pseudonym. There is no need for any participant to be identified by her real name. It is now a requirement for **all** University research involving humans to be approved by the University Ethics Committee and to obtain the consent in writing from all participants. I have attached a Consent Form and would appreciate your completing this if you choose to participate. I have also attached information for the first meeting to give you a full idea of what is involved.

I do hope you will agree to take part. Women who have participated to date have found it an enjoyable, fun and worthwhile experience.

Yours sincerely,

Jennie Small
(Lecturer, Tourism Management)

The Method of Study

The method being used in the study is called Memory-Work. Participants are asked to reflect on past good and bad holiday experiences at particular ages, in other words, what are the memories of particular holiday experiences.

Memory-Work is a method which has been developed by and for women to explore experiences together, in the case of this study, holiday experiences. In terms of exploring women's experiences this method has the advantage of allowing the women in the group to have full control over the discussion. There are a few rules but these have been kept to the absolute minimum so that the group can have maximum control. There is no researcher asking questions and directing the topics discussed. The method takes women's **everyday** experiences seriously. **You** are the expert by virtue of your lived experiences.

The group is a collective, with all members of the group playing an equal role. The purpose of the study is to investigate the **group's** understanding of holidays, that is, the group as an individual unit. From sharing memories with a group we are often able to arrive at a better understanding and meaning of our own individual experiences. We can learn from each other.

Stages of the Method

Stage 1 - Prior to the group meeting

You are asked to:

1. Write about a **positive** experience from a holiday* you have taken (a particular episode/time on the holiday that you thought was good). Try to write 1-2 pages, but, if this is too much, just write as much as you can.
   For the 1st meeting you are to write about an experience you have had in the last 2 years.

2. Write about a **negative** experience from a holiday* (a particular episode/time on the holiday that you considered was bad or "not so good". Try to write 1-2 pages, but, if this is too much, just write as much as you can.
   For the 1st meeting you are to write about an experience you have had in the last 2 years.

   NB. The positive and negative experiences can be from the same holiday.

* **"Holiday"** means travelling and staying at least one night away from home for the purposes of leisure and pleasure.

You will be told at the end of each meeting what experience you are to write about for the next meeting.

NOTE:

a) When writing about your experience, please write in the **3rd** person ("she"), not the 1st person ("I").
Instead of using your own name in your writing, choose another name (any name you like!).

b) Please write in **as much detail** as is possible, including even those things which you might think are unimportant. Describe your feelings and thoughts and what was happening. (You might find it helpful to think, not only of the visual sights, but also, sounds, smells, tastes, and touch.)

c) Try just to describe your experiences. Although it might be tempting, **don't** try to interpret or justify them.

d) Bring your written experiences with you to the discussion.

Stage 2 - The group meets

The group as a whole will look at each individual memory and in doing so will look for the common patterns in the memories as well as differences between them, social expectations about holidays and possible contradictions.

Stages 1 and 2 are repeated at later dates

The group goes through Stages 1 and 2 to discuss holiday experiences at different ages.

Stage 3

This is the stage where I, as the researcher, become involved, through listening to the tape-recordings of the group's discussions and sifting through them to relate the themes to the findings of tourism writers.
The group may be involved if it so chooses at this stage but this is certainly not a requirement of the method.

PLEASE NOTE:

Any questions regarding the research can be directed to Jennie Small at any time.
(Tel: Work 9514 5109; Home 9880 7646 / 9880 9056).

AT THE FIRST MEETING

As stated in the earlier information you received about the method, the "rules" have been kept to a minimum in order that the group has as much control over the discussion as is possible. All that is required is that you go through steps 1, 2, and 3.

At this stage,

1. Each member **reads** her experience.

2. The group **discusses** the experiences in an attempt to gain a social understanding of recent holiday experiences. The content of the discussion is up to you.

   In the discussion, some of the things you **might** want to look for are,

   - similarities/commonalities of the memories. (At the outset it might appear that the holiday experiences are very different, however, at closer examination you might find the members of the group are saying similar things.)

   - dissimilarites/differences between the memories.

   - popular sayings or standard expressions about holidays.

   - contradictions in what is being said.

   - silences - what is **not** being written but which might be expected to be.

   - anything else you might want to explore.....

   Note: Please feel free to let the discussion go in its "natural" direction. You might find you move onto discussing other holiday experiences, that is fine.

   Some groups like to go through positive experiences first and then move onto the negative experiences (or vice versa). How you decide to run the discussion is completely up to you.

3. At the end of the meeting the group **summarises** the main ideas/themes which have arisen from the discussion.

Note: As every member of the group is considered a valued contributor to the discussion, please stop the tape-recorder if a member has to absent themselves for a few minutes during the discussion.

You might find it convenient to use the supplied notebook for jotting down any thoughts you have (during or between meetings) for later discussion with the group.

Thank you for your participation!

PRIOR TO THE SECOND MEETING

In preparation for the second meeting please do the same as before but this time writing about a memory from **childhood**.

Please,

1. Write about a **positive** experience from a holiday* (a particular **episode**/time on the holiday that you thought was good) **around the age of 12 years (as close to 12 as you can**).
   Try to write 1-2 pages, but, if this is too much, just write as much as you can.

2. Write about a **negative** experience from a holiday* (a particular **episode**/time on the holiday that you considered was bad or "not so good") **around the age of 12 years (as close to 12 as you can**).
   Try to write 1-2 pages, but, if this is too much, just write as much as you can.

   N.B. The positive and negative experiences can be from the same holiday.

* **"Holiday"** means travelling and staying at least one night away from home for the purposes of leisure and pleasure.

You will be told at the end of the second meeting what experience you are to write about for the third meeting.

ONCE AGAIN PLEASE NOTE:

a) When writing about your experience, please write in the **3rd** person ("she"), not the 1st person ("I").
Instead of using your own name in your writing, continue with your pseudonym.

b) Please write in **as much detail** as is possible, including even those things which you might think are unimportant. Describe your feelings and thoughts and what was happening. (Again, you might find it helpful to think, not only of the visual sights, but also, sounds, smells, tastes, and touch.)

c) Try just to describe your experiences. Although it might be tempting, **don't** try to interpret or justify them.

d) Bring your written experiences with you to the discussion.

Thank you again for your participation!

AT THE SECOND MEETING

ONCE AGAIN,

1. Each member **reads** her experience.

2. The group **discusses** the experiences in an attempt to gain a social understanding of holiday experiences around the age of 12 years. The content of the discussion is up to you.

   In the discussion, some of the things you **might** want to look for are,

   - similarities/commonalities of the memories. (Again, at the outset, it might appear that the holiday experiences are very different, however, at closer examination you might find the members of the group are saying similar things.)

   - dissimilarites/differences between the memories.

   - popular sayings or standard expressions about holidays.

   - contradictions in what is being said.

   - silences - what is **not** being written but which might be expected to be.

   - anything else you might want to explore.....

   Note: Please feel free to let the discussion go in its "natural" direction. You might find you move onto discussing other holiday experiences, that is fine.

3. At the end of the meeting the group **summarises** the main ideas/themes which have arisen from the discussion.

Please feel free to offer any thoughts you have had since the last meeting on the previous topic of discussion.

A Reminder: As every member of the group is considered a valued contributor to the discussion, please stop the tape-recorder if a member has to absent themselves for a few minutes during the discussion.

Thank you again for your participation!

PRIOR TO THE THIRD MEETING

In preparation for the third meeting please do the same as before but this time writing about an experience from **early adulthood**.

Please,

1. Write about a **positive** experience from a holiday* (a particular **episode**/time on the holiday that you thought was good) **around the age of 20 years (as close to 20 as you can and while single/unmarried)**.
   Try to write 1-2 pages, but, if this is too much, just write as much as you can.

2. Write about a **negative** experience from a holiday* (a particular **episode**/time on the holiday that you considered was bad or "not so good") **around the age of 20 years (as close to 20 as you can and while single/unmarried**).
   Try to write 1-2 pages, but, if this is too much, just write as much as you can.

   N.B. The positive and negative experiences can be from the same holiday.

* **"Holiday"** means travelling and staying at least one night away from home for the purposes of leisure and pleasure.

You will be told at the end of the third meeting what experience you are to write about for the fourth meeting.

ONCE AGAIN PLEASE NOTE:

a) When writing about your experience, please write in the **3rd** person ("she"), not the 1st person ("I").
Instead of using your own name in your writing, continue with your pseudonym.

b) Please write in **as much detail** as is possible, including even those things which you might think are unimportant. Describe your feelings and thoughts and what was happening. (Again, you might find it helpful to think, not only of the visual sights, but also, sounds, smells, tastes, and touch.)

c) Try just to describe your experiences. Although it might be tempting, **don't** try to interpret or justify them.

d) Bring your written experiences with you to the discussion.

Thank you again for your participation!

AT THE THIRD MEETING

ONCE AGAIN,

1. Each member **reads** her experience.

2. The group **discusses** the experiences in an attempt to gain a social understanding of holiday experiences around the age of 20 years. The content of the discussion is up to you.

   In the discussion, some of the things you **might** want to look for are,

   - similarities/commonalities of the memories. (Again, at the outset, it might appear that the holiday experiences are very different, however, at closer examination you might find the members of the group are saying similar things.)

   - dissimilarites/differences between the memories.

   - popular sayings or standard expressions about holidays.

   - contradictions in what is being said.

   - silences - what is **not** being written but which might be expected to be.

   - anything else you might want to explore.....

   Note: Please feel free to let the discussion go in its "natural" direction. You might find you move onto discussing other holiday experiences, that is fine.

3. At the end of the meeting the group **summarises** the main ideas/themes which have arisen from the discussion.

Please feel free to offer any thoughts you have had since the last meeting on the previous topics of discussion.

A Reminder: As every member of the group is considered a valued contributor to the discussion, please stop the tape-recorder if a member has to absent themselves for a few minutes during the discussion.

Thank you again for your participation!

PRIOR TO THE FOURTH MEETING

In preparation for the fourth meeting please do the same as before but this time writing about an experience from **middle adulthood**.

Please,

1. Write about a **positive** experience from a holiday* (a particular **episode**/time on the holiday that you thought was good) **in your 40s (or as close to your 40s as you can) when you had a child/children under the age of 15.** Your child/children may or may not have accompanied you on your holiday.
   Try to write 1-2 pages, but, if this is too much, just write as much as you can.

2. Write about a **negative** experience from a holiday* (a particular **episode**/time on the holiday that you considered was bad or "not so good") **in your 40s (or as close to your 40s as you can) when you had a child/children under the age of 15.** Your child/children may or may not have accompanied you on your holiday.
   Try to write 1-2 pages, but, if this is too much, just write as much as you can.

   N.B. The positive and negative experiences can be from the same holiday.

* **"Holiday"** means travelling and staying at least one night away from home for the purposes of leisure and pleasure.

ONCE AGAIN PLEASE NOTE:

a) When writing about your experience, please write in the **3rd** person ("she"), not the 1st person ("I").
Instead of using your own name in your writing, continue with your pseudonym.

b) Please write in **as much detail** as is possible, including even those things which you might think are unimportant. Describe your feelings and thoughts and what was happening. (Again, you might find it helpful to think, not only of the visual sights, but also, sounds, smells, tastes, and touch.)

c) Try just to describe your experiences. Although it might be tempting, **don't** try to interpret or justify them.

d) Bring your written experiences with you to the discussion.

Thank you again for your participation!

AT THE FOURTH MEETING

ONCE AGAIN,

1. Each member **reads** her experience.

2. The group **discusses** the experiences in an attempt to gain a social understanding of holiday experiences in your 40s. The content of the discussion is up to you.

   In the discussion, some of the things you **might** want to look for are,

   - similarities/commonalities of the memories. (Again, at the outset, it might appear that the holiday experiences are very different, however, at closer examination you might find the members of the group are saying similar things.)

   - dissimilarites/differences between the memories.

   - popular sayings or standard expressions about holidays.

   - contradictions in what is being said.

   - silences - what is **not** being written but which might be expected to be.

   - anything else you might want to explore.....

   Note: Please feel free to let the discussion go in its "natural" direction. You might find you move onto discussing other holiday experiences, that is fine.

3. At the end of the meeting the group **summarises** the main ideas/themes which have arisen from the discussion.

Please feel free to offer any thoughts you have had since the last meeting on the previous topics of discussion.

A Reminder: As every member of the group is considered a valued contributor to the discussion, please stop the tape-recorder if a member has to absent themselves for a few minutes during the discussion.

Thank you again for your participation!

NAME or Pseudonym (if preferred)----------

THE POSITIVE EXPERIENCE : Background Information about the Holiday

When was the holiday?

Destination?

Duration?

Travelling Companions?

Type of Transport?

Type of Accommodation?

Who decided on this holiday?

THE NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE : Background Information about the Holiday

When was the holiday?

Destination?

Duration?

Travelling Companions?

Type of Transport?

Type of Accommodation?

Who decided on this holiday?

OTHER HOLIDAYS TAKEN AT THIS AGE?

Please attach to your written positive and negative experiences.

SOME BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT YOU TODAY

(You are reminded that any information you provide is treated as confidential)

1. **Your Name or Pseudonym (if preferred)_____**

2. **Your Suburb / Town? _____**

3. **Your Age? _____ (or)** Please tick

10-14 ( )	15-19 ( )	20-24 ( )	25-29 ( )
30-34 ( )	35-39 ( )	40-44 ( )	45-49 ( )
50-54 ( )	55-59 ( )	60-64 ( )	65-69 ( )
70-74 ( )	75-79 ( )	80-84 ( )	85-89 ( )
90+ ( )			

4. **Your Qualifications?** (Please tick)
   Less than HSC or equivalent ( )
   HSC or equivalent (High School completed) ( )
   TAFE Certificate or Diploma (or equivalent) ( )
   University Degree ( )
   University Post Graduate qualifications ( )

5. **Your Occupation? _____**

   If "Retired" what was your Occupation before retirement?----------

6. **Socio-Economic Class?**
   As it is often difficult to ascertain women's socio-economic position by the usual means, could you please indicate in which category **you** would put yourself.

   Upper class ( ) Upper Middle Class ( ) Middle Class ( )
   Lower Middle Class ( ) Lower Class ( )

7. **Your Marital Status?**
   Single/Never married ( ) Married/De facto ( ) Separated ( )
   Divorced ( ) Widowed ( )

8. **Do You Have Children?**
   No ( )
   Yes ( ) If "Yes", **Number** of children? _____
   Ages of children? _____

Thank you again for your participation.

APPENDIX D

PROCEDURE FOR ANALYSIS OF DATA

PROCEDURE FOR TRANSCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF TRANSCRIPTIONS

Step 1 - Transcription

1. Send Transcriber tape with Transcription Instructions which identify names of participants and the holiday destinations of their good and bad experiences. Having this information assists the transcriber in identifying the speaker. Send photocopy of written memories to help the transcription if the spoken word is not clear.

2. On receipt of transcription, I listen to the tape and correct transcription.

3. Where possible, I confer with one member of the group, to identify the speaker if neither transcriber nor I could identify. The group member can also assist in the transcription where this is unclear.

Step 2 – Analysis of Individual Group Transcriptions

1. Identify Positive Factors

   A. From the Written Memories

   B. From the Group Discussion on Own
   The strength of the factor is noted.
   3 level (3+ individuals have agreed)
   2 level (2 individuals have agreed)
   1 level (1 person has made the comment)

   C. From the Group Discussion with Researcher Present
   The strength of the factor is noted.
   3 level (3+ individuals have agreed)
   2 level (2 individuals have agreed)
   1 level (1 person has made the comment)

   Note: Delete the themes from Group Discussion with Researcher if a repeat of what has been said in Group Discussion on Own (if 2 people said it on own and 3 with researcher then count as 3 on own)

2. Identify Negative Factors
   The same procedure is followed.

3. Identify Other Comments/References to holidays which don't fit easily into current positive and negative experiences. These might be:

- neutral comments about current holidays;
- references to previous holidays outside the age under study;
- comments on other peoples' holidays
- discussion generated from the "Instructions" – the identification of "differences", "contradictions", "clichés" or "silences" (Similarities are covered in B and C above).

In brackets after each comment specify the number of participants who engaged in discussion on that topic.

4. Identify other Non-Holiday comments/discussion.
In brackets after each comment specify the number of participants who engaged in discussion on that topic.

Note: Where the group appears to be theorising, trying to understand why an experience was good/bad, identify in upper case font.

5. Record Participants' Comments on the Method

6. Record my Impressions of Group

The data in sections 4, 5, and 6 above dealing with Non-Holiday Comments, Comments on the Method, and Impressions of Group provide information about the group's attitude and commitment to the method and task.

Step 3 – Combined Analysis of Individual Group Analyses for Same-aged Groups at specified Age (See example on following page)

This step is an aggregation of the individual analyses (Step 2) for same-aged groups under themed headings.

1. Under each themed heading include the name of the group and the relevant written memory followed by writer's name in italics.

2. If the group discussed the positive or negative theme, add discussed comment (in italics) under written comment with level of discussion. If discussion occurred in presence of researcher, identify in bold font.

3. If the group discussed factors not covered by the written memories of its own group but covered by the written memories of other groups, treat as above.

4. Discussion of positive and negative factors which was not written about by any group should be categorised under the heading "Additional Categories from Discussion" and treated as above.
Steps 1-4 are conducted separately for the good and bad experiences.

EXAMPLE OF STAGE 3 ANALYSIS: WRITTEN AND DISCUSSED HOLIDAY EXPERIENCES OF THE 65+ YEAR OLD WOMEN AT AGE 65+

Themes/Factors from Positive Holiday Experiences

Pleasure in the Physical Environment

Group 1 -Susan's group

- Farm looked attractive – green fields and trees (*Amelia*)
  2x Lovely NZ countryside. Tidy
  1x Diamond Beach lovely – a natural beach

Group 2 -Mary's group

- Loved seeing paddocks and farmers working (*Topsey*)
- Wilpena Pound – mist rising – sight magic (*Topsey*)
  3x Agree sounds good
- View across Bass Strait so blue, so beautiful (*Topsey*)
- Lucky to see so much wildlife and abundance of wildflowers (*Topsey*)
- Lovely beach and not too busy, Robina Shopping Centre – my favourite lots of water, space, Mt Tambourine beautiful views, quiet and peaceful, air cooler and refreshing, clean swimming places, waves not too big, nice flat walks(*Eleanor*)
- Far North Queensland – Interesting part of Australia, Kimberley magnificent (*Gillian*)
- Rainforest near Cape Tribulation marvellous, boardwalk lovely (*Gillian*)
  1x Agree area and boardwalk lovely
- Best day in Litchfield National park – went to waterholes, beautiful falls, arrived back in Darwin in time for sunset (*Gillian*)
- Regents Park, flowers and sculptures, breathing in the fragrance, ducks (*Mary*)
  3x Walking through gardens
  3x Trees in Broken Hill and Wilpena Pound
  3x Looking at nature now – beauty, peace and tranquillity
  3x Quietness
  3x Views
  3x Environment
  3x Views, trees, flowers, gardens, birds

Group 3 -Frances's group

- Kakadu – magical. A boat trip down the Yellow River, crocodiles, flocks of great birds, water lilies. Boat trip down Katherine Gorge – colourful and ancient cliffs, stunning beauty of all the natural features (*Margaret*)
- View from Ghan window in the moonlight – eerily beautiful, Ross River homestead – true oasis in spectacular scenery, Emily Gap and other impressive sights (*Margaret*)
- Beautiful scenery – lakes, rivers, pine trees, snow and deciduous trees breaking into leaf , stillness of lake and quietness of surrounding forest with occasional

- interruption of finches and wrens flitting through pine trees – breathtaking. Yosemite – beautiful deer, squirrels, chipmunks, soaring eagles over magnificent granite mountains (*Lorna*)
  3x Coming into Sydney by plane or ship
  2x At 65 notice more things, different things, take in beauty (Disagreement that pointed out to own children)
  3x Take in all the visual and the beauty

Group 4 - Cordelia's group

- Nights black and starry with the moon getting larger and larger (*Anne*)
  3x WA wildflowers

<u>Destination</u>

Group 1 - Susan's group

- Visited places in homeland not visited before (*Susan*)

Group 2 - Mary's group

- Best bit – Cairns and Cape Tribulation (*Gillian*)
- Mt Tambourine – lots of places to have a meal (*Eleanor*)
  2x Israel's lovely
  2x Eucla best place to stay on the Nullabor

Group 3 - Frances's group

- Loved Ayres Rock (*Frances*)
- Darwin – attractive modern with interesting historic places, good pubs for a drink and pretty good restaurants. Best – Kakadu and Katherine (*Margaret*)
- Alice is a lovely town (*Barbara*)
  3x Feel Australia is superior
  2x Darwin
- Ports of call enjoyable and NZ fiords wonderful (*Barbara*)

Group 4 - Cordelia's group

- Fremantle – charming, historical , clean, beautiful buildings, main street cosmopolitan and busy, quiet yet vibrant, Rottnest – a must see with a first hand glimpse of Argyle diamonds, Hilary's Harbour tours and many restaurants with wide variety of cuisine (*Cordelia*)
  2x Perth
  2x Nice to go to NZ

<u>Weather</u>

Group 2 - Mary's group

- Beautiful weather (*Marg*)
  1x Margaret Wesley Gardens – weather wet but still enjoyed it
  3x Weather

Group 3 - Frances's group

- Weather was perfect (*Patricia*)
- Weather great (*Margaret*)
  3x Weather not a problem – even if wet

Group 4 - Cordelia's group

- Weather perfect for the trip (*Anne*)
- Weather remained clement (*Cordelia*)
  2x Fine weather

<u>Learning</u>

Group 1 - Susan's group

- Interesting to learn about farm (*Amelia)*

Group 2 - Mary's group

3x Something interesting and learn something at same time
3x Appreciation of Australian history
3x Interest in others lives and find they are similar in Australia/picking up differences – language, habits

Group 3 - Frances's group

- Feeling of driving through open spaces gave real understanding of vastness of this wonderful country (*Margaret*)
- Aboriginal information centres full of absorbing information (*Margaret*)
- Informative bushwalk by tribal elder and ranger, interesting and diverse tour (*Barbara*)
- Japan – interesting country to visit (*Carmen*)

<u>Unique/Authentic experience</u>

Group 1 - Susan's group

- Fortunate to stay on farm (*Amelia*)
- Made to feel true blue Aussies (*Topsey*)

Group 2 - Mary's group

- Regents Park – enjoying seeing what Londoners did (*Mary*)
  2x Agree good

Group 3 - Frances's group

- Seeing sparsely clad Aboriginal men fishing – eerie feeling stepped back in time (*Margaret*)
  2x Outback – real feel of Australia, colours out of this world

<u>Comfort/Ease</u>

Group 1 - Susan's group

- Train trip comfortable (*Lou*)
- Luxury tour – stayed in hotels conveniently situated to the highlights of every stop (*Susan*)
- Ocean pool – great facilities for disabled (*Jane*)
  2x Staff thoughtful of what could and could not do (mobility)

Group 2 - Mary's group

- Caravan great with toilet, shower and air conditioning, wonderful stove, microwave, TV, soft comfortable beds, plenty of storage and eating area (*Topsey*)
- Spare seats on the coach (*Gillian*)
  3x Cleanliness of accommodation and comfort – ensuite facilities
  1x Comfortable beds

Group 3 - Frances's group

- Japan – walking easy, distances not great to travel, train timetables fantastic (*Carmen*)
  3x Agree good if in strange country
  2x Good standard – won't accept lower standard to what we are used to- comfort, cleanliness and a little bit of luxury

Group 4 - Cordelia's group

2x Proprietor considerate

<u>Accommodation</u>

Group 1 - Susan's group

- Stayed in friend's delightful unit with gorgeous views over the city (*Lou*)
  2x Countrylink Good standard too – nothing cheap and nasty

Group 2 - Mary's group

- Clean and comfortable motel, clean caravan park – spotless shower and toilet block (*Topsey*)
- Loved all the caravan parks. Good locations right on river/lake (*Eleanor*)
- Motel had great swimming pool (*Eleanor*)
- Fabulous hotels in Cairns and Cooktown (*Gillian*)
  2x Caravanning

Group 3 - Frances's group

- Ghan – room lovely, walls timbers, seating attractive and comfortable. Ensuite with toiletries. Lounge car – comfortable area for drink and relaxation, opportunity to meet others Accommodation at Yulara excellent with room overlooking the Rock – an awe inspiring sight(*Barbara*)

- Accommodation first class, grounds beautifully landscaped, several good restaurants, some catering for children (*Patricia*)
  3x 5 star accommodation, queen size beds, room looking down on pool
- Ship cabin – light and roomy and comfortable with facilities (*Barbara*)

