

CHAPTER 1

Tourist-Tourist Encounters: A Background

1.0 Introduction

Popular and promotional images of tourist locations frequently omit an important feature of these settings -- the tourists who fill these spaces and places. In the research literature, how tourists perceive the visited environments and their hosts has been studied relatively closely (Greenwood ,1989; Hernandez, Cohen & Garcia, 1996; Laxson, 1991; Pearce, 1982b; Pearce, Moscardo & Ross, 1996; Reisinger, 1994; Smith, 1978). By way of contrast, how tourists see other tourists at tourist sites or tourist-tourist relations simply has not received much attention.

Many person-to-person encounters at international tourism sites are also likely to be cross-cultural encounters. International travel may take a person to a place where contact with different cultures is unavoidable, not only with the host community, but also with fellow tourists from other nations. Consequently, visitors may experience aspects of culture shock and conflict from other tourists (Nash, 1996). Robinson suggested that "an area which has received scant attention in the literature is the extent to which cultural conflicts may exist between groups of tourists themselves" (1998:17-18). He noted that people from different cultures may not share the same attitudes, beliefs, values and encounter settings (Robinson, 1998). With the continuous growth of world tourism number and flows, inter-tourist conflict is both a growing reality and may be an emerging area of concern, and yet of the considerable amount of tourism research dealing with cultural encounters and conflict, most has been in the context of host-guest relationships and not among tourists. Contacts that tourism provide may make it possible to bring mutual understanding among peoples and cultures (Goeldner, Ritchie, Mcintosh, 2000). Studies related to contacts in tourism settings would bring better understanding how

tourism can positively promote the world peace.

From a different perspective, the study of tourist-tourist encounters may focus attention on novel aspects of the psychology and behaviour of tourists, which have not yet been thoroughly investigated. MacCannell (1976) counted a tourist as a marker of a tourism site. He explained that people would not find a particular location worth visiting if there were no tourists there. It is visitors who make the tourism site, which, therefore, can be recognised and appreciated by others. Without tourists, there are no tourism sites. The shared value of a "tourism site" is established because of the popularity of visitation. Yet, a number of basic questions arise: Does a tourist really appreciate other tourists?; Does he/she expect and enjoy sharing tourist experiences with fellow tourists, who are total strangers to him/her?; Are tourists more comfortable with other tourists from the same country or from different countries than their own?; Are tourists willing to make contact to discover the different cultures of the fellow tourists from different countries?; What are the identifiable factors that influence the answers to these questions?

Apart from academic analysis, understanding tourists' preferences and their differences by nationalities is potentially important in the practical world of marketing and management for the tourist industry. As international travel becomes more popular than ever, it is recommended that the industry understands the existing and potential conflicts among customers. This understanding should include the issue of dealing with the mixing of different nationality groups in order to provide a better service. It may be important for the industry's success to understand the differences in preferences and expectations among different subgroups. Ryan, amongst others, has indicated that interaction with other tourists is one of the factors that influence the satisfaction levels of tourists (1994:301). For example, it may be valuable for managers of tourist settings to understand what combinations of the

tourist-tourist mix would promote satisfaction. Further, it could assist management personnel if researchers could provide information on crowding and density preferences held by tourist subgroups.

The present research is an endeavor to contribute to the study of the distinctive and dynamic phenomenon of tourist-tourist encounters aiming to bring a better understanding of tourist psychology and behaviour. Attempts will be made to answer some of the questions listed above. In particular, differences in nationalities are of specific interest to the researcher. How tourists view other tourists and international differences in encounter preferences will be examined. A prominent part of this thesis is concerned with Japanese tourists and American/Western tourists and studies exploring the behaviour and context of these nationality groups will be considered. Accordingly, several terms are used in this thesis for exploring nationality differences. There are Japanese, Americans and Westerners as nationalities; Japan and Western countries as residency; and Caucasian and Asian as physical appearances. Clarification of these terms are made in Appendix A.

The aim of Chapter 1 is to examine elements related to tourist-tourist encounters through an appraisal of the relevant existing literature. First, cultural contact and nationality differences will be considered. Conceptual foundations will be also covered here as well as studies regarding Japanese tourists. Following these sections, as there is a dearth of direct literature in tourism focusing on tourist-tourist encounters, existing leisure studies in encounter recreation will be reviewed to gather some insights as to what has been studied and what can be adapted to the tourist setting. To help guide the reader, an outline of the topics covered in this chapter is shown in Table 1.1. The next chapter, Chapter 2, is also devoted to literature review, but the focus will be shifted to investigating methodological issues and how to measure the tourists' views of other tourists. At the end of Chapter 2,

the objectives and structure of the thesis will be stated.