Group 4 - Cordelia's group

- Accommodation – clean and comfortable (*Cordelia*)
  2x Motels
- House had splendid view of Albany (*Anne*)
- Found a cave and could be dry (*Anne*)
- Cabin bright and airy (*Cordelia*)

<u>Family</u>

Group 1- Susan's Group

- *Found ancestor's history – wanted to share with family (*Susan*)*
  2x Agree wonderful
  3x Holidays were family reunions or family reasons
  3x Lou going to UK to visit daughter

Group 2 - Mary's group

- Went to see grandchildren – always a special time (*Eleanor*)

Group 3 - Frances's group

- Sounds of children's voices and laughter lifted her heart (*Lorna*)
- Took elder grandchild to San Francisco and Yosemite – the most special time of her trip – thrilled to show this to grandchild (*Lorna*)
- Able to join in family's enjoyment of the resort (*Patricia*)
- Visited son so could visualise where he lived. Nice to meet son's girlfriend (*Carmen*)
  3x Even if with grandchildren, not responsible. Special with grandchild

Group 4 - Cordelia's group

- Saw daughter and grandchildren (*Marcia*)

<u>Friendliness of Hosts and Other Tourists</u>

Group 1 – Susan's group

- Made very welcome (*Amelia)*
- Friendly regulars who were helpful and agreeable (*Jane*)
- Happy to chatter away to other tourists – not reaching out to meet new people (*Jane*)
- Much news of both families exchanged (*Lou*)
- Party – great fun. Met people hadn't seen for years (*Lou*)
  3x Pleasant company
  3x Talking to strangers – interesting

Group 2 - Mary's group

- Friendliness of people running the park and other travellers (*Topsey*)
- Next to some great people in the caravan park, great to meet happy young couples, not too busy (*Eleanor*)
- Friendly atmosphere of shopping centre (*Eleanor*)
- Group similar in age and income which makes it very friendly, company very good, knew each other – best part (*Gillian*)
- In Regents Park, sharing the pleasure with so many other folk, watching others having as much enjoyment as themselves (*Mary*)
  3x All mentioned friendliness of people
  3x Nice people
  3x See a lot of great people enjoying life

Group 3 - Frances's group

- Enjoying each other's (travel companion's) company. Wonderful to build another friendship (*Frances*)
- People were very friendly. Few Caucasian people which was interesting (*Carmen*)
  3x Meeting other people

Group 4 - Cordelia's group

- Little angst among travelling companions (*Anne*)
- Interesting part talking to two ex police officers (*Marcia*)
- Indigenous people mixed (*Cordelia*)
- Bask in hospitality of Fremantle (*Cordelia*)
  2x People pleasant in Perth, a bit more time for others
  3x Interesting people met
  2x Friendliness of people met including staff working in tourism
  2x The people you're doing the trip with
  1x Having a travel companion
- Lucky to find competent people who could make a joke of inability and inadequacy of leader – bit of fun in end (*Anne*)

<u>Food</u>

Group 1 - Susan's group

- Delicious home cooked dinner (*Amelia*)
- Enjoyed oysters in abundance (*Jane*)
- Food great (*Lou*)

Group 2 - Mary's group

- Enjoyed a lamb roast dinner – assured it had been on the hoof that morning (*Topsey*)
- Food was fabulous (*Gillian*)

- Arabic coffee (*Mary*)

Group 3 - Frances's group

- Ate a meal husbands would have hated but just what she felt like (*Frances*)
- Ghan dining car with silver service catered with an excellent meal (*Margaret*)

Group 4 - Cordelia's group

1x Plenty of coffee shops Other disagrees

<u>Relaxation</u>

Group 1 - Susan's group

- Pleasant leisurely drive north (*Jane*)

Group 2 - Mary's group

- Marvellous park to relax and fully appreciate a summer's day (*Mary*)

  3x Holidays a time for reflection

  3x Getting away from media and come back refreshed

Group 3 - Frances's group

- No need to cram in as much as possible, no deadline to return home (*Patricia*)

  3x Ship for a woman – don't have to do a thing (Frances disagrees – likes to be boss and doing everything)

<u>Service</u>

Group 1 - Susan's group

2x Countrylink holiday – everything went to order

Group 3 - Frances's group

- Staff at resort very well trained (*Patricia*)

  3x Being waited on, things to run smoothly, well organised

Group 4 - Cordelia's group

- Airline good re insulin dose, impressed with WA airport facilities and staff, transport, roads, signs (*Cordelia*)

  2x Ease to move around in Perth

<u>Activities</u>

Group 1 - Susan's group

- First chance to paddle around in ocean for years and I loved it (*Jane*)
- Just as happy to read and watch TV (*Jane*)

  1x Visiting Prado

  1x Interesting swimming in the hot pool

Group 2 - Mary's group

- Took photographs – their favourite hobby (*Topsey*)
- Swimming, walking, reading (*Eleanor*)
- Walk through magnificent scenery and feel the wonder of creation as they look at a lovely sunset leaving the sky, then the stars come out (*Eleanor*)
  2x Rejuvenating, wonderful, what all looking for now in holidays
- Went to great church, in wet weather, boat trips and see many lovely birds (*Eleanor*)
- Just saw everything, had good nights, fun overnight thing under the stars, did lots of walks, went to bird park, Mossman, Quicksilver, swim (*Gillian*)
  1x Bushwalking – exercise, views and company
  3x Exercise

Group 3 - Frances's group

- Canberra - walking, visiting all the attractions. Stopped off at points of interest along way (*Frances*)
- Loved driving (*Frances*)
- Keen walkers – explored parks and waterfront. Swim, reading and snoozing (*Margaret*)
- Camel rides, champagne and nibbles at sunset – real party atmosphere, ride on Harley Davidson – great fun, plane over Olgas and Uluru, sightseeing from the ground as opposed to plane (*Barbara*)
  2x Camel trip through Ayres Rock
- To ride on cable cars, walk down crookedest street, se fog roll in – all very exciting (*Lorna*)
- Excellent aquarium, dolphins and seals. Children enjoyed the rides immaculate swimming pools and spas (*Patricia*)
  3x Kakadu – do the walks
  3x Riding on a Harley

Group 4 - Cordelia's group

2x Enough interesting things to see and do

<u>New Experience</u>

Group 1 - Susan's group

3x New Experience and something different
2x Cultural experience different from own

Group 3 - Frances's group

- New adventure especially for children – tobogganing (*Lorna*)

<u>Unexpected Discovery</u>

Group 1 - Susan's group

- Unexpected discovery – family heritage(*Susan*)

Adventure

Group 3 - Frances's group

3x Being sole person responsible for touring trip

Self Esteem

Group 3 - Frances's group

- First trip away by self - felt great to know could drive that far and in wretched weather (*Frances*)
- Sense of achievement having been on the gondola (*Carmen*)

Group 4 - Cordelia's group

- Felt pleased with self – had kept up with the men and felt included in the decision making (*Anne*)

Freedom

Group 3 - Frances's group

- Self sufficient and able to stop and stay when wanted (*Frances*)

Miscellaneous

Group 1 - Susan's group

- Interesting shopping centre (*Jane*)

  3x Lou's dress that travelled well

Group 2 - Mary's group

- Good value in the caravan park (*Eleanor*)
- Great shops to eat and buy things (*Eleanor*)
- Nice to get home (*Gillian*)

  2x Not nice to get home

Group 3 - Frances's group

3x Good planning

3x Lovely to come home

APPENDIX E

ADDITIONAL QUOTATIONS FROM WRITTEN MEMORIES AND GROUP DISCUSSION

CHAPTER 7: AN OVERVIEW OF HOLIDAY THEMES AND DISCUSSION OF "CONTEXTUAL" THEMES

The Financial Expense of the Holiday

Holidays at Age 40

Fran [Age 40]*: Another experience negative about holidays – when it costs you a lot of money (Sue: Mmm) and you sort of get back afterwards and then start to pay Mastercard and it's over and in fact the pleasure (Other: Yes), the relaxation, doesn't keep going on (Other: Yeah; Liz: Yeah) and you're paying the bills (Liz: Yeah) and there's nothing good happening at the time (Liz: No).*
Liz: And you wish you'd actually bought the new lounge instead?

Gillian [Age 65+]*: Having to count the cost and to be aware of every cent spent. I made the clothes, borrowed parkas, waterproofed them, made waterproof overpants, knitted ski socks, mittens and beanies.*

The Physical Destination

Holidays at Age 12

Kristen [Age 20]: … the scenery in Canada is just gorgeous. Like there's heaps of lakes and forests and stuff like that. And wild life. Like you saw deer and marmots and stuff.

Nicole [Age 20]: The Colosseum was Nicole's favourite and she was amazed at how big it was.

Sarah [Age 40]: The harbour sparkled and shone in the lovely warm weather.

Topsey [Age 65+]: [On arrival at The Entrance] This was something they would never forget. For when the door [of the bus] opened the smell of the salty sea air, the call of the seagulls and the enormous pelicans standing all around, they just forgot how hungry they were … They fell asleep that night with the smell of the sea air and the sound of the waves, hitting the beach … they loved the noise and sight of the noisy but graceful, considering their size, pelicans, and the call of the seagulls that would stay with them always. They had much to tell their mother and elder brother …

Frances [Age 65+]: While Frances was laying [sic] in bed getting ready to sleep, she could see the moon and stars through the doors going onto the verandah because the curtains had not yet been pulled across and the doors were half timber and half glass and it was lovely to fall asleep looking at the stars.

Holidays at Age 20

Cara [Age 20]: … Cara decided to take a trip to Scotland to see her cousins … The city of Edinburgh was very clustered with shops which made it very interesting and attractive … They all went to a local pub, which was very quaint and typically Scottish … She felt so excited and so enriched. In the following days she was able to visit castles, coastal towns, the highlands, and Loch Ness ... Cara enjoyed every aspect of Scotland, but mainly the green, lush country side, beautiful flowers and history of the place. Perhaps the most enjoyable part of the trip was the drive through the Scottish country side, the small villages which were so charming, the sheep, stone fences and the mountains.
Clair: Mmm (Monica: How gorgeous!), beautiful!

Lucy [Age 20]: Lucy went on a camping trip. She went to the South Coast with fifteen others. The scenery throughout the holiday was magnificent. It allowed her to connect with nature ... She felt relaxed by the ocean, with the beautiful trees, and due to the fact that she was away from the hustle and bustle of the city. There was a major highlight whilst walking along the cliff line of the coast and that was where the land opened up, allowing the ocean water to lap up on the rocks. The creek met with the ocean. Here at this luscious place we sat on the shore and had quiet time to ourselves. The group walked further along the coast to where our first camp site was … Along the way we chatted, had moments of silence, enjoyed the view and found contentment.

Lisa [Age 20]: P1 found her favourite beach during this adventure at Bendalong, a very quiet town on the coast. Walking through a little bush, saw a timber staircase overlooking a gorgeous, bluey, green, crystal clear ocean. The jagged rock formations creating a bay to swim in. The soft and refreshing water, grainy sand and no one in sight yet. Lisa was so content, she dreamed of setting up tent and staying much longer. Finding this tranquil place was the highlight of Lisa and [her sister's] escape from reality (*Other: Mmm*).

Louise [Age 20]: China's National Day was on the 1st and 2nd October and the square was filled with flower arrangements, pagodas, fountains, large red flags and a picture of Mao Tse-tung … Louise visited the square twice, once in the day time with the tour group and then at night … Both times were considered as positive … On the first afternoon of being in China the group spent time in Tiananmen Square. Louise was overwhelmed by the physical size of the square, the enormous buildings bordering the square, as well as it being such an historic and famous site … Kite sellers and fliers were everywhere and the sky was filled with all size and shaped kites, which gave the sky a magical quality. Louise found it fascinating to watch as the kite controllers only had a thin piece of string, and they didn't get the kite tangled up with the others, which were extremely high in the sky … There were hundreds of people milling about in the square, just watching the kites or looking at the flower arrangements … There were lots of parents with their child. The younger children had the area of their trousers cut out revealing ... their bottoms ... (sort of like a slit kind of thing). At first it was really unnerving, as she hadn't been warned about this practice. But it was interesting to see the Chinese way of life … the night visit was unscheduled … Two of the single ladies from the tour group decided to join Louise and her family who wished to experience the square at night while the rest of the tour group returned to the hotel. The atmosphere in Tiananmen Square was completely different at night, as thousands of fairy lights and spotlights lit up the fountain, buildings and pagodas. The mix of people were different from the previous visit as it was more youth and older people, and not so much families … Louise felt that the square at night had an alive or electric feeling. She considered it a great thing to witness. As it was a last minute thing, it was more a personal and individual experience of China. That is something that the rest of the tour group missed out on …
Monica: Oh wow!
Other: Wow!
Other: That's pretty huge!
Clair: So exciting, that's amazing.
Other: yeah.

Marie [Age 40]: The [Austrian] countryside was beautiful and covered in thick snow and the buildings exactly the same as you would see in a picture postcard.

Ruth [Age 40]: She and her friend spent an idyllic four days on a Blue Lagoon Cruise to the outer Yasawa Islands – the ocean so clear, clean and blue, flying fish and dolphins in abundance … the islands stopped at all fringed with palms and sparkling white sand …

Holidays at Age 40

Liz [Age 40]: … all the way the road is flanked by these fantastic wildflowers … the place itself was somewhere I'd never been and visually beautiful.

Jenny [Age 40]: Climbing up the mountainside and looking back over Lake Jindabyne and then back up to the peaks was absolutely glorious and spectacular.

Joan [Age 40]: The walks were all very pretty, lovely alpine vegetation along small streams, along woody tracks, through the snow and up steep mountains offering spectacular scenery along the way.

Roberta [Age 40]: … the driver pulled up the boat and those who wanted could go for a swim. It was hot in the boat, so Roberta sank into the water which was icy cold as it had come tumbling down straight from the mountains. It seemed to Roberta that this spot was a scene from Paradise – she saw beautiful yellow insects, like a wasp-like fly, so brilliantly yellow they appeared to be made from plastic.

Eleanor [Age 65+]: Flying over the island [Lord Howe] is an amazing experience. The water is the most amazing green-blue with a beautiful reef at Ned's Beach. Lord Howe is out in the ocean and one of the most beautiful places in the world.

Topsey [Age 65+]: It was springtime and everything was green, the land looked good. Lambs were beginning to drop, as well as calves and one filly foal was born on the farm.

Margaret [Age 65+]: Fortunately, it was a magnificent summer day and after loading all the gear on board, off they went up the beautiful Hawkesbury River. The water sparkled in the bright sunshine and, before long to everyone's delight, they spied dolphins swimming along beside them … the first treat was a tour to admire all the wonderful scenery. Up close to Lion Island, around West Head and all around Pittwater.

Anne [Age 65+]: The kitchen was small and primitive, the bathroom had a chip heater and the loo was outside. All of this domestic inconvenience was made up by the superb view down the valley and up the coast.

Lizzy [Age 40]: Bursting to go to the loo before heading out of the station [in China], they found the public toilets only to be unable to go in there because of the stench. (Others laugh in support).

Weather

Holidays at Age 12

Alice [Age 20]*: I think it was also good 'cause I remember the weather being perfect the whole time (Other: Mmm). No big windstorms.*
Later
Edwina: Good weather (Other: Yes) so you can do all your activities.

Stephanie [Age 20]: Stephanie's parents had decided to take her and her brother to Europe for a white Christmas … Christmas day had arrived and Stephanie had expected to see snow, when she looked out of the window. Much to her disappointment, the only thing she saw was a cold and miserable rainy day. It wasn't at all what she expected. It always snows at Christmas in the movies. Certain it would snow sometime, Stephanie kept a look-out … Stephanie's mother told her to go and look out the window. Much to her surprise the whole backyard was covered with snow. The snow actually shone, and made the sky look brighter. Stephanie and her cousins put on their snow boots and went outside in the freezing cold and had a snow fight. What fun!

Nicole [Age 20]: The weather was glorious while they were there, a typical Florida winter.
Later
Nicole: We didn't say anything about the weather so much ... whereas in the older experience (Other: Yeah) the weather was a real big thing.

Samantha [Age 20]: We get the worst [ski] season on record. No snow, it was all icy and foul … we go all the way across the world.

Edwina [Age 20]: … we all went camping ... we were all sort of excited all ready to go, all packed up and we drove there, set up camp and then it rained for the whole afternoon and night. And so we were all confined to really small areas … and everything was wet and it was really dirty and muddy, everywhere. And then it rained that whole night as well, so we just ended up just going home the next night and so that was sort of a bad experience on holiday. But then we ended up going back to their [cousins'] house and staying there and having a good holiday after that. So it was sort of like a bad little experience.

Topsey [Age 65+]: *We all seemed to have good weather.*

Holidays at Age 20

Lucy [Age 20]: Lucy went on this camping trip [Six Foot Track]. And she went with her aunt and uncle and her younger cousin … And this was a pretty hard walk, but they thought, no it's ok, they'll be able to do it. And the problem was, it was in the middle of summer, it was about 35 degrees. They later found out that there was a bush fire up ahead (*Other: Oh!*) so they stopped half way through the walk. But the first half was long, hot, dry, they weren't well enough equipped. They didn't have enough water. They weren't experienced enough … and the whole night they were eaten alive by mosquitoes and just never ending disaster.
…
Lucy: ... now I look back on it, it was really, really dodgy…
Barbie: Probably dangerous.
Lucy: ... just like, really dangerous!

Elissa [Age 20]*: ... weather always makes it.*
Others: Yeah, Yeah.

Barbie [Age 20]: *Good weather, that's what we wanted.*
Others: Mmm, Mmm.
Lucy: It's a bonus to have good weather, but then on my good experience I had (Other: Yeah) crap weather, like it rained the whole weekend (Other: Yep) that we camped (Other: Yep). But it was the best holiday, like the best weekend.
Lisa: But that'd be the sort of holiday it was ... If you were in a house, say you went to a ... beach house or something, when it was raining all day, that's when you'd get the craps (Other: the craps, yep). But when you're actually outdoors (Lucy: ... and you have to) with a group you've got to try (Other: ignore it some way) (Lara: and you have to get from here to here ...) ... you build up spirits with each other… (Lucy: Yeah, yeah).

Elissa [Age 20]: *The first four days were beautiful. Like really, really hot.*

Clair [Age 20]: *... could be the most beautiful place in the world and could have good company, whatever (Other: Yeah) but if that weather is just lousy for the whole time, then , oh, it was a shocking holiday.*
Cara: Yeah, yeah, yeah, exactly.

Monica [Age 20: The [negative holiday] experience began to further sour while in the house, when the weather turned bad and it rained for the six of the seven days they were there.

Kristen [Age 20]: … even the bad weather wasn't too bad, because, you know, we just watched movies and Susan's stupid calls kept us laughing for the whole week …
Hayley: Read the 'Women's Weekly'.
Kristen: Yeah, we did, yeah, and Jordy and Adrian just did those cryptic crosswords which no one could understand

Hayley: Mmm, Pictionary.
Kristen: Yeah, Pictionary
Kimberley: Cheating and Pictionary.
Later
Kimberley: It rained like for three days straight once (Other: That's right…) and got a bit bored.
Other: Yeah, definitely.
Brooke: 'Cause up at Byron we could not play Entrepreneur anymore.
Other: No.
…
Kimberley: There's only so much indoor stuff that you can do.
Others: Yeah, Yeah.
Kristen: Yeah, especially at Byron, it's like made for the sunny (Others: Yep, Yeah ...), you know, outdoor entertainment.
Kimberley: And shopping and stuff.

Hayley [Age 20]: And then we went to Spain, down to Seville and that was really, really hot. It was extremely hot. There was … no water anywhere like you could jump into. 'Cause, you know, it got up to about forty seven degrees (*Other: Oh*). It was really, really sticky.

Louise [Age 40]: It was freezing cold … Both she and Alex had come ill prepared for this weather.

Sue [Age 40]: … being unprepared for the bitterly cold weather in New Zealand … Until I gave in and bought a parka, it really spoilt the holiday for me. And I think I probably nearly drove the other two mad with whingeing about 'nobody could be as cold as I am'.

Sarah [Age 40]: And when they arrived, it was too wet and too cold to swim.

Topsey [Age 65+]*: [At Lord Howe Island] The weather was perfect the whole time we were there.*
…
Gillian We went in October and it was cold and (Other: Mmm) the south-westerly winds were blowing and it was really quite depressing.
Eleanor: Yeah it can be.

Frances [Age 65+]: The beauty of Coolangatta was sun and blue skies every day and then at night, usually in the early evening, there would be a sudden downpour which cooled the air. The heat was never oppressive, just hot enough to make you want to throw on your swimmers as soon as you woke and jump in for a swim before showering and dressing for breakfast.

Carmen [Age 65+]: The part of our holiday that will probably remain with me forever was our time in Perth. It was hotter than we ever imagined it could be. We were grateful to arrive at our hotel and flung open the windows for a cooling breeze, only to be met with extremely warm air. We'd never felt anything like it because Auckland's on an isthmus and you just don't have hot air like you have here *(Others: Mmm, Mmm)* and if there's any breeze, it's cool *(Other: Yeah).* So you take advantage of it.
Other: Mmm.
Barbara: And Perth is the hottest of the capital cities.
Lorna: Mmm, it's extremely hot, mmm.
Margaret: That's why they love the Doctor so much.
Lorna: Yes, the Fremantle Doctor.
Others: Mmm, Yeah.

Eleanor [Age 65+]: It was so hot you could not walk on the sand, and I thought that was a complete negative. I thought that the weather was too hot even for the beach.

Holidays at Age 40

Susie [Age 40]: Susie and Bill have been to Coolum twice, usually in winter when the weather in Sydney is pretty awful. That fact makes the holiday even nicer.

Megan [Age 40]: The weather had been splendid and this certainly helped the whole sense of the holiday feel.

Sarah [Age 40]: Sarah recently enjoyed a two week holiday in Port Douglas … and was able to relax in a warm, tropical environment only 3-4 hours after leaving home.

Megan [Age 40]: And we arrived at the campsite … it's very isolated, it's sort of in the middle of nowhere. There was one car there. But there wasn't much happening. And it started to rain of course … It was drizzling rain and the sleeping bags were getting wet. What do you put up first? … The next morning it was still wet … They decided not to take many clothes this time, because normally we take too many clothes. So within the first hour everything was wet and dirty. We had no dry clothes. The whole weekend to go and no dry clothes.

Liz [Age 40]: Driving along and suddenly the air conditioner stopped. And it was terrible. We were all upset about that because it was so hot. And I kept saying, where's that [litter] bag … and it was terribly hot and there were lots of complaints from the back seat about the heat. And Liz actually did some lying on the seat and down with her head under the dashboard trying to find where the air conditioning was coming from because she was convinced that the bag had played a part. But no one else in the car was convinced of that. So these stops on the side of the road happened about four times … And for about fifty Ks, there was this sort of driving along and the windows were open and it's you know, (*Others; Yuk, Mmm*) … Anyway, finally, once again, Liz is down with her head under the dashboard, and sort of bum on the seat and legs up in the air and people weren't all that happy about the time being spent on this search for the bag. Tempers were frayed. People were hot. And Liz discovered this little vent underneath the dashboard and was able to actually open it … and was able to put her fingers way up into this little vent and just gently pull the plastic bag out and it was perfectly OK … and the air conditioning worked again. And that was fantastic. But that experience … the positives of being in that cocoon and the nice parts of it are very clearly juxtaposed to me to the really,
Sue: You wanted your own cocoon!
Liz: Yeah, I wanted a separate little something. Oh, I don't know, the boot might have been fine! It really, it can be the worst as well. (Other: Mmm) It can be the best and it can be the worst (Others: Mmm, Mmm, Definitely).

Sue [Age 40]: It was extremely hot and they had jumpers on because they had come from colder weather and we had an hour to an hour and a half wait for the transfer bus … standing out in the heat. The children were excited wanting to get to Disneyland but we were all actually crabby by the time we got there.

***Jenny [Age 40]**: And three of our experiences were actually when it was a really hot, you know (Other: Yes). We just lost it (Other: Yeah) in terms of coping (Kerry: Mmm) and being able to look for good problem solving.*

Carmen [Age 65+]: … warm beach weather. I shall never forget the warmth of the water when we went swimming after a day on a Blue Lagoon Cruise. It was just like getting in the bath.

Jane [Age 65+]: … had a wonderful time floating on inner tubes in the warm Pacific water.

Margaret [Age 65+]: Fortunately, it was a magnificent summer day and after loading all the gear on board, off they went up the beautiful Hawkesbury River.

Holidays at Age 65+

***Anne [Age 65+]**: … I like the weather to be fine.*
Yvonne: That's very important, yes.

Eleanor [Age 65+]*: … The weather doesn't concern me (Other: No) because I just wake up and think, 'Oh well, we'll go on a boat trip or we'll go –' .*
Gillian: That's right.
Eleanor: Go out to lunch or… walk round the shops.
Gillian: Or you can sit and read a book all day. I can read a book all day.
Eleanor: That's right, I can do that easily.
Gillian: Or sit in the sun all day.

Frances [Age 65+]*: … the weather was so bad but it didn't worry us. (Others: No, No). Because it was still an adventure. (Lorna: It's a holiday, yes).*
Later
Patricia: You can usually find something to do, go to the movies (Lorna: Yes) and play cards.

Accommodation

Holidays at Age 12

Barbie [Age 20]: The major smell was that of seaweed. Their apartment was so close to the beach they could hear the waves rolling in and see the glint of the sun off the water in the mornings.

Lisa [Age 20]: The cottage that the family stayed in was very cute and Lisa was imagining it could be her own house one day (*Other: Oh*).

Lucy [Age 20]: They arrived, Annie collects the keys and they head to the on-site van. Instant excitement when they realised the beach was just outside the front door.

Susie [Age 40]: The house also had a swimming pool … Not many people had pools then, so this was pretty luxurious for Susie.

Sue [Age 40]: This house had all the mod cons and I got to have the bedroom at the top of the A-frame which you know was very special. But actually extremely hot.

Sarah [Age 40]: The family stayed in the Florida apartments in Roslyn Gardens Kings Cross which had a pool, and black leather furniture in the living room.
Others: Ooh! Mmm.

Naomi [Age 12]: … when we stayed on the top of this place it was all dirty and they didn't have anything, they didn't even have a microwave.

Jackie [Age 12]: … we drove for nine hours and stayed in the Blue Dolphin Caravan Park. The toilets weren't all that clean and the smell was disgusting.

Tessa [Age 12]: And yeah like there were 150 girls at this camp right.
…
There were 15 minutes for 150 girls to have a shower.
…
They all had to have their shower in 15 minutes. And there were only six showers so there was like a huge big queue for them. Like before we'd [they'd] even gotten undressed, we were banging on the door to get out. And then we didn't, we weren't allowed to get changed in the shower, we had to wrap our towel around us, go in to the toilet cubicle and get changed in that. One girl went into the boy's toilet, she just couldn't stand the queue, yeah.
…
So really about one minute a shower and then to get dressed again. And anyway the tents leaked …

Briony [Age 12]: On the way back from Currumbin … we had to stay in a place called The Gorilla Hut. And we got into the flat and a cockroach ran across the bed. And then in the morning we couldn't have showers because there wasn't a little whirly thing to separate the shower thing from the bathroom place so the water would go onto the carpet and wet the carpet so we couldn't have showers. The pool was, had been, drained so we couldn't swim in the pool. And yeah, it was just really bad.

Claudia [Age 20]: They stayed in a cabin at a caravan park that was hardly big enough for two people, let alone five.

Sarah [Age 40]: Sarah and her brother had to share a bed … In the morning, thongs on, Sarah would face the toilet and shower block, usually disgustingly filthy, with cold water, lizards, and Peeping Toms just to make her feel more uncomfortable.

Megan [Age 40]: Megan marvelled at the fact that the Taylors owned a weekender down the south coast at a place called Sussex Inlet, a location to which she had never been. Owning a weekender! It must be very exciting. Certainly she knew of no one else as affluent … I guess a number of disappointments marred what Megan had hoped to be a fun weekend. The mansion she had in mind turned out to be a somewhat humble cottage, the couch in the living room being her bed for the weekend thus affording very little privacy (but not that a ten year old would need the privacy).

Holidays at Age 20

Liz [Age 40]: We stayed in a resort which I loved … I loved the whole scene. The accommodation was actually quite, quite beautiful. It was on the beach … and we were on the ground floor which meant that we opened our sliding doors onto a little paved area and then there was a little grass area and then there was the sandy beach and for me that was absolute bliss.

Margaret [Age 65+]: The homestead was comfortable and the welcome warm …

Sarah [Age 40]: We were all broke, so they all had to sleep on the beach which was not pleasant for Sarah as it was cold, and the sand was damp and hard.

Roberta [Age 40]: … After exhausting every motel in Orange and not being able to find a bed, they came across a caravan park on the outskirts of the city. The toothless bikie operator gave them a key and directed them to a retired caravan cowering in a corner of the park like a mangy dog. Inside had to be seen to be believed – torn orange vinyl interior, smelling like stale cooking fat and one single low wattage globe in the ceiling (*Other: Oh God*). The bed had obviously been used many times for the sorts of lascivious endeavours one could only imagine. But Alex and Roberta were cold and tired and it had blankets so they settled down for the night. At about 1 a.m. they both woke chilled to the bone and extremely uncomfortable. Alex's 6 foot 5 inch frame could not fit lengthways on the bed and he was forced to sleep diagonally across the narrow bed squeezing Roberta … into a tiny area flanked by a cold masonite caravan wall. The blankets were thin and synthetic and no amount of shared body heat could keep the two warm, so up they got and put on all the clothes they had brought with them. Roberta wore four pairs of socks, two pairs of jeans, two tee-shirts, and two long-sleeved shirts but she was still icy cold.
Later
Roberta: Little money, no planning … you just think you're going to find a cheap motel that's going to be wonderful. You'll walk straight in and they'll have a room for you … Perhaps we watch too many Hollywood films where people seem to just get in a car … find a country town and there was a motel with a nice room.

Holidays at Age 40

Helen [Age 40]: The setting at Noosa was perfect, a spacious and modern unit with all mod.cons, 180 degree ocean views, restaurants across the road, beach 2 minutes walk away.

Eleanor [Age 65+]: They stayed at Pine Trees which is quite expensive. The rooms are comfortable and the food is great. Breakfast consists of many choices of everything … (*Other: Morning teas and afternoon teas.*) Oh, the food was exquisite. I mean, you know, for a woman to go and have, that was my favourite holiday.

Lorna [Age 65+]: On reaching Hilo, they stayed at a beautiful hotel set in Japanese gardens.

Rachel [Age 40]: The camping area was crowded. All the best spots taken. So the group put their tents up in the middle, usually on an area designated for playing … Poor quality grounds, toilets and showers a bit of a hike away and very close living conditions.

Jean [Age 40]: The site they had been allocated was right next to the path leading to the toilets, so there was a bit of unwelcome traffic past the tent.

Mary [Age 65+]: Bathrooms were rather primitive. Plenty of mosquitoes and flies. In hot weather you cooked, no cooling.

Anne [Age 65+]: On arrival at the camping area, there was a little disappointment over the area that had been booked – the ground sloped.

Lou [Age 65+]: … One August/September school holiday period, Lou and family were offered a use of a house by the lake at Wamberal. They'd not seen the place until arriving one wet afternoon. It was an unlined, weatherboard house with masses of spider webs in every room (*Jane: Oh God*). The children were not really impressed … The rain persisted for days. The only heating was an open fire and wood had to be split each day *(Other: Oh gee)*. Their shower was cold and under the house, a sort of bush type where they filled a can and then pulled a string to release the water. Not a lot of long showers were taken. (It was very hard to get the children under that.) There were a couple of days when they were able to go to the beach and have swims also … A trip to Kims at Blue Lagoon to visit some friends was a great treat. But really the weather was so poor and cold that they decided to return earlier than they planned.
Amelia: What a shame.
Susan: Oh.
Jane: I couldn't imagine anything worse.
Later
Susan: … rain in Australia … is just the end, isn't it? A holiday if it rains.
Lou: Yes, yes.
Amelia: Yes.
Susan: There aren't museums to go to.
Lou: Particularly at the beach.
Susan: And particularly at the beach.
Other: Yes.
Later
Jane: I used to go off on a holiday and find that if the facilities there are so far away from your expectations (Lou: Mmm) is in itself just a dampening experience (Lou: Yes …). I mean you do pick up and make the most of a bad situation (Lou: Mmm, mmm) … but I think to go off and find … it's like going to a hotel room that isn't very clean or something like that.
Later
Lou: … I mean, I think it's really important to have laundry facilities for children.
….
Susan: … but with just a fireplace! We had a place like that at Leura once and the coldest winter ever … and the toilet was outside on the verandah. So you had to go outdoors and it snowed (Lou: Yeah) for two days while we were there (Lou: Ohhhh) so we had to go out through the snow to get to the toilet. It flushed (Lou: Yeah) when you got there (Jane: Yeah, yeah) but you thought you were going to get frostbite while you were out there.
Jane: Yeah, yeah.

Lou: Yeah …
Jane: No, your physical amenities are pretty important (Other: Mmm, mmm) when you go off. Well, they're important to you at home. If they're important to you at home, then they're important to you when you go (Susan: Yeah) on holidays.
Lou: Yes, yes, this is true.

Frances [Age 65+]: The trip Frances remembers as a negative trip from beginning to end was one taken to the snow, to Perisher, in about 1970. The children were both young, five and seven. The weather was cold and wet most of the trip and on arrival at Canberra, the motel had a great deal of water in their yard, the jug was broken, so we couldn't make a cuppa, and Jon [husband] had to go to the office for another jug because the phone wasn't being answered or was broken and the television didn't work either (*Others: Oh, Oh*). Wasn't a good start. Everyone was tired and cold and dinner didn't start until 6.30. That really put the kybosh on it. So Frances went to the office and insisted they needed to be allowed into the dining room early because they had two young, tired, hungry children and that they would be asleep by 6.30 … The next day the family continued on the trip to the snow, but … a road just out of Canberra was impassable because it was flooded … the family returned to Canberra and went to a different motel and went to the only picture theatre there which was in Canberra at the time and *Space Odyssey 2001* was showing. Frances had never before wanted to so badly to walk out of the theatre, but there was nowhere to go, so she had to sit there and at least it was dry and warm … When the family eventually arrived at Perisher, the accommodation was not as expected as the whole family were in the one room with only one tiny heating 'thing' on the wall … and it heated nothing, and Frances was endeavouring to dry wet jackets so that they could be worn again … Frances never liked the cold weather holidays, and with the terrible weather, it was not pleasant … Frances remembers it as the holiday she would rather forget. God I hated that trip!

Food

Holidays at Age 12

Jean [Age 40]: Breakfast was a treat. Each night they left a note for the milko. Mum let Jean and Ross choose whatever flavour milk they pleased. Lime one day, strawberry the next. The milk seemed creamier up the coast, and the bread was certainly legendary around those parts. Tin loaves as high as twelve inches and nicely singed on the top were available from Bulahdelah and those areas. Breakfast was often pan fried fish.

Marie [Age 40]: Marie and her younger sister loved going away and always had sweets for the journey … A ferry ride across the river to get to the south coast was a memory that always she remembers. It wasn't the ferry or the idea of the car "swimming" the river but a special food. Before getting on the ferry the Africans would sell peanuts that were roasted on charcoal. Marie remembered the taste well. They were delicious and it was the only place in Kenya where she ever had them. The peanuts were wrapped in newspaper in the shape of a cone!

Nicole [Age 20]: They also had the option of eating downstairs in the cafeteria. This was great for Nicole and her cousins, as there was a whole range of different foods to choose from on the buffet.

Mary [Age 65+]: On special occasions, home made ginger beer would be offered - and was it good!

Barbara [Age 65+]: Hanging from the verandah beam was a canvas bag which held tank water, always sweet and cold. I wish I could get one right now.
Frances: … I can still taste that water.
Other: Oh yes.
…
Barbara: Best treat of all was Aunty's gramma pie for Sunday dinner with clotted cream.

Kelly [Age 12]: They also had a foul lunch that the adults wanted to eat which was really disgusting. And it was **not** McDonalds [which was what they wanted].

Fran [Age 40]: … Girls Brigade Camp. And the only negative aspect of that was the food. Fran was then a very fussy eater. I remember corned beef with white sauce and Deb instant mashed potato and tin spaghetti with sausages in them on toast for breakfast. And salad. She hated, loathed salad. So poor old Fran used to die, used to starve, absolutely starve …

Barbara [Age 65+]: The only negative event to happen during these farm holidays, was that each Saturday morning all the children had to drink a cup of senna tea

Holidays at Age 20

Monica [Age 20]: The food added to the atmosphere, with sea food and good wine leaving Monica feeling really happy for want of a better word.

Sarah [Age 40]: In the evenings they sipped Harvey Wallbangers at the surf club and ate fish and chips, Mexican food and hamburgers.

Gillian [Age 65+]: One memorable meal was lamb's fry and bacon, another, creamed brains.

Cordelia [Age 65+]: Double scoop McNiven's ice cream was another regular treat, compliments of Halverson's General Store.

***Hayley [Age 20]**: … we just drank so much Ouzo which was gross. It was foul.*

Megan [Age 40]: The food that was served was mostly not to her liking, being lots of sour cabbage and brawn and other European delights to which her palate was not accustomed.

Holidays at Age 40

Jean [Age 40]: The three sat around the work table in the well lit back room and shared an egg salad, some rolls and champagne. The eggs and salad ingredients were all 'that day fresh' from their own or neighbours' gardens.

Roberta [Age 40]: Roberta thought it [kava] wasn't too bad – slightly bitter and it left her tongue feeling numb, but it was true about the 'high' and she felt good …. they shared a traditional Fijian lunch cooked by the native women. Seated on mats in the Chief's bure, they ate with their fingers 'native style'. Roberta and Christopher decided to try everything, despite the flies, and although most of it looked rather unappealing, it was mainly delicious. They ate such things as goat's meat curry, spinach in goat's milk, taro, cassava and kumera and what looked like green blobs floating in curdled goat vomit (and I'm really serious) (*Others: Oh, Oh no*!). It was actually cheese which despite its appearance was yummy (*Other: Oh!*). They also had pineapple, and to drink, they had raspberry cordial (surely that's not traditional).

Ruth [Age 40]: Breakfast in the rear garden a treat – croissants and café au lait that you can only get in France.

Liz [Age 40]: … reasonable restaurants.

Susie [Age 40]: … the concept of the Market Place, where the series of different flavoured restaurants surround a common array of tables and chairs, makes feeding the family full of variety.

Sarah [Age 40]: Meals were easy as there was a proliferation of cheap cafes in town, a seafood co-op to provide prawns for the BBQ and take-away pizzas etc. delivered to the townhouse.

Shops and Shopping

Holidays at Age 12

Kelly [Age 12]*: I love spending money, I mean, when I went to Singapore we went to these markets, right. And I had like $33 and at the end of the day I had $2. And like there was a shop at the hotel and I spent it on like lollies for the midnight feast. I had no money for the rest of the time we were in Singapore.*
Phoebe: Now even though it sounds stupid, I like to save my money, sort of like half way. Yet I hate going back with money in my hand …
Elizabeth: I kind of feel like I haven't done everything if I come back with money. Like I feel I haven't done everything.
Joanna: But I think that, yes, if you spend it all on one day, then that just makes it like a bad holiday. Like my brother he didn't have that, he didn't have anything to do because he did it all on the first day.

Nicole [Age 20]: Nicole and her brother and sisters swam in the in the pool most days and also played shuffle board. They also saw three Alligators on the side of the road. They went shopping with her grandparents and went to the beach once or twice. But the best thing of course, was the shopping.

Lou [Age 65+]: Shopping on the Corso too was a new experience. So a week of great fun was enjoyed. The time was filled with many new adventures for a girl of twelve.

Transport

At Age 12

Briony [Age 12]: And my favourite holiday was to Port Douglas because we got to fly there.

Vicki [Age 12]*: Planes are always fun.*

Other (Kristen's group) [Age 20]*: The plane trips and the hotels and all that seems so exciting then (Others: Yeah, yeah, new). It was all new.*

Fran [Age 40]: It was just a real adventure getting in the train because … I don't think Fran hardly ever went on a train.

Liz [Age 40]*: … we sometimes turned some of those things into adventures (Sue: Mmm) yeah … In my mind, it's … really quite a good memory (Other: Yes). Although now I'd think that'd be an absolute ordeal (Other: Mmm). But other people were doing it all … I wasn't the one who was checking to see what time the bus came or if the train was late. I didn't know about any of that stuff (Other:Nuh; Jenny: Just came along; Fran: Just was there; Other: Mmm) …*

Julie [Age 40]: … The whole family was happy and relaxed. We still played games and sang songs in the car …

Barbara [Age 65+]: On to Muswellbrook in the upper Hunter Valley where she was met by her aunt and uncle who had a 1929 Chevrolet car (*Other: Wow*). An open car with pulled down blinds for rainy weather. This was a treat for the young traveller, as her parents did not own a car. Not too many people did in those days.

Jenny [Age 40]: Going across the Nullabor Plain was hot, incredibly dusty and there was little room in the car. There was no air conditioning and on the dirt roads the windows needed to be up to stop the fine red dust from invading the car. Everyone was hot, annoyed and tired. About an hour's drive past Eucla

on a particularly bumpy unsealed road, the tyre on the trailer punctured and the rear axle was damaged. Her father was initially angry, frustrated and upset and her parents argued about what to do.

At Age 20

Paula [Age 20]: Linda had never flown before … And she was very excited. The flight to Brisbane left at about 8 p.m., I think, in the evening and Paula remembers being excited all day. Once they got to the airport, Paula could hardly wait.

***Other (Kristen's group) [Age 20]**: We definitely got good transport in our stretch limo.*

***Other (Kristen's group) [Age 20]**: See, now on planes though, you have better stuff ... you can have individual screens and you can play Nintendo and stuff, like on Singapore Airlines.*

Clair [Age 20]: By the end of three solid days of travel, the whole family was in desperate need of time out (*Other: Ohh!*). Yucky!
Monica: I can imagine.
Louise: A nightmare for children.

Sarah [Age 40]: The car that they had broke down three times on the way which prolonged the journey … And of course, the journey home was as tortuous as the journey there, due to car break-downs.
Susie: Oh, car break-downs, oh yes.
Annie: Oh everywhere you went, you'd break down.

Fran [Age 40]: The negative parts … were the travel. I hate travelling in cars.

Jenny [Age 40]: I went on a holiday with my sister and her then husband … It was being in the car with a couple that were in tension. So that was the only difficulty for me.

Nicole [Age 20]*:* … This was rather tedious to be cramped up in a small car and stopping at vineyards along the way. Nicole and her brother were not impressed … Nicole felt that maybe she was being ungrateful to her parents for bringing her away on this holiday…

***Kylie [Age 20]**: It's all right if you go with friends, like if you're driving to the Snow, or whatever (Other: Oh yeah), that's fun ... but with your family you just fight the whole time.*

CHAPTER 8: HOLIDAYS AT AGE 12 - THE PHYSICAL ME

The Body in Motion

Frances [Age 65+]: There were so many fun things to do at Strathaven Guest House, fishing … rowing in the boat, swimming and swinging out on a rope to drop into the water, watching the cows being milked … horse riding and playing with other children.

Jane [Age 65+]: Jane had learned to swim before she came to Shady Park, so she had great fun taking part in the splashing around, and even successfully competed in swimming races and games arranged by the adults who were there in residence.

Kimberley [Age 20]: We just had a really, really bad time at Epcot, like it was so boring. Like mum and I just left and dad's like, 'No, no, we really have to give it a go' (*Other: Yeah tell me about it*). That was the story of all our holidays. Dad'd always go, 'No, no, we've got to try it' (*Other: Give it a turn*). And mum's just going, 'Nup, sorry. See you later'... And also like when you're twelve… you probably thought, 'Oh this is so spastic', like, you know, you went through that stage.

Claudia [Age 20]: The whole weekend was more or less spent in the motorboat fishing. Claudia had enjoyed fishing before this, but this weekend was totally boring. Hardly any fish were caught and she could've thought of far better things to do other than to fish.

Zoe [Age 12]: The beach was my best experience as there was so much to do. We went to the beach every day to swim. The waves were good because they weren't too big and they weren't too small. They were good to boogie board on and you could easily catch a wave.

Other (Kristen's group) [Age 20]: *Doing stuff. I found that was important when I was 12. Like having action holidays, where you like, had things that were planned (Other: Yeah) sort of things. Like skiing ...*
Other (Lara): 'cause when we were 20 what... we noticed when we were talking last time, a lot of the time it came up that we just relaxed and (Other: That's what we enjoyed) sunbaked and did really relaxing things. Whereas 12 we were always doing something. Went to this place, we did that. It was a bit more action orientated.
Other: And organised, like (Other: Yeah) 'cause I went to a resort and it was organised activities like that you did volley ball and you went swimming and you did (Other: Kids Club) Kids Club ... but you liked that but now like, 'cause they're older clubs and stuff when you go places, but I wouldn't think of doing it
Others: Mmm, Mmm.

Louise [Age 20]: The school Year Six camp was held at Pt. Wollstonecroft for a week, and Louise considers the recreation activities as positive experiences. There were many different sports and activities that Louise had never participated in before. Grass skiing was a highlight of the camp, as Louise had not skied, only tobogganing at the snow … Abseiling was another major highlight… Both activities were made more fun by the fact that the other people in her year hadn't participated in many sports either. So everyone learned together. It was an exciting time, as no one was more superior than anyone else. Rather equals in the sport. Archery was another new activity Louise tried … Other activities that Louise participated included canoeing, volley ball, orienteering, boomerang throwing and a dance night.
Other: Oh wow!
Monica: Sounds cool!
Later
Louise: ... if I had to do all this now, I don't think I could ever count it as a positive experience (Other: physically do it). I'm just not a physical recreational type person (Monica: No, neither am I) so it's really bizarre that I chose this one (Others: Yeah, Yeah) ...

Lisa [Age 20]*: Lots of fun little things. Like things that you'd think, oh, doesn't mean much to you now, but back then it was you know, a big thing.*

The Hurting Body (and fear of being physically hurt)

Tania [Age 20]: … her mum said it looked as though she had chicken pox …. So the itching progressed, and Tania was very upset. She thought she was going to scar and she was itchy and had red blotches all over her. In the next few days, both her brothers came down with chicken pox too. It was a negative because none of the other kids would play with Sally because of her chicken pox and she felt awful when she had been looking forward to the holiday.

Carly [Age 40]: … and as we drove round the Arc d' Triomphe, I threw up lots of o*melette au champion.*

Susan [Age 65+]: Three o'clock in the morning, pitch dark, cold, and the call came, 'Wake up Susan, time to go'. Bed was so warm and snug and Susan hated every bit of this early morning adventure … The mosquitoes were vicious in the pre-dawn and poor Susan hated it. No talking, lest the fish are disturbed, into the boat and the silent rowing out into the lake. They leave these swarms of mosquitoes but ... some always hitch a ride on the boat … Poor Susan can't even read. She's brought her book, but it's too dark. A loon's mournful cry is heard. It is cold. Eventually the sun slowly rises, the mosquitoes leave, and it slowly warms up. Soon it will be scorching hot, and in spite of her big hat, Susan will get sunburned.
Susan: *I should have said, things got a little better, a little soon after this because Susan was allowed to row… If my father would let me row, and that made a big difference because he just directed where I was to go, and I learned to handle the boat pretty well. And then I had some pleasure in it. But by the time I was getting old enough to do that, I would often persuade them to leave me at home.*
Jane: Yeah, yeah.

Lisa [Age 20]: The long trip [out to western New South Wales] was very eventful … sleeping in caravan parks, with fights between locals erupting at 2 a.m. after they [locals] arrived back from the RSL. Lisa got quite scared on such occasions, which meant she got to sleep in Nannies' bed in the caravan, and not in the back of the 4-wheel drive.

Edwina [Age 20]*: Probably feel that it [fear]'s a bit more magnified I suppose when you are 12.*
Alice: It's that you're so little and everything's so big (Other: Mmm, yeah).
Edwina: … lose control.

Brooke [Age 20]: And the people were a bit scary, because they were obsessed with Cassie and I because we had blonde, curly hair. And so they all kept coming up and trying to pull it. And we were a bit scared at that age (*Other: Yeah*).
Later
Kimberley: … because I was blonde, I remember in … Morocco especially, like they'd come up (same as you, Brooke) (Brooke: Yeah), like they'd touch you and stuff (Brooke: They'd want to). Because they think you're really different.
Brooke: And you're young and they want to pull your hair and (Kimberley: Yeah and they touch your hair and stuff) pinch your cheeks …
Kimberley: Yeah, so that was pretty weird.

Nicole [Age 20]: [Being hassled by Italians in Rome] Nicole was really scared because she didn't know what to do, nor did her brother and sister.

Other Themes

Novelty

Naomi [Age 12]*: One thing is like, in your holidays is, you get to go to restaurants and stuff. Sometimes you can have fish, sometimes you can have rice, sometimes you can have noodles whatever. But all the restaurants are different. That's like with holidays. All holidays are different. So say you go to the same place twice. Still the holidays are different because you do different things, like that's really good.*

Kristina [Age 12]*: And like a different kind of climate you can go to from like the normal (Alex: Yeah) and you can go down to something else that you're not used to. That's fun.*
Emily: Yeah because if you're in a different country (Kristina: Yeah) there's all kinds of different things you can do here (Kristina: Yeah) ...