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Table 1.1 Contents of Chapter 1

1.1 Cultures in Contact

As Ward, Bochner and Furnham wrote, “contact between culturally diverse individuals is as old as recorded history” (2001). However, people from different cultures are different in their behaviour and value systems, and these differences can be the major sources of conflicts in inter-cultural contacts. It is because proper behaviour and value judgment in one’s culture were not necessarily accepted as “proper” in another culture (Brislin, Cushner, Cherrie & Yong, 1986:16).

Some of the elements and variables of contact experiences that Bochner (1982a:8-11) identified are categorised into two groups; the constituent psychological elements and the psychological variables. The constituent psychological elements of the contact experience are: a) the extent to which societies are internally culturally

homogeneous or heterogeneous; b) the salience of cultural diversity, that is the extent to which ethnic identification matters and is responded to; and c) the extent to which societies differ externally from each other (psychological distance between culture). On the other hand, the psychological variables that make up the contact experience are: a) the territory on which the interaction takes place; b) the time-span of the interaction; c) its purpose; d) type of involvement; e) frequency of contact; f) degree of intimacy; g) relative status; h) numerical balance; i) the distinguishing characteristics of the participants; j) the expectations and dispensations connected with the social role; and finally j) the in-group/out-group differentiation (with its associated discrimination in favour of those classified as belonging to the in-group). These factors differ for each individual, and they produce distinctive perceptions and reactions to the contact experiences.

1.1.1 Culture Encounters and Culture Shock in Tourism

As already stated in the introduction, tourist-tourist encounters, especially at the international tourist destination, is a significant stage of contact between different cultures. Boniface (1998) suggested that "tourism brings into contact people who are not in usual, everyday or routine encounters" (p290). People in contact through tourism activities are not accustomed to each other's culturally-produced characters and circumstances, though Bochner (1982a) believed that the culture shock a tourist experiences was somewhat softened because of the nature of the temporary and often arranged stay of the tourist in the foreign environment.

When Robinson and Boniface mentioned that "attention is frequently focused on those occasions where tourism and aspects of culture conflict" (1998:ix), they might have meant simply the tourist-local relationship. When researchers discuss culture contact and conflicts in tourism, not enough attention seems to have been paid to tourist-tourist relationship (Bochner, 1982b; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Ward

et al., 2001). The issue of culture contact and culture shock in tourism is more often discussed in the context of tourist-host relationships (Bochner, 1982a; Brown, 1999; Pearce, 1982b, 1993). There are ample examples of tourism studies that examined and reported within this framework. A number of them focus on how host cultures are influenced by tourists (Pearce, 1995).

While there are comprehensive studies that examine and analyse the tourist-host contacts through cultural exchange, there are only a few studies that have attempted to understand the psychological reactions of tourists experiencing "cultural shock" (Furnham & Bochner, 1986:145) though there are a few books that provide practical guides for tourists on intercultural interactions as a tourist experience (Cushner & Brislin, 1996). Exceptions include Prokop (1970, introduced by Furnham & Bochner, 1986:145) who examined overall culture shock experienced by the host culture, resulting in a high incidence of alcoholism, depression, and minor psychiatric illnesses. Also the study of Cort and King (1979) found that tourists with a higher internal locus of control and more tolerance for ambiguity would experience less shock than those with little external locus of control and tolerance of ambiguity. They reported that those with high intolerance of ambiguity experience more stress because travel in another culture was often difficult and bewildering, producing numerous incongruous and ambiguous situations to the foreigner.

Furnham (1984) examined the concept of culture shock in relation to tourists and explained the process of tourist psychology through stages. He also summarised the critical issues providing culture shock in the tourists' encounter, such as communication difficulties. Moreover, he suggested some sources of individual differences and demographic variables, which modify the degree of culture shock each individual experiences. Supporting evidence was found by Pearce (1981) who used diaries to measure the day-to-day moods and minor health symptoms of groups

of tourists. The result of the survey found that tourists experienced more negative moods at the beginning of their holiday than later on and more health problems in the first three days of their visit, suggesting some incidence of cultural shock in adjusting themselves to the new environment.

Bochner (1982a) outlined elements and variables of contact (introduced in the previous section) for the tourist setting as shown in Table 1.2. However, it is based on the cultural contact between tourists and hosts at the tourist destination. Even though Bochner emphasised that tourists are one of those who often experience culture encounters, they seem to have overlooked the cultural contact among tourists themselves. Similarly, while Robinson recognized the possibility of the conflicts among tourists in his discussion (1998:17-19), tourist subgroups were not included in the model of the dimensions of cultural conflict as shown in Figure 1.1.