Barbie **[Age 20]**: *Everything was exciting and everything was an adventure (Other: Yeah) and everything was fun.*

Lisa [Age 20]: … the major event was being snowed in at Mt Selwyn which was quite amazing because Mt Selwyn never gets any snow. And having a huge tractor clear the road, while the family waited anxiously in the car for over half an hour, with only one bottle of water. It was a little scary but made it a big adventure for the first visit to the snow that will be remembered forever.

Paula [Age 20]: Paula had never flown before … And she was very excited. The flight to Brisbane left at about 8 p.m., I think, in the evening and Paula remembers being excited all day. Once they got to the airport, Paula could hardly wait.

Cara [Age 20]: … [Cara] and her parents were staying in Syracuse when they decided to take a family trip to New York City, a very exciting prospect for a young 13 year old … once out of Syracuse … Cara, Marcus and their parents, set out on an adventure. The four-hour trip was very different considering they drove through a blizzard and ice storm. At one stage, they had to stop on the freeway, because the snow was so deep … [Cara] had never seen anything like it before. She knew this two-day trip would be brand new and exciting. When they drove towards New York City … [Cara] looked out of the window and she felt intrigued by the sky-line … and suddenly realised just how populated New York was, when they became stuck in traffic for a few hours. However, this made it all the more exciting and an authentic New York experience.

Margaret [Age 65+]: Margaret grew up in a small village of twenty to thirty houses, three miles out of Goulburn. She turned 12 in January '39, towards the end of the Great Depression, and just before the outbreak of WWII. Holidays as such were completely unknown. A bus trip to nearby Goulburn for shopping was as far as she'd travelled. However, during the summer school holidays of '39 for whatever reason, she can't remember, her mother, who had a sister living at Parramatta allowed Margaret to visit this aunt for a couple of weeks … Margaret's aunt decided to take her on an outing… The thrill of the magic of that trip has never dimmed – the great expanse of water with its wavelets dancing in the sunlight, Sydney's brilliant, blue sky over all.

Lou [Age 65+]: … In the mid-1930's Lou and her father travelled by steam train from the Riverina to Manly a suburb of Sydney to stay in a flat not far from the ocean beach. There was much excitement and anticipation as they had not been for a holiday for a couple of years and also they had worked so hard during the stone fruit season which was very busy during December when the weather was really hot.

Jane [Age 65+]: Jane learned to row a boat, during her time on the river, and even earned the odd five or ten cents from a paying passenger who needed to cross the river at the end of a day's work.

Lou [Age 65+]: Going to the surf was a great thrill and Louise was taught to use a rubber surf board, which they could hire.

Lisa [Age 20]: … learning to ski and mastering it in one day …

Cordelia [Age 65+]*: … learning new things …*

Independence from Parents (and lack of independence)

Topsey [Age 65]: With her older sister, Len, Topsey set off from Sydney to spend a week's holiday at The Entrance … This was an adventure for Len and Topsey which they had never undertaken before by themselves… Feeling a little apprehensive but excited about being trusted to travel alone, they went by tram to Chatswood where they got onto the train which took them to Hornsby where they changed trains and boarded the train which took them to Gosford.

Megan [Aged 40]*: … at Foster and we'd just go and do everything (Joan: Yeah) … I don't remember her[girlfriend's] parents being with us a lot of the time. I'm sure they were (Other: Mmm) sometimes but,*
Joan: I suppose that's like us going swimming too. We spent hours on those Lilos things (Karen: Yeah) and they [parents] weren't with us.

Brooke [Age 20]: [The hotel] didn't have a room ready for us there (*Other: Oh*). But, Kath and I didn't care, cause, then they had to put us in separate rooms so we were cheering! …

Frances [Age 65+]: One night there was a fancy dress dance … she felt grown up dressed as Gorgeous Gussie.

Tracy [Age 12]*: …we got really angry with your step-mum.*
Laura: What was that again?
Tracy: 'Cause we had to go to bed early or something.
Laura: Oh yeah.

Fiona [Age 12]: [At camp]: … all the activities were so gay like,
Crystal: Oh, we had to do like sessions on ours.
….
Tessa: Same.
Laura: We had to watch these spasticated videos . Yeah that was so boring.
Fiona: And the camp was called Morning Glory Christian Camp!
Tracy: Oh my gosh!
Fiona: And they had these things called warm fuzzies … (Tessa: Oh I know that!) If you're a goody-goody, you had to, you got one.

Kelly [Age 12]: [Overseas on a Music Tour, Sarah talks about a day in Paris with friend, Sarah]: Sarah's parents didn't want, Sarah wasn't allowed, to go shopping like by herself with me, right? …. And so they had to go with the supervisors (and they were really not very nice people). And we had to follow the supervisors and as the girl [Sarah] was her friend (that's me) she went with her too so she wouldn't be lonely. They didn't get to go anywhere they wanted to and they just followed the supervisors which was a complete waste of time. It was really boring. It, yeah, it was really boring. It was really boring. Really, really, boring.

Lucy [Age 12]: It was Lucy's first real time away from home. She was in Year Seven and her class went to the Snowy Mountains. It was early morning when the bus went from the school. Lucy started feeling sick with fear that she would miss her mum too much, and that she wouldn't want to stay at the snow. Anyway, the bus left. Lucy tried to cover her fear. She sat sipping her lemonade. Lucy didn't have her best friend on this holiday as she wasn't allowed to come (*Other: Oh*) … all other students had their

friends. So Lucy had to try and fit in. She survived the bus trip, but then came to realise that she hadn't worked out what room she would be in. It was worked out, and Lucy was in a room with people she knew. But she was not comfortable … She still felt left out and missed home. Lucy found it hard to eat still, because of nerves. On the second night, Lucy was starting to fit in a little more. But she couldn't wait to go home to Mum. The bus trip back was so long, tiring and boring. Lucy was now starting to feel really tired sick and she was longing to see her mum. She'd hardly eaten or slept and didn't quite fit in. This wasn't her most favourite holiday although she enjoyed the snow.

Joanna [Age 12]*: But I think they're good experiences … when … you're sort of, you know, always without your parents, when you're sort of independent.*
Kelly: Yes, like when I went to Europe by myself with about forty other kids.
Rebecca: Yeah, I think that's the best.
Phoebe: Well, I went to Tamworth and I would have gone by myself and I almost catched [sic] the plane all by myself.
Kelly: I went to Melbourne by myself with my sister.
Later
Elizabeth: I prefer going with my family because … I know independence is a lot but I kinda get lonely real easily.
Later
Phoebe: … I went to Tamworth without my family. I went and stayed with my cousins and that was just so much fun. We could ride motorbikes the whole time … and do whatever we want. And went down to the lake and jumped off the,
Kelly: Yeah, well Europe sort of wasn't like that because we had these gay supervisors who ordered you around. Such idiots!
….
Elizabeth: I think having family's better than having supervisors.

Kristina [Age 12]*: [On a family holiday] … your parents are always like watching over you, you know,*
Emily: Yeah, I know, it's really annoying.
Alex: It's nice to like do what you like.
Kristina: Yeah, and it's so much better with friends because like friends can relate, like younger people can relate to each other. Whereas older people can't really relate to younger people.
Alex: Yeah, and it's kind of a bit more relaxed [with friends].

Laura [Age 12]*: … when you're with your family you can't really play many games with them. But when you're with a friend you muck around and talk.*

Other (Kristen's group) [Age 20]*: … you couldn't go off by yourself and do stuff (Kimberley: I remember thinking that) … like you had to be with at least one parent the whole time …*
Other: Even when we like to go swimming and stuff Kimberley: Yeah …) … you had to have someone there sort of thing. I remember thinking that, like, 'Oh wish I could go skiing by myself … with my friend or something.
Other: You're not even allowed in elevators … (Others: Mmm, Yeah) in hotels and stuff.
Other: Yeah, that was a negative (Other: Yeah). I think.
Other: But … at that stage you didn't really care that much.
Other: No.
Other: 'Cause everything, you've always done everything with your parents.

Barbie [Age 20]*: … bad holiday experience, you weren't in control and that's why you had a bad time.*
Others: Yeah, Mmm.

Tania [Age 20]*: … another thing is when your parents go and tell you to put on sunscreen and you really don't want to.*
Paula: Or get out of the pool.
Stephanie: Yeah, 'Get out of the pool now it's time'.
Paula: 'But why mum?'

Stephanie: 'Five more minutes, OK, two more jumps. OK.'
Tania: 'Yeah, two more jumps.'
Stephanie: ' But one more, one more, 'cause I didn't put my legs straight when I dived.'

***Hannah [Age 20]**: ... you go on the holiday with your parents, but you're a little bit independent but you don't want to associate with them (Claudia: Yeah). I didn't want to do anything with them.*
Kylie: ... I think I was a bit like that ...

Sharing the Holiday with Family

Edwina [Age 20]: … I was … with my family up at the holiday house at Katoomba and my cousins were also there and my grandparents and everything like that. So there was a really big group of us. And we had a video camera on loan … and we made our own video, like all the kids. And it was round the time of the Olympics so we made all these pretend races and pretend people winning and presentation of the medals … And everyone had a go at filming, so everyone sort of (*Other: Really? Gosh*) … got to be like the camera person … And it was really good, 'cause, I mean, it's also on video so it's a memory that we can keep and we've looked back on lots of times since then (*Elissa: Yeah*) … And that was really a positive experience because it was just really fun and we were really close with our cousins and we could just play with them outside. So it was good.

Stephanie [Age 20]: They travelled to Italy to visit their grandparents, only the second Christmas they were to share together … She ate heaps with her family, exchanged gifts, and played the traditional Italian bingo game. The room was filled with happiness and the family was all together.

***Roberta [Age 40]**: At 12, the family thing is so important to your feelings of security.*
Others: Oh yes! Yeah, Mmm.

Marie [Age 40]: … no fighting with her sister and just a great family holiday.

Jenny [Age 40]: Jenny lived in Perth and went on a three week camping holiday to Albany with her family. Jenny loved this holiday. Her parents were together without any pressures and most of all without other people. As Jenny's father was a church minister having him around without other people was a luxury. The whole family was happy and relaxed. We still played games and sang songs in the car … This was a real family holiday of doing things together, fishing at the salmon holes at night, climbing, playing innumerable card and board games.

***Kylie [Age 20]**: ... All of the holidays that we went on when we were young, obviously with our parents ... (Others: Uhuh, Mmmm). And then you sort of tried to get away from them by having people of your own age or similar age like with you.*
Other: Yeah.
Amanda: But I think parents also plan them that way.
Hannah: Going with other families.
Kylie: Yeah, so they have (Other: Yeah) things to do. Like they might want to go out to dinner at night, and then they get ... you a video or something (Others: Yeah, Yeah) ... So they have an interest like in a sort of relaxation as well as you.
Other: Mmm.
Claudia: Take a grandma along to be the baby sitter.

***Rachel [Age 40]**: All the parents were on holidays! Like we were saying [at last meeting when discussing holidays in their 40s] ... we're on holidays and we're relaxed and sort of forget about the kids (Other: Mmm). And [that] probably happened then too.*
Joan: That's right.
Other: Yeah
Karen: Well, it's interesting because I know my parents have said a wonderful thing about the ship was that they could forget about us (Others: Mmm). That we were in safe hands and just forget about us.

***Sue [Age 40]**: We had to finish our lunch before we could go [for our afternoon walk]. And I hadn't finished my lunch and everybody was waiting for me to finish. So my mother went to the bathroom and, whilst she was in there, Dad ate, and got caught, eating the end of my lunch. And it was dreadful, oooh! We were almost too frightened to come back. God she [mother] was cranky!*

Jean [Age 40]: Well one year we went by train, and had to get up very early in the morning, and it must have been about three or five o'clock in the morning. And I remember Dad blowing his stack 'cause I kept falling asleep on the toilet. And Dad never got mad with us, that I can remember, except this time.

Barbie [Age 20]: One sunny year when Barbie was around 12 years of age, she got into a lot of fights with her older brother, GI Joe, who was reaching the difficult 15-16 year, 'I'm totally excellent and unstoppable age' … One particular fight was staged at a major water-works theme park. The day began with a lot of verbal slagging between herself and her brother. At first, Barbie thought this was fun and she felt happy that she could match it, so to speak with her older brother. It so happened that he began to get personal and serious with his verbal comments and Barbie began to feel distressed and sad as his remarks were cutting and unjust. She thought it would be fun at the park. Once they began to make their way up to the big water slide, G.I. Joe decided it would be heaps funny to push Barbie head first and backwards down the slide (*Other: Oh!*). Having never been on a water slide before (*Other: Oh1*) Barbie was scared out of her brain. She didn't know if he meant to hurt her as she skidded and slid down the slide, swallowing water as she tried desperately to gain her bearings and become in control. It wasn't until she hit the calm pool at the bottom that she relaxed a little and felt her heart rate slow down. She felt a little bit better. Without her noticing, G.I. Joe came down the slide, landed on top of her and pushed her under the water as he headed to the other side of the pool (*Other: Oh!*) to get out and have another turn. Barbie was once again flabbergasted and distraught. She fought off tears, as you do in public, and made her way to the top of the slide again.
Later
Barbie: I didn't write that I'd antagonised him but, you know, that's the whole … brother-sister relationship … we began to match it with our verbal comments …

***Other (Kristen's group) [Age 20]**: … we all got along quite well with our families which might not happen now.*
…
Other: We've all got views now. Whereas when you're little, you just go, 'OK, let's do that'.

Sharing the Holiday with Girlfriends (and not sharing the holiday with friends)

***Amanda [Age 20]**: … I don't think it really mattered where we were. I think as long as we were able to put in a little bit of imagination we could kind of entertain ourselves, if there was someone our own age.*

***Vicki [Age 12]**: And we went boogie boarding and I got dumped about 100 times and I got all these grass burns. But it was fun because I was with my friends. And I think that everyone has fun when they're with their friends, because friends are just, you know, like your friends.*
Briony: They're fun.

Claudia [Age 20]: A girl around about the same age stayed with Claudia and her sister Shelley and they had great fun taking the three kilometre walk along the beach to the only shop, playing with each other and practising gymnastics. We've got the videos of us … doing shows of backflips and … backward walking and cartwheels and then the splits.

***Megan [Age 40]**: … when you're with a girlfriend, I mean we basically did everything. I don't think we were ever, either away from each other's side.*
Joan: Yeah, that's like when I was with my girlfriend too.

Annie[Age 40]: They had several friends at the hotel who stayed there every year. There were two girls whose names Annie has forgotten and they all used to play in the boot room which was an enormous room on the ground floor of the hotel, where everyone would leave their coats and boots and skis. It was quite a gang and they all had great fun telling stories.

Mary [Age 65+]: One of Mary's school friends lived on a property outside Narromine with two brothers and a sister who all went to different boarding schools … So holidays were a great time for a get together.

Sally [Age 12]: Sally was taking a holiday at the snow one winter to go skiing … It was her favourite skiing holiday because there was heaps of snow to ski on. And for once there was a girl her age to play with. It was really fun because they played a lot … and after lessons they would spend the rest of the day together.

Joanna [Age 12]: *I like meeting new people on holidays.*
Phoebe: Yeah, meeting new people is so much fun.
Elizabeth: … It's just nice meeting new people.

Hannah [Age 20]: It was a good holiday for her because her parents allowed her to bring her friend, Tammy, along. This was a big deal for Hannah at the time, as she was at that age where going on holidays with your family sucked. And having a friend there would make the holiday much more fun. Her friend and herself could go to the beach by themselves without the family and check out the guys and so on …

Elizabeth [Age 12]: On the small plane Elizabeth met two girls called Tess and Misha who were from New Zealand. Tess was 12 and Misha was 10. This was perfect because Elizabeth was only 11.

Kristina [Age 12]: Another advantage of going to the pontoon is that you can meet new people and make new friends.

Alice [Age 20]: *… when you're that age, you're young and you meet everyone and (Edwina: Actually, that's another really good thing, yeah, when you go on holidays ...) you always end up making … [a] gang.*
Other: You do.
Edwina: Yeah, like at the camping grounds or something like that.
Alice: Yep, yep.
Edwina: Yeah, that was good.
Alice: And we're all hanging out together.

Other (Kristen's group) [Age 20]: *But it was a lot easier to make friends. And you just sort of did.*
Other: You just did …
Other: … you'd go over and you'd just sort of start chatting.
Other: Yeah, especially things like Kids Club (Other: Kids Club was cool). You were forced to be with them.
Other: Mmm.

Paula [Age 20]: *I used to talk to anyone, anyone!*
Tania: Me too.
Stephanie: Every photo you have with me was (Paula: new friends. It's a new friend game) holding on to a boy's hand somewhere, black, white doesn't matter.

Elissa [Age 20]: *… you're much more sociable when you're younger. When you get older you become complacent and you can't be bothered making the effort t...*
Belinda: Yeah, you just stay with like the people (Other: Yeah) you went away with.
Other: Yeah, Yeah, you do.

Hannah [Age 20]: *... it was great to have my friend come, but by the end of the holiday we were fighting like cats and dogs and stuff. The trip up there was like just squishy and tiring and I was fighting with my sister in the car and just things like that so there was negatives with the positives. P36*

Barbara [Age 65+]: How good it was to be here again with her cousins, because this child's an only child (*Other: Mmm*).
Later
Lorna [Age 65+]: *When you don't have anyone, it wouldn't matter whether it was a girl or a boy (Other: That's right), it was just somebody… Boys were great, they used to look after me.*

Samantha [Age 20]: … we were the only kids and all the rest were sort of like, pretty much, either Mum and Dad's age or like in their 30s sort of thing and so it was really horrible because I didn't have anyone to play with.

Jean [Age 40]: *I remember feeling lonely on my holiday (Other: Uhuh) ... Perhaps we weren't there at the same time as these other children. Because I do remember being on my own some of the time.*
Other: Uhuh.

Lou [Age 65+]: Clive [father] decided to go to Stanwell Park on the South Coast to stay with two friends who were quite old and really not great fun for a young girl … the only thing for Lou to do was walk and play by herself.

Jackie [Age 12]: *Sometimes when we go up to my cousins and stuff , they have a boy Andrew's age and a ... girl Michelle's age and I sort of feel a bit left out. I normally play with the dogs.*

ME AND MY PLEASURE (Including being looked after by others/being served and the contrast – looking after others and simplicity of holidays)

Kylie [Age 20]: *... when you're younger, your parents ... are doing all the organising and stuff like that, so the holiday's ... not a stressed holiday for us at that age.*
Claudia: Yeah, You just come in for lunch and come in for dinner and that's all. And swim ...

Hannah [Age 20]: *... you don't really think of any negative things that happen in the holidays. But I bet if you asked your mum and dad, they could think of things, 'cause you're kinda sheltered from that, as the kids ...*
Claudia: Yeah, yeah.
Amanda: Yeah ...

Carly [Age 40]: *... when you're 12, somebody else is making the decisions for you (Other: That's right). Somebody's saying 'We're going there' (Annie: Mmm). Somebody's saying, 'No, you can't do that'.*
Sarah: You don't have to worry about being able to afford it (Other: No).
Carly: Somebody else is driving the car that breaks down.
Other: Yeah, Yeah.
…
Susie: And you're also protected (Amanda: when you're 12) when you're 12 (Other: Mmm).
Carly: Somebody's saying, 'No!' ...

Crystal [Age 20]: *You're not worried about finances, because you don't have any money.*
…
Paula: You have no responsibility ...
Crystal: You're conscious of having fun.

Edwina [Age 20]: *… [On a camping holiday] one good thing when you're younger … (Alice: You used to go off and play) you didn't assist or ... hand a peg, or not really do anything but now you would.*

Brooke [Age 20]: [When hotel didn't have a room ready] Mum complained sufficiently so they gave us a free dinner in their posh Chinese restaurant (*Other: Ooh!*) and they cordoned the whole restaurant off for us (*Other: Really? It was just you?*). And we had a waiter for each person. Oh it was the best.

Nicole [Age 20]: The night before the anniversary celebration, Grandma and Grandpa paid for all of their children and grandchildren to stay at the Hilton Hotel on Cocoa Beach [Florida]. This was a real treat for Karen and her cousins.
…
Barbie: Gee, going to Florida, staying at the Hilton!

Elizabeth [Age 12]: *… I reckon that we are **too** lucky.*
Researcher: Uhuh.
Joanna: I don't think we're too lucky, I just think that we're,
Elizabeth: Spoiled rotten.

Topsey [Age 65+]: … [On holiday] helping around the house, playing with the girls, going to the shops if something was needed for meals.

Belle [Age 65+]: It was great fun to go over to the bails and watch the cows being milked by hand, no machines here … After milking the kids would help wash down the dairy ready for the evening milking.

Barbara [Age 65+]: *But everything to-day is so much more sophisticated (Margaret: Yes; Other: Yes) and really it's the simple things. You forget the sophisticated holiday.*
Lorna: The joy of the simple things has gone.
Other: Mmm.
Barbara: But looking back (Other: Yes) it's the simple ones really.
Other: Mmm.

Tania [Age 20]: *The games were always so much fun when you were young (Stephanie: Yeah) … it doesn't matter if it wasn't really a game. You'd make it one anyway.*
Crystal: … Imagination plays more of a role when you're younger.
Other: Yeah.
Tania: It does though. But it seems like (Paula: and you make your own fun) in a way a lot better than holidays you have now. They are much different.
Paula: Probably the days of innocence and youth.

Claudia [Age 20]: *… the best holidays are like the really simple ones though … you used to go away with the family and stay in caravan parks or little motels …*
Hannah: We always camped, we always camped.
Claudia: We'd go to the beach every day (Other: Mmm), have a barbecue.

Lorna [Age 65+]: *The holidays were lovely. It was just a lovely free time of our lives.*
Barbara: Maybe, I wonder if it's … because life was so simple that anything turned out to be special for us.
Lorna: Yes, we remember it so well.
Barbara: Whereas today, people whinge about anything.
Lorna: Anything at all.
Barbara: Anything at all.
…
Lorna: We might have had possibly more respect for our families. We knew that what we were having was hard to get.

Emotional Discomfort

Stephanie [Age 20]*: … if it[skiing fall] happened now, I wouldn't care because I fall all the time.*
Crystal: But it is big business [at age 12] isn't it, when something happens?
Stephanie: It is.

Carly [Age 40]: *At 12 … that [boy's attempt to kiss her] was the first sort of approach anybody had ever made to me. I was very surprised. I didn't know what to do.*

CHAPTER 9: HOLIDAYS AT AGE 20 - THE SOCIAL US

Sociability/Social Connectedness

Claudia [Age 20]: *I think it's like the people who you travel with a lot of the time. Like people who you go on your holidays with (Others: Yeah, Mmm) basically, that make it.*

Lucy[Age 20]: *It's amazing how much people can destroy your holiday …*
Other: Mmm …
Nicole: Or make it good.
Lucy: Or make it good, yeah.

Fran [Age 40]: *[In identifying a commonality in the group's written memories] And it was with lots of friends, or a few friends (Liz: Yeah …)… that's what's made the holiday.*
Liz: Yeah, the friends thing certainly.
….
Sue: People that you actually want to be with.
Liz: Yeah, exactly, people you choose to be with.

Karen [Age 40]: *I mean the social environment seems to have contributed to it being positive.*
Jean: Yeah (Other: Mmm), nice and easy and relaxed.
Karen: Easy and relaxed.
Other: Yeah, yeah.
Jean: Good company and being adult.
Other: Mmm.
Megan: …when we were kids we were maybe sometimes with people … you didn't want to be with. But I mean [at age 20] you sort of chose … more specifically who you're with.
Karen: Yes.
Joan: That's true, mmm.

Tania [Age 20]: *It [Schoolies] actually made us closer, because there was five of us altogether … we loved it. I really enjoyed it. And I wasn't even old enough like to get into stuff [clubs] but it didn't matter.*

Carly [Age 40]: … there were usually about four or five girls, including me, we all just used to do this [visit Greek Islands] every year, year in , year out. We laughed and had a wonderful time.

Kristen [Age 20]: It [Byron Bay] was definitely one of the best holidays we ever went on, I think, because it was all with, you know, my very closest friends … The best part of the holiday was definitely the company 'cause we all got along so well …

Jenny [Age 40]: … we made lots of, sort of, instant friends ... what we valued was really the friendships.

Karen [Age 40]: Karen had a serious boyfriend at home in Australia but was out to have a few more adventures. But they were all very innocent adventures.

Alice [Age 20]: *… if you're with a group of [girl] friends, you're … quite content to like not do as much and just sort of like (Others: Yeah, Yeah) go out together.*

Claudia [Age 20}: *Girls can get so bitchy (Other: so bitchy) but guys are sort of more easy going, aren't they?*
Kylie: Girls would be good to do things, like I mean, I know if I went away on a holiday with my boyfriend, he wouldn't want to go to the art galleries and stuff like that (Claudia: Yeah, yeah, that's

right), like he'd just refuse. He'd go, 'No way, I'm not doing that' … But whereas if I go, 'Girls, oh let's go shopping for a day and go and have coffee and do this, that and the other', [they would respond] 'Oh, yeah, cool!' … (Other: Mmm) so I suppose like it's sort of what you want to do …

Karen [Age 40]: Karen and Paul felt happy together and throughout the holiday doing activities they both enjoyed. The atmosphere was relaxed and free, comfortable and carefree … .And I guess, we were very much in love as well.
…
Karen [Age 40]:… whether I thought of it [holidaying with a boyfriend] as easy at the time, I probably didn't. It's probably in retrospect I realise how easy it was (Others: Mmm) … we just flowed together, you know, it was nice. Yeah, 'easy' is the word, I guess.
Others: Mmm.
Karen: Yeah.
Megan: It gets a bit more complicated as you get older.
Karen: Yeah.
Joan: That's right.
Rachel: I guess when you're newly in love … I mean you're still in love now, but it's different now.
Karen: Yeah.
Megan: Mmm.
Rachel: … When you're newly in love …
Joan: Just being together is enough … that's all you needed to be.
Rachel: Everything just works out and fits together,, just being together is enough.
Joan: Yeah, that's right.
Karen: Whereas now it's not just being together. We have decided view points on what we want to do, or whatever, on holidays.
Others: Mmm Mmm.

Social Discomfort

Amanda [Age 20]: [After a bomb blast in Tel Aviv] Besides the actual explosion I'd say I was also scarred by the incidents afterwards. I'm not going to go into detail here, 'cause I still find it very hard to deal with. But basically my best friends at the time, made me feel absolutely absurd for having the feelings that I had [*Amanda was crying and hysterical while the friends calmly played games, offering no comfort to Amanda. They also prevented her from phoning home to obtain comfort from parents*].

Sarah [Age 40]: …she agreed to go to Bateman's Bay for a long weekend with three blokes, two foresters and one law student. And when they arrived it was too wet and cold to swim so they went to the pub and drank beer and watched TV within a very blokey atmosphere … All the blokes wanted to do was sit in the pub, place bets on horses and watch the races on TV. And really there was nothing else to do. So Sarah was totally bored and it was really a waste of a weekend.
Later,
Carly: … that would have been horrific.
Susie: Oh, that would have been a horrible holiday.

***Tania [Age 20]**: … one [female travel companion]suddenly acquired a boyfriend … (Paula: Yeah, I know that one).*

***Susie [Age 40]**: I actually went overseas with a girlfriend of mine and discovered she was not a good travelling companion at all. In fact she wanted to do weird things like go and see all the red light areas in Amsterdam and Paris and places like that. And I just didn't have that need (Carly: Mmm mmm) and there was all sorts of competition over any boys she met and (Carly: Mmm, mmm) I just didn't,*
Annie: She was wanting to meet boys.
Susie: She was wanting to meet boys. And then I couldn't talk to them because she was wanting to possess the boys …

Lou [Age 65+]: The view was splendid and the bush very attractive but there didn't seem to be any young people that Lou could spend time with.

Other (Kristen's group) *[Age 20]: [School excursion, suffering stomach cramps and teacher advising on exercises] And I was there trying to keep my dress down. And she's like, 'Don't worry about that'. I'm like, 'Excuse me, I don't want to flash to the whole men population'.*
Later
Other: But she [teacher] was patting me on the back and rubbing my back and then she was like hugging me sort of thing. And then she's like, 'I'll give you a chest massage, you'll feel better if I rub'. 'No, I'm fine' ... She was foul!

Hannah [Age 20]: [Bogged on the family property] And my dad and my uncle and all that had ended up coming out looking for us. Like just going along the tracks looking for us. This is like, 20ks away from our house whatever. And they actually found us … We were just really embarrassed like … all the guys had come to get us. And it's like, the first time he's [boyfriend] met my parents and … my uncle's going, 'Oh, so this is what you do … You get stuck in the bush ... Kids from the city, I don't know' (like he's such a bushy). And he's going, 'City folk!'

Jean [Age 40]: [At a music festival] Sue and Steve [the other couple] were really in love and quite absorbed in each other's company. Jean felt alone and bored, even though she was happy to be part of the event. But there just seemed to be a missing ingredient. Was it fun? (I remember also … the emotional coldness from Michael was a real issue at the time (*Karen: Yeah; Joan: Mmm*) … I'd been to other festivals and … sort of explored the whole compound and quite enjoyed just looking at the spectacle but here I remember sort of sticking quite close to the ute and our own things. I just wasn't enjoying it at all.)
Joan: Mmm
….
Jean: If I'd gone in a group (Joan: Mmm) where there's more togetherness (Other: Mmm), a more cohesive group, it would have been good.
Joan: But it's hard if the other couple are a real item ...
Jean: Yeah.

Jean [Age 40]*: ... there were times when I was just left sitting (Other: Mmm) at the table drinking ... or just sititng there (Other: Mmm,mmm) pretending to drink or something and watching everybody else dance and, yeah, I should have gone, [said] 'It's 3o'clock in the morning and I'm going home' you know (Others: Yeah, Yeah) but you don't do you, you sit there ...*
Joan: I suppose yeah, I suppose you don't, when you think about it, yeah.
Jean: I mean this is where you're supposed to be, having a good time (Joan: That's right), pretending to have a good time.
Rachel: Well, maybe you're always hoping in those situations that something will happen.
Joan: Yes, exactly, exactly. That's right.

Megan [Age 40]: Megan felt very uncomfortable around his [boyfriend's] parents and his friends, not to mention the brother, who was proving to be a bit of a problem … Although she felt that his parents quite liked her, she did not feel accepted by them … (I felt really uncomfortable that whole weekend. I mean … they were not my sort of people.)

Boyfriends

Roberta [Age 40]*: [Boyfriends' parents] had a holiday house up north and ... before we were married, we would go up there and his mother would always put me in another room (Other: Oh, I was the same), just a few months before we were married and I don't know whether she did it because she thought my parents would expect I t...*

Megan [Age 40]: Kate had decided that she would take up the offer of a trip to the Snow with this total stranger, [Cousin] Geoff having had a word in his ear as to how he expected his cousin-in-law to be treated …. 'You look after her or else' were close to the actual words he said.

Rachel [Age 40]: *[Going away with a boyfriend] 'Cause I knew that it's sort of going against the norm and (Other: Mmm, mmm) I knew that Mum and Dad didn't really like it (Others: Mmm, Mmm) me going away, but I was still allowed to go, but whether that happens these days,*
Karen: …. And when I look back on it there's a feeling of, I don't know, I guess discomfort (Others: Yeah, Mmm) when I look back on it now, it wasn't all pleasure. There was that sort of feeling of the superego (Other: Mmm), the conscience there (Other: Mmm) the whole time (Other: Mmm) about doing the right thing (Others: Mmm, Mmm).
Later
Karen: … you sort of take all the baggage with you. I mean, there's the sense on holiday that you … (Other: you're free) you're free and, you know, can leave everything behind. But you don't (Others: Mmm, Mmm). You take all those sort of social rules with you, don't you? (Others: Yeah, Mmm.) And at this age, when we're talking about 20s, you know, especially if you're still living at home … (or even if you're not living at home, you're still fairly close to having left) that it's still very strong, you know.
Other: Mmm.
Rachel: Oh, definitely.
Other: Yeah.
Jean: Social control.
Joan: Mmm.

Other Themes

Security and Safety (and lack of security and safety)

Elissa [Age 20]: *[Accepting a lift in a ski buggy by a man she thought was Ski Patrol] Anyway, so I got on, and he was like, 'Do you want to go for a ride?' and I'm going, 'Oh no, just go back to the hotel'. And he started like heading off, like away from like the rest of the places and everything, into the dark and like, the lights started stopping and I'm sort of saying, 'Look can we turn around and go back'. Then I realised he was stoned and he was going (Other: Oh, no), 'No come for a smoke, come for a smoke'. And [I'm] like, 'No, no, no, just turn the thing around. And I was just like visaging [sic] myself just jumping off this ski buggy (Others: Yeah, Yeah) and trying to get back to the village …*
Belinda: Commando roll-off!
Elissa: Yeah, and I got so scared and eventually he just like, he did turn around, but he was the worst driver, he was so reckless …
Edwina: It ***is*** *a bit scary.*
Elissa: Yeah … I was terrified really, he sped back, got back to the hotel … did this huge big 180 turn, stacked the thing (Other: Oh no), it rolled on top of my leg … he was like just rolling around. He was pretty wasted. And I'm just like, 'Can you please get this thing off my leg', like it hurt. Anyway, so he finally pulled it off. I was so scared afterwards. (Other: Mmm) …
Anna: I bet you just felt sick …
Elissa: I did, seriously, when he starts driving off … thinking, 'Oh, my god what am I going to do, oh my god, oh my god' … I was so envisaging myself jumping off … Like I would never do that back here, get on something.
…
Edwina: But some of these things are really hard because you think, 'Oh yeah, are they being genuine or are they being some sort of creepy (Others: Yeah, Yeah) when they offer you' (Other: Yeah). You want to give them the benefit of the doubt.
Alice: Yeah, I know, you do.
Other: Yeah.

Independence (and lack of independence)

Liz [Age 40]: It was Christmas time. My family were pretty unhappy about me going away for Christmas … it was my first substantial holiday away from family.

Fran [Age 40]: … we actually had to leave Christmas Day afternoon and my mother was very, very upset by this.

Helen [Age 40]: She was able to really escape and had no qualms about disappointing mother or father by not attending the 'other's' Christmas Day lunch.

Lizzy [Age 40]: This was to be her first trip away with her boyfriend, Howard, totally on their own … The trip started well with Lizzy and Howard sharing the driving to Lismore and the feeling of total freedom overwhelming.

Nicole [Age 20]: *We hadn't been away for ages and it was the first time we [girl and boyfriend] sort of had been away together.*

Ruth [Age 40]: Her first independent holiday, not only away from her parents but overseas. She had been invited for three weeks in the summer holidays to stay with an old school friend and her family in Fiji. Much excitement organising a passport and ticket and travellers cheques – all new to her but the sense of freedom accompanying preparations for this trip was overwhelming.

Patricia [Age 65+]: We were both 20 and single and this was her first ever holiday away from home and on her own, away from the family … it was great to be able to decide what she wanted to do without having to wait for her family to decide and everyone to get organised.

Mary [Age 65+]: Jane and Mary were nursing together and decided it would be fun to share a week of their annual leave together, on a special holiday. Neither of them had ever been on a holiday without family (*Other: Mmm*) so it was to be a great adventure (*Other: Mmm*).

Liz [Age 40]: *I think that thing about freedom is a pretty big one when you're 20.*

Nicole[Age 20]: … the only way to do all these things [in Canberra] was to borrow Aaron's parents car for the weekend. It disadvantages them and Aaron and Nicole felt bad, but they really did need this holiday.

Helen [Age 40]: *... the freedom ... I had no pressure from anybody.*
Ruth: I think we have all said a bit of that, freedom away.
Roberta: ... It was a real thing that came (Ruth: Mmm) through. I guess it's that age where you ... want to break away, you want to do your own thing.
Other: Exactly.
Lizzy: Yeah, and you're probably independent with a bit of money.
Other: Mmm ...
Roberta: And all of a sudden it's exciting because you know you can look after yourself ...
Others: Mmm.
Helen: ... I ... noticed with everyone else and even with my own ... it was a new experience (Others: Yeah) so we were looking at adventure at that age.
Other: Yeah.

Jenny [Age 40]: *... one of the things that strikes me that is a similarity here is just that thing about youth, where you are totally (Fran: self absorbed).*
Jenny: Yes (Sue: Mmm; Liz: Yeah). That's the only person. Oh, I mean, you are caring about your friends, but you are totally self absorbed. (Liz: Yeah) Mmm) and it's just your focus on having a good time.
Sue: Mmm.

Liz: Mmm.
Fran: It's the most important thing in life.
Liz: Yeah, yeah. One of the things that I've observed of late [aged 40s], is that I tend to go along with what other people want in my, you know, family situation, partner, kids etc … In the Bali situation [holiday destination at age 20] it wasn't like that, you know. I had equal voice. You know it was sort of like almost – flip a coin if there was a decision to be made. And I value that. I really value … not having to take other people's wishes into account and often them dominating.

***Liz [Age 40]**: I have a much stronger expectation of holidays now because, you know, I work so hard in other parts of my life (Others: Mmm, Mmm) and … so I really want it to be lots of things for me now. Whereas when I was in my 20s, all of life was great (Others: Yes, Yes) … like work was great and socialising was fun and I didn't have kids and I didn't have responsibilities … and the people that I spent time with were the people that I chose to be with (Sue: Mmm, mmm). If I didn't want to go away with somebody … I didn't (Others: Mmm, mmm). Whereas now, you know, you go away on holidays and, you know, you're watching what people eat, and what they do, and what they say and how they sit and (Others: Mmm, Mmm) … and if there's fights … you can't walk away from the fight (Others: Mmm, Yeah) … often you've got to arbitrate or, you know, conciliate and sort of look after people's interests … it's another world, that world of pre-kids, pre-permanent relationship … and I didn't know and I didn't really appreciate just how glorious that time was (Sue: Mmm).*
Julie: … there's not that difference in the holiday between your everyday life (Liz: No; Sue: No) whereas now you want that difference (Sue: Mmm; Liz: Yeah). You want it to be different (Other: Mmm) and very extreme, and the reality is it's often not. You take it with you (Liz: Yeah). You transport it along.
Sue: Mmm; Liz: Mmm, yep.

***Barbie [Age 20]**: We all had more fun leaving our parents behind, that's what I noticed. I'm the only one that went with my parents, but I didn't actually **play** with them … I know when I go with my parents they pay for everything (Nicole: Mmm). And you don't have to worry about that sort of thing but you just have to worry about where you're going to spend time **away** from them.*
Others: Yeah, Mmm, Yeah, Because you feel guilty?
Barbie: Yeah, you sure do …

Nicole [Age 20]: Nicole would call and talk to Steven [boyfriend] almost every night. This also didn't help. She only missed him more and more. She really enjoyed doing things like going to the beach with him. She was especially jealous when she saw couples on the beach together. During the second week of their stay in Perth, the family decided to see some of Western Australia, and they headed south towards Busselton and Cape Naturalistic. This was rather tedious to be cramped up in a small car and stopping at vineyards along the way. Nicole and her brother were not impressed … Nicole felt that maybe she was being ungrateful to her parents for bringing her away on this holiday, when all she really wanted to be was home with Steven. The holiday wasn't that bad, but it had enough emotional strings attached to it to make you think twice about describing it to anyone. It was not a very good holiday experience.
*Barbie: I hate that when you go away without your boyfriend, and then you see couples and like, How come **they** get to go away with **their** boyfriend?…*
*Nicole: 'I should be allowed, I should be able to be away for two weeks' (Other: Yeah). Yeah ,usually you want to do things like that **with** them (Others: Mmm, Yeah). No, I didn't want to be with my family so much …*
Later
Nicole: It's a bit selfish, I suppose but … you know, you're on holidays (Lucy: It's your holiday too, yeah). You want to do what you want to do – good things.

***Barbie [Age 20]**: That's like when you go on holidays with your parents … it's a family holiday, 'So, let's do something with the family. Let's go watch them feed the pelicans'. And you're walking round with your mum going, 'I don't think so'.*
Later
Nicole: I don't think I'll be going on many holidays with my parents any more.

Lucy: … I can't imagine going on holidays with my parents. Because I know when I go home, things irritate me (Other: Yeah), you know, and I think going on a holiday would just be even worse (Other: be even worse).

Spontaneity

***Kylie [Age 20]**: And some of the best holidays are ones that are not really that (Other: planned) planned.*

***Sarah [Age 40]** : … going off with three blokes I didn't know very well …*

***Annie [Age 40]**: How we ever went off to Europe with no money, it's pretty bad isn't it?*

Physical Discomfort

Louise [Age 20]: … we went to this place first of all, like the youth hostel, and it was totally booked out and then you have to sort of walk for ages, with this huge backpack on your back and all you want to do is put it down.

Cara [Age 20]: The [coach] trip had been most uncomfortable as she had had a rather tall man next to her who seemed to take up his seat and half of hers.

***Claudia [Age 20]**: … when we were going to Spain we got a bus there for thirty-three and a half hours … It was so annoying … she'd [travelling companion] like lean over … so she was touching me … that just annoyed me so much.*
Kylie: The thing is, sometimes like to your siblings, like to my sister, I'd go, 'Get off me' and start punching her. You can't do that to your friend.

***Jean [Age 40]**: … the funny thing is, that time at Ourimbah Festival [negative experience], I slept in the ute and that was horrible, but when I went around Tasmania with Phillipa [positive experience] … we drove from here to Melbourne in her father's ute. And we slept in the back of a ute under a gum tree (Jennie: And you didn't even mention that! Inta: That's right) and I woke up in the morning and the galahs were overhead and they woke us up and it was just bliss (Karen: Yes). So yeah, the relationship I think matters most doesn't it?*
Others: Yeah, Mmm.
Joan: I think it does, mmm.

***Megan [Age 40]**: … we've got young friends … they just went off with a few basic things. They had a most wonderful time 'cause they are so in love.*
Others: Yeah
…
Joan: … Harry and … my first trip down the south coast was like that. We took one bucket and a billy and that was it (Others: Mmm). And we slept on the ground in this tiny little tent (Other: Mmm) and … it was a wonderful holiday.
Megan: Mmm.
Karen: Yeah.

<u>Bodily Appearance</u>

***Hayley [Age 20]**: I was sick of my clothes. Actually, I swapped some of my clothes with other people and bought lots of clothes … I wanted to buy everything but I couldn't 'cause I had to take it round with me.*

Alice [Age 20]: *I had to put bloody moisturising cream on every two seconds.*
…
Alice: … and then your clothes stick to your legs (Other: Yeah, yeah) 'cause you've got moisturising cream on. Then that hurts to pull the clothes off when they stick (Edwina: Mmm …) and just everything is so annoying. Getting dressed, like putting a bra on and everything, just real kills.
Elissa: Bras are the worst (Edwina: Yeah …) …

Marie [Age 40]: [In Austria] Going outside the first day was a bit of a shock. It wasn't the cold or the snow as it was falling but the fashion of the skiers. Snowsuits in all different colours, bright yellow, pink, the brighter the better! Marie and June-Anne looked a bit drab and out of place!

Belinda [Age 20]: *… I wanted just to get brown, like everywhere else. You know, so come back with a bit of colour as well. So didn't want to like fully cover up like everything.*
Other: Yeah.
Alice: Isn't it a Catch 22! Whenever you go on a tropical holiday the stereotype thing is to come back (Other: come back brown) with a golden tan.
Other: Yeah.
Edwina: I know, because, I don't brown, I have to burn.
Alice: Same, I don't tan. I put fake tan on before I went on my last like summer holiday to Noosa (Other: Yeah). And I came back paler because it all faded.
Elissa: And then she got burnt and started peeling …
Edwina: That's annoying.
Alice: I'm destined to be pale.
Elissa: The one thing about a fake tan (Other: Yeah) is that it can peel off.
Alice: That's happened to me before. I've had fake tan on and then I got burnt on my stomach … and it peeled and it went like darker and then really, really white. So I started to wear a one piece from now on 'cause it was too embarrassing.

Kristina [Age 20]: First week was sunny *(Hayley: Yeah)* and that was unreal because we just got to sunbake all the time (*Other: Yeah, for sure*) and got burnt. Did anyone get burnt …?
Kimberley: Tanned. Not me I was tanned, perfectly brown.
Other: Bronzed.

Elissa [Age 20]: *And you could just kick yourself too because it's something that,*
Belinda: Oh, it was revolting.
Other: It's like your own fault.
Belinda: Yeah, I know …
Alice: And you always say, 'I'm not ever going to let this happen again' (Other: And it does). It happens to me every summer.
Other: Mmm.
Belinda: Especially, I mean I'm so paranoid about, you know, skin (Alice: So am I), getting cancer and stuff like that (Alice: We all need to be) and I always try and keep sunscreen on just generally …
Alice: Same, but you always miss a spot.

CHAPTER 10: HOLIDAYS AT AGE 40 – FREEDOM FROM THEM

Freedom from Others

Helen [Age 40]: The holiday enabled her to relax totally, enjoy her husband's (full-time) company … She revelled in the knowledge that there would be no demands on her time and attention - all she had to do was relax and enjoy everything.

Marie [Age 40]: Marie did not have to do very much as her sister had done mostly everything.

Patricia [Age 65+]: [On a ship] They loved the after-dinner shows, dancing and swimming and just lying in the sun without a care in the world.

Jane [Age 65+]: … [On board the *Johann van Oldenbarnsfeld*] there was a good children's play room with adequate supervision where Sue [daughter] had a fine time while Jane circulated among the other passengers.

Lorna [Age 65+]: And another trip [during family holiday in Hawaii] … we were able to free ourselves from the children.

Patricia [Age 65+]: When the children were settled at night [on the ship], she and her husband used to go to an intimate piano bar. They would then walk on the deck which she said, was just magical at night.

Megan [Age 40]: *I think if you're away … without the kids and … you know that they're well looked after (Others: Mmm, Mmm), I mean, if I was worried about where they were, if I was worried if I left them … I mean, I wouldn't enjoy myself if I had to do that (Other: Mmm). But knowing … they were having a wonderful time (Others: Yeah, Mmm), I mean superb time (Other: Mmm)…*

Joan [Age 40]: *… It's just having your own space.*

Jean [Age 40]: *… I think, the feeling of freedom (Others: Mmm, Yes) comes across (Other: Mmm, Mmm) even though you were with children. You felt free because (Joan: Oh yeah),*
Karen: you were doing your own thing.
Joan: Yeah … same as Megan with her photography. You're doing things that you really like too.
Other: Yes.
…
Rachel: … you mentioned several times about not having too much to do (Joan: That's right, exactly) in the way of chores and that sort of thing.
Joan: Yes, and that was really shared. That made a huge difference.
Rachel: That's probably part of the holiday (Karen: Yes) and you don't have all the routine chores (Joan: Mmm) and things to do.
Joan: Well, it is for me, yeah.

Liz [Age 40]: *Not feeling like you've got to be the … mistress of ceremonies (Sue: Mmm), keeping everyone happy, organising everything, yeah, watching out for, (Fran: planning).*
Jenny: Yes.

Jean [Age 40]: *One of the most restful camping holidays I've ever had was when we went to Myall Lakes for two weeks and Joseph's [husband's] brother came along for three or four days. And he was a morning person and he would get up early. The kids got up, and he lit the fire and made them hot chocolate and he'd have them in the boat and they'd be going down, putt-putting along to the shops to get the bread and milk … I just came back really rested because someone else was sharing looking after the kids.*

Lou [Age 65+]: Lou came out of hospital after an operation at Crown Street Women's. She was still not very strong, but her capable friend Harry who was a nurse, and a very good person with children, suggested they should all go up to Wentworth Falls and stay with her for a couple of weeks. The two children loved Harry … Harry … took them for walks to various interesting places, such as waterfalls. She cooked them special cakes and biscuits. They worked with her in the garden … The time passed quickly and it was great for Lou because she could sit in the sun or by the fire and read, knit and sew.

Carly [Age 40]: Not only no children, no cooking, no pets …

Susie [Age 40]: … each time she arrives [at the resort] she is bursting with excitement of the thought of no beds to make, dishes to do, clothes to wash and meals to make.

Megan [Age 40]: *… relaxed sort of pace (Karen: Yeah) is nice (Karen: Yeah) … you don't seem to have to pack as much in for a day. And you don't have to do it (Other: Mmm). You don't have to do everything. You can just sort of leave it (Karen: Yes; Other: Mmm). You know, sort of nice (Other: Mmm). Don't feel forced to do anything.*
Jean: Yeah, well a friend rang me up and asked me if I'd like to go to aquarobics on Wednesday night. And I said, 'Oh yeah, that'd be great'. And then she said, 'Now, if you don't turn up, I'll know something cropped up'. And sure enough, what cropped up? It was David's birthday, Averil had to be enrolled in choir at Strathfield and Adrian had a two-hour baseball training that night!
Karen: That's right, it's never one thing is it?
Jean: And then it was the [school] books [to cover] and (Other: Yeah) how many notes did I have to fill in (Karen: Yeah; Other: Mmm), how many cheques did I have to write (Other: Yeah). Ohhhhh!
Karen: So, as you say, it's that absolute contrast from say a mother's hectic (Others: Mmm, Mmm) day-to-day existence (Other: Mmm) … A good holiday's when the pace changes.
Megan: Also I think I find the pace different for me because I leave a lot of the decision-making on holiday to Derrick [husband] (Others: Uhuh, Mmm) … because at home I make all the decisions (Other: Mmm).

Megan [Age 40]: *… we're reaching a certain age (Other: Mmm) where we can be independent of them for two weeks (Others: Mmm, Mmm). We can have other friends and do other things (Other: Yeah). But I think you've still got to balance it with those other camping holidays (Other: Mmm) and, you know, with friends going off for skiing weekends (Other: Mmm). I think you've got to do all of those things (Other: Mmm). I think if you only ever went overseas without your kids … I think, I mean as far as your family unit, it's probably not a real good thing.*
Other: Yeah.

Megan [Age 40]: *… whenever we've been away camping, I mean, we'll ignore them for hours on end, won't we? (Rachel: Mmm.) I mean, I think when you are away and they're with other children (Joan: You don't see them, mmm, mmm) basically you don't really see them. But you have to remind yourself that they're there (Other: Yeah) … You've got to make a conscious (Other: Mmm) effort to keep an eye on them (Other: Mmm). I think they're at the age where we can enjoy a holiday with them, but they're not actually with us.*
Other: Mmm.

Joan [Age 40]: *… in a group situation … you think that everyone else is looking after, possibly, (Other: Yeah) everyone else.*
Megan: And you think with the numbers (Rachel: together) so they'll be safe.
Joan: Yeah, exactly, safety in numbers (Others: Mmm, Mmm).
Megan: Which they're tend to be (Joan: I think so, yeah) but there's always that element of risk anywhere.
Karen: So, what's the feeling there? I mean, you were saying that you are relaxing (Megan: Yes). Is there a sort of contradiction there? …

Megan: I think we relax maybe at the expense of the kids. We relax by not really being that aware of what they're up to or doing (Karen: Uhuh) … we're all on holidays, 'Go away (Others Mmm, Mmm), leave us alone'. I mean, we care about what they're doing but we don't take a great deal of notice (Other: Mmm) of what (Other: Mmm) they're doing (Karen: Uhuh).

***Liz [Age 40]**: … I have a vision of … women going away together with all the women wanting to be self-centred. Would that actually work?*

***Jean [Age 40]**: I've got a friend … and she and a couple of women friends joined forces and bought themselves a terrace house around Paddington or somewhere. They just got some cheap little dump. Just so they could have weekends to go to the movies.*
Karen: Sounds good!

Responsibility for Others (including responsibility for domestic tasks)

Jane [Age 65+]: It was difficult to keep a small child content on a long train journey. A ship is easier because if it takes young children it usually has some staff and facilities for the organisation of activities for them. Jane had a suitcase full of toys, books and games which were her prized possessions or gifts to be explored. It was unfortunate that that suitcase was lost when they reached California (*Others: Oh, Oh, Oh dear*).

***Sue [Age 40]**: … whenever anything goes wrong, it's your fault.*
Jenny: Yep.

***Lorna [Age 65+]**: … I think when you do travel with children, you've always got that worry of them doing things, falling in things and you're watching them all the time. You're never relaxed with them.*

Ruth [Age 40]: … the family holidays we've had have also been very enjoyable. But for different reasons.
Other: Mmm.
Roberta: Yes … if you've got the children you still have to work in a way, don't you?
Ruth: Oh you do, you do …

***Karen [Age 40]**: When I took the kids to the States a few years ago, Andrew was six and Ashley was nine, and Andrew wanted to go to the toilet at Los Angeles airport. And I can remember sort of letting him go but my hanging around outside … and, you know, now I feel really shocked about it. I should have insisted … he came with me to the Ladies (Other: Mmm) but I remember him being at an age where he was really forceful (Other: Mmm, mmm, mmm), 'I'm not going in there, I'm not,' (Others: Mmm, Mmm) … so I said, 'Go' and I was sort of waiting. I mean there were plenty of sort of reasonable looking people going in and out. But now, in retrospect, I think, 'Oh, how could you have done that?'*
Megan: Yeah.

***Rachel [Age 40]**: … you tend to I suppose live for your children and put yourself second in lots of times … (Other: Mmm, yeah) … I mean you don't tend to think of yourself, you tend to think about everyone else first …*
Joan: … I think that's because that's the stage of life we're going through. And I sort of look at it that way. I say,'Ok, the kids need you a lot now and. you just do it … you can still get … some of your things and then I figure, well, our time'll come possibly a bit further down the track (Other: Mmm). I mean, you can still do things for yourself. But I sort of think, at the moment, we're at the stage where we are doing things … for the little time that we need to.

***Sue [Age 40]**: When Sue [I] was in Disney World her[my] husband suggested that the children at one stage go off (we were sitting having … coffee) and he suggested that they go off and ride a particular ride, that was, you know, left right, left right, left right, and I was almost beside her[my]self in that.*

What happens if you don't find them, you know (Other: Mmm). It's so packed (Others: Mmm, Mmm) so I wouldn't let them go.

Gillian [Age 65+] *... The first holiday we had was in 1985 when Helen was in 6th class at school, I think. And we put her into boarding for a term and that was the first holiday we ever had away from the children. Which was very fortunate (Eleanor: It is nice to,) ...*
Mary: I always remember the first time we went overseas, and I decided well, there was no way I was leaving my children. David [husband] had to cope with having the four kids in tow. But he did business, I had the company of the children (Gillian: Mmm). Saw things which I'd never have seen if the kids hadn't been there (Gillian: No) so it had its plusses. But it was constant (Others: Mmm, Mmm). And economising all the time (Other: Mmm) so that, you know, we never had a restaurant breakfast (Other: Mmm) or anything like that (Gillian: Mmm), particularly when we were in America. Just used to have the cereals and things all stacked in the back of the car and pull them out ... But it was fun. I'm glad we did it (Others: Mmm, Mmm).
Gillian: And the thing is, they're really good memories for the children to have.
Mary: ... well, I don't think Grant can remember (Others: No, No). They were a bit small ... They were only really little, about six, something ridiculous (Other: Oh). I should have left them at home. But I didn't.

Megan [Age 40]*: ... they're now becoming ... a little bit too adventurous (Other: Yeah)...*
Joan: Especially in the surf.

Karen [Age 40]*: ... with Brian [husband] and me often, I will feel much more, I will be concerned about how ... our friends (Other: Mmm) are getting on (Other: Mmm) whereas his attitude is, 'Look, people have made the choice to come on their own. It's not your responsibility (Other: Mmm, mmm). You know, you're not to blame for It' (Other: Yeah, yeah) ...*
Megan: ... we had other people with us too and it was just ... the next door neighbours [children] ... I sort of felt a bit responsible too (Karen: Yes), thinking, 'Well, I mean, I hope they're sort of going to enjoy it' (Other: Mmm). And I think, when they're not your own kids too, you can't treat ... yell at them the same way.

Jean [Age 40]*: There was a lack of comfort [in Rachel's camping holiday - Rachel was concerned about the wellbeing of a German couple they had invited on their camping holiday].*
Karen: Yeah, a lack of comfort between people ...
Rachel: ... there were, at times, during the day when I thought that they were feeling comfortable (Other: Mmm) and quite good. You know, they talked and seemed to get on with some of the other families, you know, talking to individuals (Other: Mmm) and ... over meals we, you know, had quite good chats with them and everything. So there were times when I felt, 'Oh yes, everything's Ok'. But nevertheless, I was still on edge, you know, thinking (Other: Mmm) even about the food, you know. 'And will this food be all right for them and, you know, are they all right in that tent, you know? Is Garby comfortable because she's pregnant?' You know, all those things (Karen: Yes, yes). So even despite the fact that there were lulls in the situation (Karen: Yes) where I thought, you know, it might be all right, it still wasn't and they left early ...
Karen: Yes.
Jean: It's interesting that it was your husband that invited them and yet you were the one who felt responsible (Joan: Mmm; Rachel: Mmm; Karen: Yeah) for their having a bad time. And is that because women are more sensitive (Rachel: Yeah, I think so) to people's feelings?
Later
Karen: Well, just thinking of what Rachel's saying about feeling the responsibility for the other's happiness ... do you feel that or not on holidays?
Jean: Oh yeah!
Joan: Mmm, yeah, I do.
Megan: Not so much for my own family.

Rachel [Age 40]*: Well our holiday at Hervey Bay was very much of a nothing holiday for me. I mean it was lovely, because we saw all the family (Other: Mmm) and we spent a lot of time with them. But we*

virtually didn't move from Peter's place the whole time we were there (Other: Mmm) … You sort of felt almost obliged in some way (Other: Mmm), in an underlying way, to be there and to be talking and seeing them. So we couldn't do anything.

Marie [Age 40]: Staying with Marie's sister [is] sometimes a strain, everybody trying to keep everybody else happy, example, sister has no washing line even to hang the washing out, it has to be hung up on the back stairs (*Other: Ohh).*

Susie [Age 40]: For Susie, the packing of bags and the organising of children is foul – that fact makes the arrival into the rooms at Coolum even sweeter.

Helen [Age 40]: Considerable tension prevailed until she and her husband stepped into the taxi for Sydney Airport. And that's when the holiday really began.
Later
Helen: That's [organisational problems] what always gets me …
Roberta: It's exhausting just doing that.
Helen: Yeah, but even to go like, to go away for a weekend (Other: Mmm) I find at my age by the time I've organised everyone, packed everybody up and then get back. Like, you're away, have a beautiful break then get back and you've got to tidy up the mess (Other: Mmm) and you sort of, (Other: Was it worth it?) was it worth it, yeah …
Ruth: I think that's probably the hardest part. I always dread having to do that preparation (Others: Mmm, Yeah) even if you are just going for a weekend (Others: Mmm, Yes, that's right). Organise all the small details.
Roberta: That's right. If you're just going as a couple then when you get back there's not all that extra unpacking either(Other: Mmm) because that's one of the worst parts as well (Other: Uhuh, Mmm) isn't it? Unpacking and putting everything away and washing (Others: Yeah, Yeah) everything as well.

***Jean [Age 40]**: There must be a way of making sure that the fridge is empty before you go. Don't you just hate that before you go camping!*
Karen: There's all the housework.
Jean: You've got all this stuff you don't know what to do with.
Megan: It just stays there until we come home!
Jean: Yeah.
Karen: Or a house that cleans itself (Jean: Yea) the minute you walk out, yeah.

***Megan [Age 40]**: … I think because … you go to all that trouble to pack everything (Joan: Mmm), you know, you spend a couple of days getting ready … go shopping, get the food and make sure all the clothes are washed and everything's packed, packed in the car, you spend hours sort of getting it all and you drive and drive and drive and drive and drive … and you get there, think,'Great we're here!' and it's the pits! (Others: Mmm, Mmm).*

Margaret [Age 65+]: In January, '68, Margaret and her entire family, Mum, Dad and five children ranging in ages from 5 to 18, went on a week's holiday on board a 35 foot Halvorsen Cruiser. The logistics of planning and arranging this week were amazing (*Fay: With five kids…*). Graham (the husband is Graham) looked after the technical bits, booking and learning about handling the cruiser and the water rules and regulations etc., but the rest was left to Margaret. Clothing for seven, toiletries, all the personal items, swimming gear etc., had to meet the requirements of limited storage space, and, as well, they had to supply all their own bed and bath linen. In addition, food staples and enough fresh food to last for the first couple of days had to be brought along. (I don't know how I did that then …)
Frances: I don't know how you did for seven people either.
Margaret: You know, I was working (Other: Mmm) and would have the rush of Christmas (Other: Mmm) and then straight after Christmas we went off (Frances: We were all mad …) and yet it seemed,
Lorna: You do it (Margaret: Yes) and the more you (Frances: Because we're all mad) do, the more you can do (Other: Mmm).
Margaret: Well, that's ri[ght] and, besides, being so much younger makes a big difference.
Others: Mmm, You do more, Mmm).

Barbara: And not being sexist, a man couldn't do it.
Margaret: No, of course not. Mine still can't do it.
Barbara: They don't have the organisational ability.
Lorna: They get into a tizz, an absolute tizz about things like that.
Other: Mmm.

***Jenny [Age 40]**: And it's frustrating too when you've invested like the money and you've been looking forward to it (Fran: Oh yes, oh yes, oh yes).*
Liz: The reality, the energy (Jenny: That's right) and … you know, when you come back there's going to be a whole lot of work too (Other: Mm) because you've got to catch up (Other: Yes) on all the, you know, the washing (Other: Yes) and all the other sorts of things (Others: Mmm, Yeah).

Jane [Age 65+]: Jane always finds luggage a problem but over the years it's become less so with synthetic fabrics that dry quickly and need little ironing. But in 1959 the problem of varying and caring for clothes for a child and adult became a major one. One couldn't cope with changes for weather and occasion without carrying a lot of baggage. Friends and family were generous with gifts, so Jane had to buy another footlocker, a large footlocker, to cope with the last leg of the trip from California to Sydney.
Susan: But I tell you, luggage!
Amelia: Yes.
Jane: And luggage is just an obsessive problem.
Amelia: A pest.
Susan: And then I was alone a fair bit on that trip. And I was alone with the two kids and two big suitcases and a couple of small ones in Chicago. Changing trains in Chicago (Amelia: Oh dear) with a temperature of one hundred.
…
Susan: And I was so hot and so bothered. I had a white felt hat I was wearing. I perspired right through the felt hat …

Other Themes

Happy Families (including unhappy families)

***Joan [Age 40]**: Probably one of the best holidays we've had, mainly because, even though there wree seventeen of us in this tiny little cabin (Other: Yes) … everyone had plenty of space. The kids could go out and do things outside or in. There was a loft. And there were so many different things that people just went off and did in different groups all the time. And it just flowed. There were no arguments, no disagreements ('we want to go here') and it was really, really good (Other: Yeah). It really sticks in my mind as a family holiday, you know (Other: Mmm). I was thinking about ones that Harry and I've had (Karen: Yes) but this one was really good (Other: Yeah) I think because everyone got to do what they wanted to do.*
Others: Yeah, Mmm.

Sarah [Age 40]: The children were free to jump on bikes and ride safely along the beach and the town roads, and could be independent in selecting their activities when the family was not participating in joint sightseeing trips. There were plenty of activities to choose from …

***Megan [Age 40]**: … If you're getting on well and not having any hassles (Joan: Mmm; Other: Mmm) I think that can make a big difference.*
Other: Mmm.
Karen: And I wonder, does that make more a difference for women than for men,(Other: Probably) that sense of everybody being happy?

Patricia [Age 65+]: The children were very happy with this [cruise] holiday. There was so much for them to do and the Kids Club kept them entertained all day. And their days ashore were so interesting.

Cordelia [Age 65+]: Enga [New Guinea] offered a diversity of occupations for travellers. Mark and Adrian enjoyed several helicopter flights and drives with their father in yellow Toyota four-wheel drives through the razorback ranges. On their return, they excitedly reported how many of these vehicles were 'bugger-up', having failed to negotiate hazardous corners on the road. They readily made friends with the children of other European families whose parents were contracted there. They happily spent time with indigenous 'mankies' (young men), trekking the local bush-paths and rolling wheeled poles for hours on end.

Jane [Age 65+]: In addition to the usual programme of ship's activities, there were other things to do like creating an outfit for Sue to wear to the children's costume party, a fancy hat for Jane to wear to the adult's Mad Hatter's party and daily excursions when they hit port … A big event at their Cincinnati stay was the celebration of Sue's 5th birthday with her more grown-up cousins and other relatives for a mid-day backyard barbecue. Of great joy was the box containing every little girl's dream – a mink stole, a diamond ring, an orchid and a string of pearls. These were worn with all possible dignity on every possible occasion for the next six months of our trip …

Anne [Age 65+]: They [the children] were happy to be going to Jamberoo … there were very few restrictions and other children to do things with … the owner Ray Page was an older woman whom everybody admired. She took a great deal of interest in each child. All of Anne's children were very happy to spend time with her.
…
I stayed In Jamberoo (*Other: Mmm)*. Jamberoo was also not far from Sydney. Anne's husband could come down for the weekend, Friday night to Monday morning, so this sort of holiday seemed to suit the whole family.
Later
Anne: [A good holiday experience was] ... happy, easy children ... children that were content and settled and happy on ... the holiday that I happened to be with them (Cordelia: Mmm, mmm).
...
Anne: If we got the kids (Cordelia: Yes) set, we (Cordelia: Yes) could do whatever you wanted (Cordelia: Yes) OK?

Mary [Age 65+]: … the children enjoyed the company of other families.

Lorna [Age 65+]: Lehana … originally a whaling station with the old sailing ships tied up to the wharves is still a wonderful place to visit. The children loved it as this part of the island especially had a lot of history and the shopping was just what they wanted.
…
The children met lots of other families.
…
Other highlights of the trip on this very lovely island [Oahu] were a day spent, for the children especially, snorkelling and picnicking at Hanauma Bay … swimming at Waikiki Beach (which was great news to tell their friends back at school), a luau one evening and a visit to Sunset Beach where the world's best surfers go to test their skills in the mountainous waves and the bonsai pipeline. This was the ultimate for our son, Michael.

Gillian [Age 65+]: [A skiing holiday at Perisher] Much jollity with the boys being rather raucous in the boys' dormitory. [On the day of departure] the children were desperate to ski for half a day … So at opening time they all skied to the Centre and bought a half-day ticket and skied all morning doing something like sixty-six runs each. Can you believe it!

Jean [Age 40]: They [kids] were not co-operating all that well, and confined to an uncomfortable tent with insufficient games to play … a fight broke out amongst the troops and a toy got broken. The accompanying yelling that must have gone on in her absence was embarrassing to her in a camp site where there were no walls to soften the sounds of conflict.

Carly [Age 40]: … I won a holiday to Bali, to Club Med, and it was a holiday for two people. And the first thing that happened was that I said, 'If we were going to Club Med, we had to take the children' because it's not the sort of holiday that I imagine choosing by myself. So that immediately put Rick in a very negative frame of mind about it, because he had to pay for the three children one of whom was actually on adult fare at that stage.

Fran [Age 40]: [Holiday in Bali with the children] And in a sense, you know, it was just so frustrating , high expectations (*Liz: Yeah*), you know, 'This is wonderful', 'this is a different culture' (*Other: Yes*) … 'different language', 'let's experience from our resort room (*Other: Mmm*) when we venture out' (*Other: Yeah*), 'let's just immerse ourselves (*Other: Mmm, mmm*) even [from] nine to five and then come back to our haven, which [is] what I think a nice holiday (*Other: Mmm*) to have. But there were a lot of cajoling and (*Other: Mmm*) yelling (*Other: Mmm*) in terms of what [we] got to do (*Other: Mmm*) so that was a real negative in it.

Marie [Age 40]: Got outside, packed up the car, found water pouring out of the side of the house – the hot water system had broken. Half past five on a Sunday morning had to ring a plumber, waiting for him to come. He came and turned off a tap and it cost $165 and the heater was not even fixed. Late then leaving to get up the road, everybody in a bad mood. Husband still wanted to stop and have coffee breaks. Marie wanted to press on and get up the road. Traffic busy and got to Queensland in the dark. Driver tired and cranky and everybody else too.

Rachel [Age 40]: *Generally [bad experience] happens when the tent goes up.*
Megan: Oh, yeah!
Joan: Always!
….
Joan: Once it's all set up, if it's lovely weather, it's fantastic. They're great holidays.
Other: Yes, they are.
Karen: But it's got the potential.
Joan: Yeah, it has, like if it's wet it's miserable the whole time.
Karen: Well, it's like being on the boat …
Other: Mmm.

Social Interaction

Megan [Age 40]: Within the course of the first few days of the trip a certain rapport and friendly familiarity had formed within the group and everyone was enjoying the company of everyone else.

Carly [Age 40]: And even the dinners with business people were fun and relaxed after she'd been by herself all day.

Jean [Age 40]: *And it was good to be with people that you might not see for a couple of years but the instant you meet them it's like you've never been apart.*
Karen: Yes, yeah
Joan: Yeah, that's great.

Rachel [Age 40]: *We stayed with relatives which was lovely which was really nice. It worked out really well actually.*
Others: Mmm, mmm.

Annie [Age 40]: *… it's nice travelling in a group too, that's quite fun.*
Carly: Mmm, great fun, I think.
Annie: … except for Colin's parents, everyone was our age and, you know, the same, doing all the same sort of things. And that's really nice. It was fun.

Sarah [Age 40]*: … we were all pretty conscious about not treading on each other's toes all the time or, you know, organising things for other people they didn't want to do or things like that (Other: Mmm, Mmm). We were overly conscious about that because this other family are particularly active, much more than Keith and I. And they were into the whitewater rafting (Other: Mmm) and all the rest of it. And we weren't. But, you know, Freya [daughter] particularly would like to go whitewater rafting, so she joined them. And sometimes, we'd take their kids with us. It sort of worked well too with the mother-in-law because she was a very easy woman with a great sense of humour and she was very careful to say, 'Now you go off and do your own thing. Don't worry about me'. To the point where, you know, we'd say, 'Well, of course, you're coming to dinner tonight. You're not sitting in again' (Other: Yeah), you know, that sort of thing. So (Other: Mmm) it was a good mix of people.*
Carly: But also, for children to have a friend rather than just (Susie: Exactly, yeah) their brothers and sisters who they'd be fighting with (Susie: Yes, well that, yes). To have a friend who they can do exactly what they like and they know each other well enough to know what they want to do. It's huge, a huge help.
Sarah: Yes.

Helen [Age 40] [Accompanying her husband on a business trip]: Just she and her husband, a small group of 'other travellers' whose company they could enjoy or avoid as their desires required … She found common interests (and industry gossip) with the organisers of the trip and met up with a few colleagues en route which meant she had fun in her own right rather than simply accompanying her husband.
Later
Helen: … I loved being with Richard but if it had have been just me and Richard and these other people, I think I would have not enjoyed it (Other: Mmm) quite so much but to be able (Other: That's why, that's right) to giggle and gossip, you know, about people that we knew mutually (even though we didn't know each other before the trip)… you could put that down to personal comfort and also that I felt like I was justified on being on the trip. I felt a bit odd about being a wife and coming along for the ride.

Jane [Age 65+]: … a month of great fun and sociability at Cincinnati …

Eleanor [Age 65+]: They had an amazing holiday with their friends, seeing the amazing beauty of God's creation away from the hustle and bustle of the mainland. We did not care about TV or phones, we were just with our friends wandering and exploring this beautiful place.

Gillian [Age 65+]: [A skiing holiday at Perisher] … many laughs and good friendship.

Carmen [Age 65+]: [In Fiji] Friendly local people.

Lorna [Age 65+]: … the family arrived home having made many friends and the ultimate thrill, on the way home, was to meet Tina Turner's band and get all their autographs.

Frances [Age 65+]: [Visiting her sister] There was great rejoicing for Frances and Catherine's families as everyone only gets together each twelve months or so.

Cordelia [Age 65+]: [In New Guinea] invitations were received daily to attend meals in homes all around the province. Friendships were forged …

Marie [Age 40]: … This was the first time Marie and her family had been together for about twenty years and it was especially nice at Christmas.

Jean [Age 40]*: The feeling that you belong sticks in my mind as something in common with my holiday experience (Karen: Right) and not only the one that I've written about but other … as well (Karen: Yeah). Just that feeling at one with who you're with. And finding your roots – I think that must have been pretty amazing.*
Karen: Yeah.
Other: Mmm.
Joan: Yeah, I think that would have been good, just finding out where you came from …

Jean [Age 40]: Jean wasn't sure if the worst thing was the wet weather or the lack of adult company … Jean was very lonely and ached for some company. At times she sat in the car and played tapes to herself … At other times she tried talking to friends on the phone.
Later
Jean: I was bored and the kids were bored.

Illness

Amelia [Age 65+]: They boarded the ferry and were then invited by Barney the tour leader to go downstairs with him where he introduced them to one of the crew, Trevor. Maybe he was the official cook because he immediately plied them with bluff oysters. They were delicious, really fat oysters, renowned for their taste. Amelia, loving oysters, really enjoyed them until the journey started to get rough and then they started to rock and roll. They hadn't been told there was a meeting of five ocean currents in the Foveaux Strait … Amelia spent the rest of that journey lying down on Trevor's bed feeling very sick and sorry for herself.

Carmen [Age 65+]: … after three days on the boat we were back on dry land much to my relief … But, to my disgust however, I felt as if I was still on a rolling boat for another week (*Other: Mmm; Frances: Oh, you do*) and the feeling rather spoilt my pleasure in the rest of the trip (*Frances: A couple of days can do that*). John [husband] was somewhat disbelieving of my predicament, but we happened to meet another couple who'd been on the boat and the wife complained she also could still feel the floor moving (*Other: Mmm, that's to do with your ears*).

Lack of Safety

Roberta [Age 40]: [Suva] … at every corner they were accosted by unsavoury-looking Indians offering to show them around (they had been warned to keep away from these people under all circumstances) … They were so thirsty and it was hot and crowded. Both bought a coke … and Roberta's was in a dirty bottle. Nevertheless she drank … hoping she wouldn't get diarrhoea. They decided they didn't like Suva much at all. It gave them a 'creepy' feeling and they felt unsafe and thought it was very ugly.
Later
Lizzy: And safety comes into it too (Other: Yes), the feeling of being safe (Others: Yes, Mmm) 'cause, you know, I began to feel really uncomfortable (Other: Yes) and … the best thing that happened was that we got home safely (Other: Yes).
Roberta: Yes, that's right, yes, I did feel very unsafe (Other: Yeah) and I didn't even feel safe about eating or drinking anything either. It seemed, you know, I kind of felt quite vulnerable (Other: Mmm) actually …

***Fran [Age 40]**: … [At age 20] I'd been to … India and Nepal and Afghanistan and all sorts of places like that. But you know, twenty years down the track I'd sort of had a new dose of nerves about, you know, getting off the plane … going through customs and all that sort of stuff.*

CHAPTER 11: HOLIDAYS AT AGE 65+ - BEYOND ME, US AND THEM

A Pleasure in the World (including learning)

Cordelia [Age65+]: *... I like to be where people are. I like to be where things are happening. And I like to be where you can go to a library (Other: Mmm) or a museum or a gallery (Anne: Mmm). I like to be where these things are.*

Barbara [Age 65+]: … a Tribal Elder and a ranger took the group on a very informative bushwalk telling how the tribe survived in such harsh country.

Carmen [Age 65+]: We enjoyed the holiday because we hadn't been to Japan before, we hadn't seen where our son lived, and he had a girlfriend living with him who is actually a German girl and we hadn't met her … And it was also very positive in that it's an interesting country to actually visit … You've got a big variety of scenery (*Other: Mmm*) and not huge distances to travel (*Others: Mmm, Mmm*) … And very few Caucasian people there (*Other: Ohh*) which was interesting.

Amelia [Age 65+]: When Blair the farmer arrived home at 5 p.m., it was beginning to get dark. But he was obviously very anxious to show off his farm. So the visitors put on their coats and piled into his ute with the sheep dog outside on the back and off they went. They in the truck, and the dog rounded up sheep, deer and cattle, with much barking and excitement experienced by everyone. Particularly the visitors and the dog. It was very cold and raining lightly by this time and getting darker by the minute and poor Blair seemed to be continually getting out and opening and shutting gates. And at the same time, giving them a running commentary on the working of the farm. This was very interesting to the visitors, particularly concerning the deer, where the two Australians were concerned.

Mary [Age 65+]: *... the school trip to Germany and France a couple of years ago, we were in one of the cathedrals and I realised there was a children's guide. So I grabbed hold of one of the boys (who really was a delight, had the most brilliant imagination). And I said, 'C'mon, Richard, let's do this place together'. Well, the pair of us, we got into tangles. We couldn't work out which was north, south, east or west and where something was. There were little things at times to find and, well, it was good fun doing it with a kiddy (Other: Mmm). You look at things so completely differently.*
Libby: Yes, you do too.

Social Connectedness (and lack of social connectedness)

Lorna [Age 65+]: *You have a lot of diversion with other people, yes.*
Frances: That's what I love, to meet other people.

Cordelia [Age 65+]: *And the proprietor of the place ... was Korean and, you know, when we were leaving and booked out, he came and sat down and spoke with us, gave us his card, asked if everything was satisfactory (Other: Mmm), was there anything that he could have done to make our stay more pleasant. I've never encountered anything like that before.*
Anne: No, no. That's Western Australia for you.
Cordelia: Mmm, it was wonderful.

Cordelia [Age 65+]: Cordelia, in her short time there [Fremantle], was able to bask in the hospitality, old-world manners and the charm of a quiet, yet vibrant city; consideration always extended to tourists and locals alike – whether the obliging store proprietor or equally obliging general practitioner.

Cordelia [Age 65+]: The reception hostess was crisp and condescending and reluctant to provide details in respect of barbecue areas … and other facilities … On Monday morning, Owen visited reception

to enquire about exit time, while Cordelia [a diabetic] made preparations for morning tea. He quickly returned to inform her that they had less than ten minutes to vacate otherwise they would be charged an extra day. Remonstrating that it was necessary for Cordelia to partake of her mid-morning snack, the receptionist curtly informed him that she could do that at the restaurant, but not remain in the cabin. The time of exit was 9.30 a.m. exactly. Cordelia consumed biscuits and diet cordial on a side road lay-by …

Safety and Security (including lack of safety and security)

Mary [Age 65+]: … when we eventually went on the tour which was later in the day, by the time it finished, it was dark and we … didn't feel comfortable.
…
Mary: But it was too dark to go back down to the markets (*Gillian: Mmm*), the bazaar area. And we sort of looked at it and it was all sort of dim lights … and we thought "Nuh uh".

Carmen [Age 65+]: … it [gondola] was rocking and carrying on (*Frances: Oh yes*). There was quite a strong wind … I wasn't at all happy … (*Frances: I won't go in those. I'm terrified of them*) … And I was quite relieved when eventually we started coming down a hill into a bit of a valley, and we were travelling at about the tree-top height, instead of considerably higher. And I felt a lot more comfortable then.
…
You do have … a sense of achievement having done it but you still (*Other: Mmm*) don't enjoy doing it (*Other: doing it*), no.
Other: Mmm.
Fay: Not on that thing.
Colleen: No, I don't think so.

***Jane [Age 65+]**: Got on the plane and it took about twelve passengers. It flew this far above the ground with the captain looking out and talking to his friends over his shoulder all the time. And I kept wanting to say, 'Watch where you're going!' It was the flight from hell. It was a disaster. And I seemed to be the only one upset about this. These other people were used to it. This little commuter plane and they didn't expect anything else. And I was just terrified the whole time. I just thought it was an out of this world, the flight from hell if ever there was one.*

***Frances [Age 65+]**: And I turned a somersault and one of my earplugs came out so I went to grab it and when I went to come up, in that split second, I didn't know which was up and which was down (Other: Mmm). And also, for a few seconds, I panicked and thought, 'Bloody hell, got to hold my breath or I'm going to drown here and Alison [travelling companion] doesn't know, she's resting on the lounge, she thinks I'm having fun'. And it really frightened me for five seconds at the most, I guess (Barbara: Mmm) ... But, oh golly, it gave me a fright (Others: Mmm, Mmm, Yes).*

Competence (including lack of competence)

Anne [Age 65+]: There was quite a gathering at the meeting in Perth the night before we left. She met the leader and the flora expert as well as other people going on the walk … In retrospect, one should have had some warning as to the capabilities of the flora expert from the way he behaved that night. The meeting was held in his house, and he seemed totally disorganised , not enough information, not enough written notes, not certain where we would be staying overnight during the trip, and very unwilling to give too many details … From the time the party left Perth, it became apparent that the flower expert was also in charge of where we would stay, where we would camp, what parts of the Bibbulmun Track we would be on. And he was a hopeless navigator. He certainly knew his flowers and whenever things went awry, he would change the conversation back to flowers … he did not know how incompetent he was. He certainly lost our respect and although we had another ten days, we all had to make an effort to keep a focus on the trip.

…
Anne: I had to fill in a questionnaire as to what I thought of the trip, and I decided I wouldn't do it. I would write on the bottom (Cordelia: Yes). Because I couldn't do it. I was too close to the trip at the end of the trip (Cordelia: How dreadful) to be kind in any way.

Amelia [Age 65+]: There was a pianist on the ferry who played requests from the mixture of Canadian, American, English, Scottish, Irish and Australians in the group. She, Maureen, played the national anthem of Canada and then remarked that the Australians couldn't make up their minds what their anthem was (*Jane: Oh great, this is just in New Zealand*). They changed it every week, and this week it was –, and she played, *I Like Aeroplane Jelly* (*Jane: Oh, you couldn't believe it, you couldn't believe it! Really!*). Amelia couldn't help laughing but also felt slightly irritated. I was very cross.
Amelia: I was really upset about this. I feel as though there was an antipathy there that I just had not expected.

APPENDIX F

BACKGROUND INFORMATION FOR WRITTEN HOLIDAY EXPERIENCES AT AGES 12, 20, 40 AND 65+ YEARS

Table F.1: Background Information for Holiday at Age 12 – 12-Year-Olds: Positive Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Ashley	1994/ 5 days	Port Stephens	Family	Car	Boat	Parents
Vanessa	1993/ 2+weeks	Port Macquarie	Family	Car	Resort	Parents
Christie	1995/ 1 week	Jindabyne	Family, friends	Car	House	Parents
Sally	1994/ 1 week	Charlotte Pass	Family	Car	Ski lodge	N/A
Group 2						
Felicity	1996/ 9 days	Queensland	Family*, g'ma	Car	Resort	Mum, family
Zoe	1997/ 1 week	Nelson Bay	Family, friends	Car	Unit	Family, friends
Jackie	1995/ 2 weeks	Yamba	Family, friends	Car	Camping	Family
Kate	1997/ 3 days	Lake Munmorah	Family	Car	Caravan	Dad
Jennie	1996/ 18 days	S/pore, Malaysia	Family	Air	Hotel	Family
Group 3						
Kelly	1997/ 4 days	Singapore	Choir Tour	Air	Resort	Choir
Joanna	1996/ 1 month	S Francisco/US	Brother, mother	Air	Hotel	Family
Phoebe	1996/ 3 days	Grand Targee	Family*	Car	Hotel	Dad
Elizabeth	1997/ 2 weeks	Fiji	Family	Air	Resort	Parents
Rebecca	1995/ 10 days	Mauritius	Family	Air	Resort	Dad
Group 4						
Vicki	1995/ 10 days	Warrumbungles	Family	Car	Tent	Dad
Briony	1997/ 1 week	Port Douglas	Family	Air	Unit	Family
April	1997/ 3 weeks	Tasmania	Family/VR	Air	House	NA
Naomi	1997/ 1 week	Noosa Heads	Family	Car	Apartment	Dad
Group 5						
Laura	1996/ 3 days	Patonga	Brother, friends, g'parents	Car	House	Brother, G'pa
Tessa	1996/ 1 week	Castaway Is.	Parents	Air	Resort	Parents
Tracy	1996/ 5 days	Gold Coast	Family, friends	Air	Hotel	Mum, friend
Fiona	1993/ 2 months	Egypt, Rome Denmark,S/pore	Mum	Air	Hotel	Mum
Group 6						
Emily	1998/5 nights	Jindabyne	Year 6	Bus	Cabin	Teachers
Kristina	1997/ 2 weeks	Plantation Is.	Family	Air	Resort	Family
Alex	1997/ 5 days	Charlotte Pass	Mum	Bus	Ski lodge	Mum
Bridget	1997/ 18 days	Bali	Parents	Air	Hotel, cottage	Family

Note: * = 1 parent

Table F.2: Background Information for Holiday at Age 12 – 12-Year-Olds: Negative Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Ashley	1996/ 5 days	Port Stephens	Family	Car	Boat	Parents
Vanessa	1994/5 days	Umina	Family, families	Car	Cabin	Parents
Christie	1995/ 1 week	Jindabyne	Family, friends	Car	House	Parents
Sally	1995/ 18 days	Cairns	Brothers/VR	Air	House	Not Avail
Group 2						
Felicity	1996/ 9 days	Queensland	Family, grandma	Car	Resort	Mum, family
Zoe	1997/ 1 week	Nelson Bay	Family, friends	Car	Unit	Fam, friends
Jackie	1995/ 2 weeks	Yamba	Family, friends	Car	Camping	Family
Kate	1997/ 2 weeks	New Zealand	Sister/VR	Air	House	Mum, g'ma
Jennie	1996/ 18 days	S/pore, Malaysia	Family	Air	Hotel	Family
Group 3						
Kelly	1997/ 2 days	Paris	Choir Tour	Air	Hotel	Choir
Joanna	1996/ 6 days	Hamilton Island	Mother, brother	Air	Hotel	Family
Phoebe	1992/ 2 weeks	Bonny Hills	Family*	Car	House	Mum, kids
Elizabeth	1995/ 2 weeks	Indonesia	Family	Air	Club Med	Parents
Rebecca	1994/ 3 weeks	Kenya	Family	Air	Hotel	Father
Group 4						
Vicki	1997/ 3 days	Hawks Nest	Family*	Car	Tent	Dad
Briony	1995/ 10 days	Currumbin	Family	Car	Unit	Family
April	1997/ 1 week	Noosa	Family	Air	Hotel	Parents
Naomi	1997/ 3 days	Fraser Island	Family	Car	Resort	Dad
Group 5						
Laura	1997/ 1 week	Patonga	Brother, friends, g'parents	Car	House	Self, g'parents
Tessa	1998/ 3 days	Myall Lakes	Year 7	Coach	Tent	Teachers
Tracy	1997/ 6 days	Salamander Bay	Family, friend	Car	Cottage	Parents
Fiona	1998/ 4 nights	Morning Glory Camp	Year 7	Bus	Cabin	Kids, Teachers
Group 6						
Emily	1999/ 7 nights	Fiji	Family*	Air	Hotel	Mum
Kristina	1997/ 10 days	Byron Bay	Family	Car	Resort	Parents
Alex	1997/ 5 days	Noosa	Family	Air	Resort	Family
Bridget	1997/ 18 days	Philippines	Mother, friends	Air	Apartment, cottage	Mum, friend

Table F.3: Background Information for Holiday at Age 12 – 20-Year-Olds: Positive Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Tania	1988/ 7 days	Brisbane	Brothers/VR	Air	House	Dad
Crystal	1988/ 10 days	New Caledonia	Family	Air	Club Med	Parents
Stephanie	1987/ 1 month	Italy	Family/VR	Air	House	Parents
Paula	1988/ 1 week	Brisbane	Mum, sister/VR	Air	House	Mum
Group 2						
Kristen	1989/4 weeks	Canada/USA	Family/VF	Air, car, bus tour	House hotel, van	Parents
Samantha	1989/ 4 weeks	Europe	Family	Air, car,	Hotel	Parents
Brooke	1989/ 2 weeks	Malaysia, S/pore	Family	Air	Hotel, resort	Parents
Kimberley	1990/ 3 months	U.S.A., Europe	Parents	Air, car, bus	Hotel, apartment	Parents
Group 3						
Edwina	1988/ 1 week	Katoomba	Family, cousins	Car	House	Dad
Alice	1987/ 1 week	Pebbly Beach	Family, relatives	Car	Camping	Parents
Elissa	1989/ 2 weeks	Noosa	Mum, brother/VR	Bus	House	Mum
Belinda	1989/ 1 week	Warrumbungles	School students	Bus	Tent	School
Group 4						
Clair	1987/ 3 weeks	Cairns	Family, cousin	Car	C/van pk apartment	Mum
Louise	1989/ 5 days	Pt Wolstoncroft	Year 6	Coach	Cabin	School
Monica	1988/ 3 weeks	Terrigal	Family	Car	House	Parents
Cara	1992/ 6 weeks	U.S.A.	Parents/VFR	Air, car	House, hotel	Parents
Group 5						
Claudia	1990/ 1 week	South Coast	Family, friends	Car	House	Parents
Kylie	1990/ 2 weeks	Rylstone	Family/VR	Car	House	Family
Amanda	1990/ 5 days	Hawkesbury R.	Family, friends	Car	H/Motel	Parents
Hannah	1988/ 1 week	Bribie Island	Family, friend	Car	Tent	Parents
Group 6						
Nicole	1990/ 2 weeks	U.S.A.	Family	Air, car	Apartment	Parents
Lisa	1990/ 1 week	Snow	Family	Car	Cottage	Parents
Barbie	1989/ 5 days	Port Macquarie	Family, g'ma	Car	Motel	Parents
Lucy	1989/ 1 week	Bateau Bay	Family*, friends	Car	Caravan	Mum

Table F.4: Background Information for Holiday at Age 12 – 20-Year-Olds: Negative Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Tania	1988/ 12 days	Sussex Inlet	Family/VR	Car	House	Family
Crystal	1988/ 10 days	New Caledonia	Family	Air	Club Med	Parents
Stephanie	1987/ 5 days	Austria	Family	Air, car	Ski lodge	Parents
Paula	1988/ 1 week	Brisbane	Mum, sister/VR	Air	House	Mum
Group 2						
Kristen	1989/4 weeks	Canada, U.S.A.	Family/VF	Air, car, bus tour	House, hotel	Parents
Samantha	1989/ 4 weeks	Europe	Family	Air, car,	Hotel	Parents
Brooke	1989/ 2 weeks	Malaysia, S/pore	Family	Air	H'tel, resort	Parents
Kimberley	1990/ 3 months	U.S.A., Europe	Parents	Air, car, bus	Hotel, apartment	Parents
Group 3						
Edwina	1988/ 1 day	Myall Lakes	Family, cousins	Car	Tent	Dad
Alice	1988/ 1 week	Seal Rocks	Family	Car	Camping	Parents
Elissa	1989/ 2 weeks	Noosa	Mum, brother/VR	Bus	House	Mum
Belinda	1988/ 1 week	South Coast	Family	Car	Motel	Parents
Group 4						
Clair	1987/ 3 weeks	Cairns	Family, cousin	Car	Caravan, apartment	Mother
Louise	1989/ 5 days	Pt Wolstoncroft	Year 6	Coach	Cabin	School
Monica	1988/ 1 week	Thredbo	Family, cousin	Car	Apartment	Parents
Cara	1987/ 1 week	Jindabyne	Family, friends	Car	Unit	Parents
Group 5						
Claudia	1990/ 3 days	Forster	Family*	Car	Cabin	Dad
Kylie	1990/ 2 weeks	Rylstone	Family/VR	Car	House	Family
Amanda	1989/ 1 week	Sanctuary Cove	Family, friends	Air	Resort	Parents
Hannah	1987/ 4 days	Coffs Harbour	Family/VR	Car	House	Parents
Group 6						
Nicole	1990/ 3 weeks	Europe/Bangkok	Family	Air, car	H/Motel, apartment	Parents
Lisa	1989/ 8 days	Broken Hill	Brother,g'pts cousins	4WD	Caravan	G'parents
Barbie	1989/ 5 days	Port Macquarie	Family, g'ma	Car	Motel	Parents
Lucy	1990/ 3 days	Snowy Mtns	School class	Bus	Motel	Teachers

Table F.5: Background Information for Holiday at Age 12 – 40-Year-Olds: Positive Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Karen	1960/ 5 months	U.S.A., Canada	Family/VF	Ship, train	Ship, hotel house	Parents
Megan	1965/ 11 days	Forster	Friend's family	Car	Flat	Parents
Rachel	1969/ 12 days	Flinders Ranges	Parents	Car	Caravan	Parents
Jean	1962/ 3 weeks	Laurieton	Family	Car/train	Cabin	Parents
Joan	1964/ 2 days	Long Jetty	Friend's family	Car	House	Parents
Group 2						
Helen	1963/ Not Avail	Budgewoi	Family	Car	House	Parents
Marie	1970/ 11 days	Mombasa	Family	Car	Hotel	Parents
Lizzy	**No holiday**					
Ruth	1961/ 1 week	Blue Mountains	Family	Train	Cottage	Parents
Roberta	**No holiday**					
Group 3						
Annie	1969/ 1 week	Mt Hotham	Family	Car	Hotel	Family
Sarah	1965/ 2 weeks	Sydney	Family	Air	Apartment	Mum
Susie	1969/ 2 weeks	New Zealand	Family/VR	Air, car	House, hotel	Parents
Carly	1966/ 2 weeks	Spain	Family, friends	Car	Hotel, villa	Dad
Group 4						
Liz	1964/ 2 weeks	The Entrance	Family	Train	Cabin	Parents
Jenny	1966/ 18 days	Albany	Family	Car	Caravan, motel	Parents
Fran	1962/ 3 days	Yarramundi	Girls Club	Train	Hut	Girls Club
Sue	1968/ 2 weeks	Nelson Bay	Family, friend	Car	House	Mum

Table F.6: Background Information for Holiday at Age 12 – 40-Year-Olds: Negative Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Karen	1960/ 5 months	U.S.A.	Family/VF	Ship, train	Ship, hotel house	Parents
Megan	1963/ 2 days	Sussex Inlet	Adult friends	Car	House	Parents
Rachel	1969/ 12 days	Flinders Ranges	Parents	Car	Caravan	Parents
Jean	1962/ 2 weeks	Wollongong	Aunt, uncle	Car	House	Parents
Joan	1966/ 1 week	Colo River	Church group	Bus	Tent	Parents
Group 2						
Helen	1963/ Not Avail	Budgewoi	Family	Car	House	Parents
Marie	1971/ 11 days	Mombasa	Family	Car	Hotel	Parents
Lizzy	**No holiday**					
Ruth	1963/ 5 days	Canberra	Parents	Car	Motel	Parents
Roberta	**No holiday**					
Group 3						
Annie	1969/ 3 days	Lue/ Home	Self	Air	House	Parents
Sarah	1965/ 2 weeks	Coles Bay, Tas	Family	Car	Caravan	Mother
Susie	1969/ 2 weeks	New Zealand	Family/VR	Air, car	House, hotel	Parents
Carly	1966/ 2 weeks	Spain	Family, friends	Car	Hotel, villa	Dad
Group 4						
Liz	1964/ 2 weeks	The Entrance	Family	Train	Cabin	Parents
Jenny	1967/ 3 weeks	Adelaide	Family, g'ma/ VR	Car	Motel, house	Parents
Fran	1962/ 3 days	Yarramundi	Girls Club	Train	Hut	Girls Club
Sue	No negative					

Table F.7: Background Information for Holiday at Age 12 – 65+-Year-Olds: Positive Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Susan	1925/ 8 weeks	Lake Minnetonka	Parents	Train	Cottage	Parents
Lou	1937/ 11 days	Manly	Dad	Train	Flat	Dad
Amelia	1940/ 2 weeks	Oxford	Friend	Train	Tent	Friend
Jane	1924/ 1 week	River in Ohio	Aunt, uncle	Car	Cottage	Family
Group 2						
Mary	1947/ 18 days	Narromine	Friends/VF	Train	F/house	Not Applic
Topsey	1945/ 1 week	The Entrance	Sister/VR	Train	House	Mum
Eleanor	1947/ Not Avail	Wagga	Family/VR	Train	House	Parents
Gillian	1948/ 25 days	Manly	Family/VR	Car	House	Parents
Group 3						
Frances	1949/ 8 days	Wyong	Family	Car	G/house	Parents
Margaret	1939/ 2 weeks	Sydney	Self/VR	Train	F/house	Parents
Carmen	1949/ 6 weeks	Omana Bch, NZ	Family	Car	Tent, shed	Parents
Barbara	1942/ 2 weeks	Muswellbrook	Self/VR	Train	F/house	Parents
Lorna	1948/ weeks	Bateau Bay	G'ma, mum/VR	Train	F/house	Ritual
Patricia	1946/ 2 weeks	Wollongong	Self/VR	Train	House	Parents
Group 4						
Cordelia	1949/ 6 weeks	Sydney	Self	Taxi	Con/home	Physician
Anne	1940/ 10 days	Broken Bay	Students	Train	Tent	Parents
Marcia	1939/ 2 weeks	Coolangatta	Family*	Train	G/house	Mum

Table F.8: Background Information for Holiday at Age 12 – 65+-Year-Olds: Negative Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Susan	1925/ 8 weeks	Lake Minnetonka	Parents	Train	Cottage	Parents
Lou	1937/ 11 days	Manly	Dad	Train	Flat	Dad
Amelia	1940/ 1 night	Air raid shelter in London	Family	Walk	Shelter	Mum
Jane	1924/ 1 week	River in Ohio	Aunt, uncle	Car	Cottage	Family
Group 2						
Mary	1947/ 18 days	Narromine	Friends/VF	Train	F/house	Not Applic
Topsey	1945/ 1 week	The Entrance	Sister/VR	Train	House	Mum
Eleanor	1947/ Not Avail	Oaklands	Family/VR	Train	House	Parents
Gillian	1948/ 25 days	Manly	Family/VR	Car	House	Parents
Group 3						
Frances	1949/ 8 days	Wyong	Family	Car	G/house	Parents
Margaret	1939/ 2 days	Binda	Friend's family	Car	House	Teachers
Carmen	1949/ 6 weeks	Omana Bch, NZ	Family	Car	Tent, shed	Parents
Barbara	1942/ 2 weeks	Muswellbrook	Self/VR	Train	F/house	Parents
Lorna	1948/ weeks	Bateau Bay	G'ma, mum/VR	Train	F/house	Ritual
Patricia	1946/ 2 weeks	Wollongong	Self/VR	Train	House	Parents
Group 4						
Cordelia	1950/ 6 weeks	Moonan Flat	G'parents	Train	Tent	G'pa
Anne	1938/ NA	Newport	Family	Bus	House	Parents
Marcia	No negative					

Table F.9: Background Information for Holiday at Age 20 – 20-Year-Olds: Positive Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Tania	1995/ 1 week	Moreton Isl.	Family	Air	Apartment	Parents
Crystal	1996/ 6 weeks	Indochina	Self/Tour	Air, train, bus	Hotel	Self
Stephanie	1997/ 2 weeks	Rome	Self/VF	Air	Apartment	Self
Paula	1996/ 7 days	Melbourne	Boyfriend/VFR	Car	House	Self, friend
Group 2						
Kristen	1997/ 2 weeks	Byron Bay	6 girlfriends	Car	House	2 girlfriends
Samantha	1995/ 6 days	Surfers Paradise	6 friends	Air	Hotel	Group
Brooke	1995/ 10 days	Noumea	Students	Air	Hotel	School
Kimberley	1997/ 1 week	Thredbo	Boyfriend, 2 boys	Car	Ski lodge	Friend
Hayley	1996/ 3 months	Europe	Self, girlfriend	Air, train, bus	Hostel	Self, friend
Group 3						
Edwina	1997/ 10 days	S/pore, Malaysia	Sister/VR	Air, train, bus	Hotel, unit	Self, sister
Alice	1997/ 5 days	Thredbo	Friends	Car	Ski lodge	Group
Elissa	1998/ 2 weeks	Noosa	4 friends	Air	Apartment	Group
Belinda	1997/ 1 week	Vanuatu	Sister	Air, bus	Resort	Self, sister
Group 4						
Clair	1998/ 1 month	Thailand	Boyfriend, 4 friends	Air, car	Hut	Group
Louise	1996/ 14 days	China	Family, tour	Air, bus	Hotel	Family
Monica	1997/ 1 week	Nelson Bay	9 friends,	Car	Unit	Friend
Cara	1996/ 32 days	UK, Paris	Self/VFR girlfriend	Air, bus, train	House	Self
Group 5						
Claudia	1997/ 7 weeks	Europe	Friend, tour	Coach	Camping	Self, friend
Kylie	1997/ 10 days	Durras	12 friends	Car	Camping	Group
Amanda	1997/ 1 year	Europe, Israel	3-14 friends	Air	Hostel	Friends
Hannah	1997/ 10 days	Bali	Boyfriend	Air	Hotel	Self
Group 6						
Nicole	1998/ 3 days	Canberra	Boyfriend	Car	Motel,	Self, friend
Lisa	1998/ 3 days	South Coast	Sister	Car	Cabin, motel	Self
Barbie	1998/ 2 weeks	North Coast	Parents, g'ma, boyfriend	Car	Unit	Ritual
Lucy	1998/ 3 days	South Coast	15 students	Train	Camping	Group

Table F.10: Background Information for Holiday at Age 20 – 20-Year-Olds: Negative Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Tania	1997/ 6 days	Snowy Mts	Girlfriend	Coach	Apartment	Self, friend
Crystal	1993/ 35 days	Europe	30+ passengers	Coach	H'tel, van hostel	Self
Stephanie	1993/ 10 days	Pacific Cruise	16 friends	Ship	Ship	Self, friends
Paula	1995/ 2 days	Brisbane	Girlfriend	Air	Hotel	Self, friend
Group 2						
Kristen	1997/ 2 weeks	Byron Bay	6 girlfriends	Car	House	2 girlfriends
Samantha	1995/ 6 days	Surfers Paradise	6 friends	Air	Hotel	Group
Brooke	1995/ 10 days	Noumea	Students	Air	Hotel	School
Kimberley	1997/ 1 week	Thredbo	Boyfriend, 2 boys	Car	Ski lodge	Friend
Hayley	1996/ 3 months	Europe	Girlfriend	Air, train, bus	Hostel	Self, friend
Group 3						
Edwina	1997/ 10 days	S/pore, Malaysia	Sister/VR	Air, train, bus	Hotel, unit	Self, sister
Alice	1997/ 5 days	Thredbo	Friends	Car	Ski lodge	Group
Elissa	1997/ 1 week	Thredbo	5 friends	Car	Ski lodge	Group
Belinda	1997/ 1 week	Vanuatu	Sister	Air, bus	Resort	Self, sister
Group 4						
Clair	1998/ 1 month	Thailand	Boy/girlfriend,	Air, car	G/house	Group
Louise	1997/ 14 days	Hawaii	Family	Air, car	Resort	Parents
Monica	1998/ 6 days	Avoca Beach	Family	Car	House	Parents
Cara	1996/ 32 days	U.K., Paris	Self, friend/VFR	Air, train, bus	House	Self
Group 5						
Claudia	1997/ 2 weeks	Spain	Girlfriend	Train, bus	Hostel	Not Avail
Kylie	1996/ 2 days	Snow	Friends	Car	Ski resort	Group
Amanda	1997/40 weeks	Israel	3-14 friends	Air	Hostel	Friends
Hannah	1997/ 10 days	Bali	Boyfriend	Air	Hotel	Self
Group 6						
Nicole	1998/ 2 weeks	Perth	Family/VF	Air, car	House	Parents
Lisa	1997/ 4 days	Narabeen	Cousin	Car	Caravan	Self, cousin
Barbie	1996/ 1 week	Canberra	Boyfriend, 2 girlfriends	Car	Hotel	University
Lucy	1997/ 2 days	Blue Mtns	Relatives	Car	Camping	Aunt, uncle

Table F.11: Background Information for Holiday at Age 20 – 40-Year-Olds: Positive Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Karen	1969/ 1 week	Melbourne	Boyfriend	Train	University	Self, friend
Megan	Not Avail/ 2 days	Snowy Mtns	Boy friend	Car	Motel	Both
Rachel	1977/ 3 days	Blaire Gowrie	Fiancé/VR	Car	Motel, house	Fiancé
Jean	1974/ 2 weeks	Tas, Adelaide	Girlfriend/VF	Air, car	House, hostel	Friend
Joan	1972/2 weeks	Coolangatta	2 girlfriends	Air	Resort	Friend
Group 2						
Helen	1970/ 4 days	Seven Mile Bch	2 boy friends	Car	Tent	Friends
Marie	1975/ 2 weeks	Austria	Girlfriend	Air, coach	Hotel	Self, friend
Lizzy	1974/ 2 weeks	Queensland	Boyfriend/VFR	Car	Motel, pub, house	Self
Ruth	1969/ 3 weeks	Fiji	Girlfriend/VF	Air, bus	Hotel, house, boat	Invitation
Roberta	1971/ 4 days	Perisher	Boyfriend, couple	Car	Hotel	Friend
Group 3						
Annie	1978/ 1 week	Greek Islands	Girlfriend	Air, ferry bus	Pensione	Self, friend
Sarah	1973/ 2 weeks	Mooloolabah	Boyfriend	Car	Unit	Self, friend
Susie	1979/ 10 days	Fiji	Boy friend	Air, ferry bus	Hotel	Friend
Carly	1975/ 2 weeks	Greek Islands	Girlfriends	Air, ferry	Room in house	Self
Group 4						
Liz	1971/ 2 weeks	Bali	Girlfriend	Air	Resort	Self, friend
Jenny	1975/ 1 week	Phillip Island	Girlfriend	Car	Caravan	Self
Fran	1970/ 10 days	Byron Bay, Forster	Friends	Car	Camping	Self
Sue	1976/ 3 weeks	New Zealand	Girlfriend, boy friend	Air	Motel	Group

Table F.12: Background Information for Holiday at Age 20 – 40-Year-Olds: Negative Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Karen	1971/ 4 weeks	Fiji	2 girlfriends	Air, bus	Resort, hotel, cabin	Group
Megan	Not Avail	Kandos	Boyfriend's family	Car	House	Not Avail
Rachel	1977/ 3 days	Port Hughes	Parents, fiancé/ VR	Car	Caravan	Parents
Jean	1968/ 2 days	Ourimbah	Boy friend, couple	Ute	Ute	Couple
Joan	1973/2 weeks	Melbourne	Girlfriend/VF	Train	House	Self, friend
Group 2						
Helen	1970/ 4 weeks	Cairns	Girlfriend	Coach	Motel, bedsit	Self, friend
Marie	1976/ 2 days	B-in-law's house	Fiancé/VR	Car	House	Not Avail
Lizzy	1974/ 4 days	Lismore, Boggabilla	Boyfriend, girlfriend/VFR	Air, car	Pub, house	Self, boyfriend
Ruth	1971/ 2.5 days	Port Stephens	Boyfriend,	Car	G/house	Self, friend
Roberta	1970/ 2 days	West of Sydney	Boyfriend,	Car	Caravan	Self, friend
Group 3						
Annie	1978/ 3 weeks	Paris	Girlfriend	Train	Not avail	Self, friend
Sarah	1970/ 2 days	Bateman's Bay	3 boy friends	Car	Beach	Group
Susie	1979/ 10 days	Fiji	Boy friend	Air, ferry bus	Hotel	Friend
Carly	1975/ 2 weeks	Greek Islands	Girlfriends	Air, ferry	Room in house	Self
Group 4						
Liz	1970/2 weeks	The Entrance	Family	Car	Unit	Mother
Jenny	1977/ 11 days	North Coast	Sister, b-in-law	Car	Motel, van	Sister
Fran	1970/ 10 days	Condoblin	Self/VF	Air	House	Self
Sue	1976/ 3 weeks	New Zealand	Girlfriend, boy friend	Air	Motel	Group

Table F.13: Background Information for Holiday at Age 20 – 65+-Year-Olds: Positive Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Susan	1933/ 2 weeks	Wisconsin	7 girlfriends	Car	Log cabin	Friend
Lou	1945/ 2 days	Tallarook, Vic	Girlfriend/VF	Train	H/stead	Friend
Amelia	1945/ 2 weeks	Scotland	Sister/VF	Train	House	Sister
Jane	1932/ 10 days	S.E. USA	Girlfriend/VF	Car	House	Self, friend
Group 2						
Mary	1953/ 1 week	Jervis Bay	Girlfriend	Train	P/te hotel	Self, friend
Topsey	1955/ 2 weeks	Lord Howe Is.	Mum, girlfriend	Air	G/house	Mum
Eleanor	1955/ Not Avail	Coolangatta	Girlfriend	N/A	G/house	Self, friend
Gillian	1954/ 1 week	Yetman,Ipswich, Broadbeach/VF	2 girlfriends	Train, car	Property, house	Group
Group 3						
Frances	1957/ 2 weeks	Coolangatta	Girlfriend	Air	G/house	Self, friend
Margaret	1946/ 1 week	Burren Junction	Self/VF	Train	Property	Friend
Carmen	1957/ 6 weeks	Australia	3 girlfriends	Ship, train, bus	Hotel, p/te hotel	Group
Barbara	1951/ 2 weeks	Coolangatta	New husband	Air	G/house	Self,husb'd
Lorna	1954/ 2 weeks	Lord Howe Is.	New husband	Flying boat	G/house	Self, husb'd
Patricia	1952/ 2 weeks	Forster	Girlfriend	Train	G/house	Self, friend
Group 4						
Cordelia	1953/ 1 week	Bobbin Head	Self/VF	Bus	Cabin	Self
Anne	1948/ 3+weeks	Tasmania	4 friends, friend's father, lady friend	Car, boat	Hotel, camping	4 friends
Marcia	1947/4 years	Canada	Girlfriend	Ship, train	Ship	Self

Table F.14: Background Information for Holiday at Age 20 – 65+-Year-Olds: Negative Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Susan	1933/ 2 weeks	Wisconsin	7 girlfriends	Car	Log cabin	Friend
Lou	1947/ 2 weeks	Kariong	Self/VR	Train	Caravan	Self
Amelia	1945/ 1 night	Ealing Broadway	Workmates	Walk	Business	Necessity
Jane	1931/ 1 day	St Louis	Girlfriend	Bus	Not Applic	Girlfriend
Group 2						
Mary	1953/ 1 week	Jervis Bay	Girlfriend	Train	P/te hotel	Self, friend
Topsey	No negative					
Eleanor	1955/ N/A	Coolangatta	Girlfriend	Not Avail	G/house	Self, friend
Gillian	1954/ 1 week	Yetman,Ipswich, Broadbeach/VF	2 girlfriends	Train, car	Property, House	Group
Group 3						
Frances	1957/ 2 weeks	Coolangatta	Girlfriend	Air	G/house	Self, friend
Margaret	1946/ 1 week	Burren Junction	Self/VF	Train	Property	Friend
Carmen	1957/ 6 weeks	Australia	3 girlfriends	Ship, train, bus	Hotel, p/te hotel	Group
Barbara	1951/ 2 weeks	Coolangatta	New husband	Air	G/house	Self,husb'd
Lorna	1954/ 2 weeks	Lord Howe Is.	New husband	Flying boat	G/house	Self, husb'd
Patricia	1952/ 2 weeks	Forster	Girlfriend	Train	G/house	Self, friend
Group 4						
Cordelia	1954/ 2 days	Revesby	Self/VF	Train	House	Self, friend
Anne	1948/ 3+weeks	Tasmania	4 friends, friend's father, lady friend	Car, boat	Hotel, camping	4 friends
Marcia	No negative					

Table F.15: Background Information for Holiday at Age 40 – 40-Year-Olds: Positive Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Karen	1995/ 10 days	U.S.A.	Mum/VF	Air	Motel, house	Self, mum
Megan	1994/ 2 weeks	New Zealand	Husband, Tour group	Air, bus tour	Motel,	Self
Rachel	1995/ 10 days	Cairns	Family/VR	Air	House	Self, husb'd
Jean	1994/ 3 days	Sunshine Coast	Self/VF	Air	House	Self
Joan	1994/ 4.5 days	Snowy Mtns	Family, 3 families	Car	Cabin	Group
Group 2						
Helen	1996/ 1 week	Paris	Husband, 6 bus. colleagues	Air	Hotel	Husband's work
Marie	1994/ 5 days	Queensland	Family/VR	Air	House	Family
Lizzy	1996/ 2 days	Canberra	Husband	Car	Hotel	Self
Ruth	1994/ 3 weeks	Europe	Husband/VR	Air, train, coach	Hotel, house, pensione	Self, husb'd Husband's work
Roberta	1994/ 8 days	Fiji	Son	Air, bus	Hotel	Son won trip
Group 3						
Annie	1996/ 10 days	India	10 friends	Air, bus	Hotel	Friends
Sarah	1998/ 2 weeks	Port Douglas	Family, friends	Air	Apartment	Self
Susie	1997/ 10 days	Coolum	Family	Air	Resort	Husband
Carly	1997/ 4 days	Adelaide	Husband, his. bus. colleagues	Air	Hotel	Husband's work
Group 4						
Liz	1996/ 2 weeks	Tom Price, WA	Family	Air, car	Motel, apartment	Self, husb'd
Jenny	1998/ 4 days	Thredbo	Children, other family	Car	Ski lodge	Friend
Fran	1997/ 10 days	Bali	Family	Air	Resort	Family
Sue	1998/ 10 days	U.S.A	Family/VF	Air	House, resort	Husband

Table F.16: Background Information for Holiday at Age 40 – 40-Year-Olds: Negative Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Karen	1995/ 1 week	Perisher	Family	Car	Ski lodge	Husband
Megan	1994/ 2 days	Newnes	Family, 2 child'n	Car	Tent	Husband
Rachel	1995/ 5 days	Anna Bay	Family, 6 families	Car	Camping	Friends
Jean	1994/ 3 days	Hawks Nest	3 children	Car	Camping	Self
Joan	1994/4.5 days	Lemon Tree Pas	Family	Car	Camping	Group
Group 2						
Helen	1995/ 10 days	Noosa	Family, mum	Car	Apartment	Self
Marie	1994/ 2 weeks	Queensland	Family/VR	Car	House	Family
Lizzy	1995/ 10 days	Hong Kong	Female cousin	Train,bus	House	Self
Ruth	1994/ 3 weeks	Europe	Husband/VR	Air, train, coach	Hotel, house, pensione	Self, husb'd
Roberta	1994/ 8 days	Fiji	Son	Air, bus	Hotel	Son won trip
Group 3						
Annie	1997/ 2 days	New Zealand	Friends	Air, car	Hotel	Friends
Sarah	1997/ 9 days	U.K.	Husband/VF	Air	Hotel	Husband
Susie	1997/ 10 days	Coolum	Family	Air	Resort	Husband
Carly	1996/ 1 week	Bali	Family	Air, bus	Club Med	Won trip
Group 4						
Liz	1996/ 2 weeks	Tom Price, WA	Family	Air, car	Motel, apartment	Self, husb'd
Jenny	1998/ 2 days	Hunter Valley	Children/VF	Car	Camping	Friend
Fran	1997/ 10 days	Bali	Family	Air	Resort	Family
Sue	1998/ 10 days	U.S.A	Family/VF	Air	House, resort	Husband

Table F.17: Background Information for Holiday at Age 40 – 65+-Year-Olds: Positive Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Susan	1960/ 5 months	U.S.A.	Family/VF	Ship, train	Ship, hotel, house	Husb'd
Lou	1966/ 2 weeks	Wentworth Falls	Children/VF	Car	House	Self
Amelia	1965/ 2 weeks	Elizabeth Beach	Family	Car	Cabin	Self
Jane	1959/ 6 months	U.S.A.	Child/VFR	Ship, train	Ship, house	Self
Group 2						
Mary	1970/ 10 days	Bateman's Bay	Family, g'parents great uncle	Car	G/house	Self, husb'd
Topsey	1974/ 1 week	Mudgee	Family	Car	Caravan	Self, husb'd
Eleanor	Not Avail/ 1 week	Lord Howe Island	Husb'd, friends	Air	Motel	Self, husb'd
Gillian	1977/ 1 week	Perisher	Children, friends	Car	Ski lodge	Self, friend
Group 3						
Frances	1976/ 11 days	Broken Hill	Family/VR	Car	House, motel	Self, husb'd
Margaret	1968/ 1 week	Hawkesbury R.	Family	Boat	Boat	Family
Carmen	1977/ 2 weeks	Fiji	Husband	Air, boat	Resort, boat	Self
Barbara	1970/ 2 weeks	Byron Bay	Family, friend	Car	Flat	Self
Lorna	1979/ 2 weeks	Hawaii	Family, mum	Air	Hotel	Mum
Patricia	1975/ 14 days	Pacific Cruise	Family	Ship	Ship	Self, husb'd
Group 4						
Cordelia	1983/ 2 weeks	Papua N.G.	Children/VR	Air	House	Self
Anne	1967*/ 2 weeks	Jambaroo	Children, husb'd at w/ends	Car	Cabin	Self
Marcia	1965/ 2 weeks	Canberra	Family/VF	Car	Hostel	Self

Table F.18: Background Information for Holiday at Age 40 – 65+-Year-Olds: Negative Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Susan	1960/ 5 months	U.S.A., Canada	Family/VF	Ship, train	Ship, hotel, house	Husband
Lou	1967/ 9 days	Wamberal	Family	Car	House	Self
Amelia	1969/ 3 weeks	New Zealand	Girlfriend, daughter	Air, coach, ferry	Motel	Self
Jane	1959/ 6 months	U.S.A.	Daughter/VFR	Ship, train	Ship, house	Self
Group 2						
Mary	1970/ 10 days	Bateman's Bay	Family, g'parents great uncle	Car	G/house	Self, husb'd
Topsey	1974/ 1 week	Mudgee	Family	Car	Caravan	Self, husb'd
Eleanor	1970s/1 week	Lake Macquarie	Family, friends	Yacht	Yacht	Self, husb'd
Gillian	1977/ 1 week	Perisher	Children, friends	Car	Ski lodge	Self, friend
Group 3						
Frances	1970/ 1 week	Perisher	Family	Car	Motel	Self, husb'd
Margaret	1968/ 1 week	Hawkesbury R.	Family	Boat	Boat	Family
Carmen	1977/ 2 weeks	Fiji	Husband	Air, boat	Resort, boat	Self
Barbara	1970/ 2 weeks	Byron Bay	Family, friend	Car	Flat	Self
Lorna	1979/ 2 weeks	Hawaii	Family, mum	Air	Hotel	Mum
Patricia	No negative					
Group 4						
Cordelia	1983/ 2 weeks	Papua N.G.	Children/VR	Air	House	Self
Anne	1967/ 1 week	Coffs Harbour	Family, friends	Car	Camping	Self, husb'd
Marcia	No negative					

Table F.19: Background Information for Holiday at Age 65+ – 65+-Year-Olds: Positive Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Susan	1995/ 5 weeks	U.S.A.	Self/VF, daughter	Air, coach	H/motel, house	Self
Lou	1997/ 4 days	Melbourne	Self/VFR	Train	House	Self
Amelia	1997/ 17 days	New Zealand	Husband, tour	Coach	H/motel,	Husband
Jane	1996/ 1 week	Halliday's Point	Girlfriend, son-in-law, daughter	Car	Motel	Self, friend
Group 2						
Mary	1999/ 5 weeks	UK, Scandinavia	Husband, couple	Air, train, coach, car	Hotel, club, B&B	Self, husb'd
Topsey	1998/ 7 weeks	WA, SA, NT	Husband	Car	Motel, caravan	Self, husb'd
Eleanor	Not Avail	Qld, NSW	Husband/ VR	Car	Caravan	Self, husb'd
Gillian	1999/ 3 weeks	NT Qld	Husband, tour group	Air, coach	Motel	Self, husb/d
Group 3						
Frances	1999/ 18 days	Queensland	Girlfriend/VFR	Car	House, motel	Self
Margaret	2000/ 10 days	Darwin	Husband	Air, car	Motel	Self, husb'd
Carmen	2000/ 2 weeks	Japan	Husband, son-in-law, daughter/VR	Air, train	Flat	Husband, daughter
Barbara	1998/ 9 days	Central Aust.	Husband	Air, train, coach	Resort, motel	Self
Lorna	2001/ 3 weeks	Seattle	Daughter, g'children/VR	Air, train	House, hotel	Daughter
Patricia	2001/ 3 weeks	Yamba, S'world	Husband, daughter/VR	Car	Resort, house	Self, husb'd
Group 4						
Cordelia	2000/ 10 days	WA	Partner/VFR	Air	House, hotel	Self, partner
Anne	2001/ 6 days	Kosziusko N.P.	3 men friends	Car	Hut, tent	Group
Marcia	1997/ 2 days	Toukley	Self/VR	Train	Motel	Doctor

Table F.20: Background Information for Holiday at Age 65+ – 65+-Year-Olds: Negative Experience

	Date/Duration	Destination	T. Companions	Transport	Accomm	Decider
Group 1						
Susan	1995/ 5 weeks	U.S.A.	Self/VF daughter	Air, coach	H/Motel, houses	Self
Lou	1995/ 3 days	Padstow, UK	Daughter, g'son	Car	G/house	Daughter
Amelia	1997/ 17 days	New Zealand	Husband, tour	Coach	H/Motel,	Husband
Jane	1996/ 1 week	Halliday's Point	Girlfriend, son-in-law, daughter	Car	Motel	Self, friend
Group 2						
Mary	1999/ 5 weeks	Bahrain stopover UK, Scandinavia	Husband, couple	Air, train, coach, car	Hotel, club, B&B	Self, husb'd
Topsey	1998/ 7 weeks	WA, SA, NT	Husband	Car	Motel, caravan	Self, husb'd
Eleanor	Not Avail	Qld, NSW	Husband/VR	Car	Caravan	Self, husb'd
Gillian	1999/ 3 weeks	NT, Qld	Husband, tour group	Air, coach	Motel	Self, husb'd
Group 3						
Frances	2000/ 2 weeks	Mermaid Beach	Husband	Car	Unit	Self, husb'd
Margaret	2000/ 10 days	Darwin	Husband	Air, car	Motel	Self, husb'd
Carmen	2000/ 2 weeks	Japan	Husband, son-in-law, daughter/VR	Air, train	Flat	Husband, daughter
Barbara	1999/ 14 days	New Zealand	Husband, couple	Ship	Ship	Self, husb'd
Lorna	2001/ 3 weeks	Seattle	Daughter, g'children/VR	Air, train	House, hotel	Daughter
Patricia	No negative					
Group 4						
Cordelia	2000/ 3 days	Moffatt's Beach	Partner	Car	Cabin	Daughter
Anne	1999/ 3 weeks	WA	Friends, walking group	Air, car	Hostel, tent, house	Self
Marcia	1999/ 2.5 days	Toukley	Self	Train	Motel	Self