Table 1.2 Dimensions of Cross-Cultural Contact for Tourists

Contact variables	tourist --> host
type of cross-cultural contact	between members of different societies
On whose territory	foreign territory
Time-span	short-term
Purpose	recreation
Type of involvement	observe
Frequency of contact	Low
Degree of intimacy between participants	High to low social distance
Relative status and power	Equal
Numerical balance	minority
Visible distinguishing characteristics	language

(based on Bochner 1982a:9)

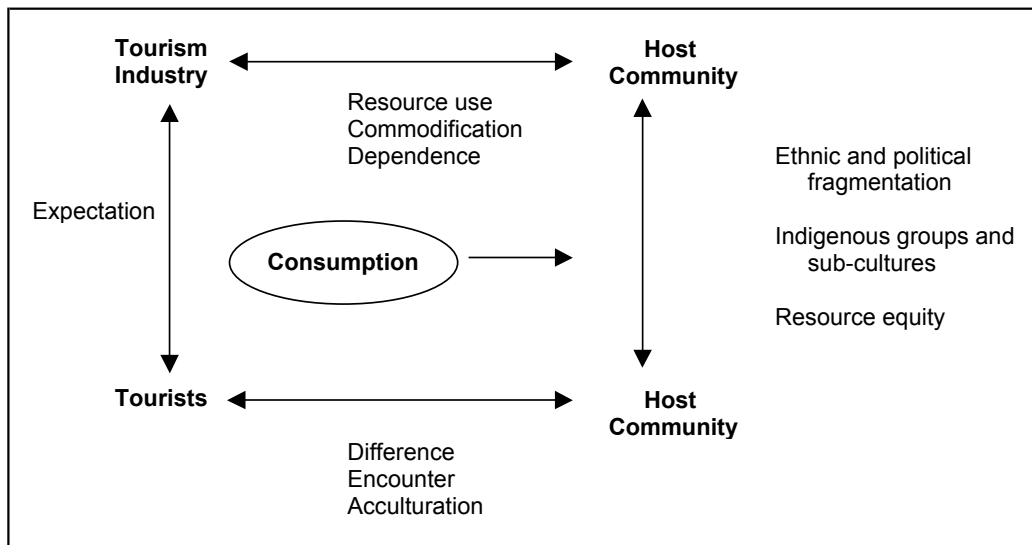


Figure 1.1 Dimensions of Cultural Conflict (Robinson, 1998: 7)

1.1.2 Key Concepts in Cultural Contact

Three concepts seem to relate strongly to the issues of cultural contacts. These are: in-group/out-group evaluation; stereotypes; and cultural distance.

1.1.2.1 In-group/Out-group Differentiation

Social identity theory proposes that the social part of our identity derives from the groups to which we belong (Tajfel, 1981). Furnham and Bochner (1986) pointed out that in-group and out-group relations were a key element of contact of cultures and culture shock. There are some further concepts associated with in-group/ out-group evaluation. Furnham and Bochner (1986) suggested that each individual carried certain marks, which became clues for one to identify others as belonging to the "in-group (us)" and "out-group (them)". Referring to Bochner (1976), Kilineberg (1971) and Sherif (1979), Furnham and Bochner claimed that "markers such as race, skin color, language, accent and religion tended to evoke both in the actor and in the observer a categorization of participants into an 'us' versus 'them' classification, which in turn colours any interaction between persons so categorised" (1986:23).

They also argued that people tended to be more favourable to "in-group" people than to "out-group" people, stating "the evidence is overwhelming that out-group members, once they have been recognized and labelled, usually on the basis of some visible or audible characteristic, will be regarded and treated less favourably than members of the in-group" (p.23). Moreover, Furnham and Bochner (1986) found that some immigrants, overseas students, and international businesspersons preferred interacting with people of their own kind (pp142-145). Furthermore, Lee and Ottati (1993), through their study of Chinese-American stereotypes, suggested that out-group members are perceived as less heterogeneous than in-groups and that the perceived out-group's heterogeneity is increased by inter-group interaction. They also found that the propensity to perceive higher heterogeneity in the in-group can be overridden by the sensitivity to objective differences between the out-groups and in-groups. These concepts are summarised in Table 1.3.

Table 1.3 Key Concepts in In-group/Out-group

Marker	In-group/Out-group evaluation is made by markers including the physical appearance
In-group Favouritism	people from in-group are perceived and treated favourably than out-group people
Less heterogeneous view of out-group	people from out-group are seen relatively homogenously

1.1.2.2 Stereotyping

In-group/out-group evaluation is strongly related to stereotyping. "Stereotyping is a way of thinking that does not acknowledge internal differences within a group, and does not acknowledge exceptions to its general rules or principles" (Bochner, 1982a). It is a generalisation about groups of people. The problem with stereotyping is that it tends to blind us to other factors and limits our view of human activity to just a few prominent dimensions so that we regard those to

be the whole picture. Gallois and Callan believed that stereotypes could influence our judgment so strongly that people could obscure behaviour that is completely contrary to them (1997:97).

Smith and Bond (1999) state that stereotypes about the out-group were often extreme, simple, negative and symmetrical, with members of each group rating their own group members positively while denigrating members of the out-group. However, some researchers such as Kery, Kalin and Taylor (1977 in Smith and Bond 1999:186) had observed that interacting social groups often hold positive stereotypes about one another. There is a recognised distinction between heterostereotypes (images of another nationality from autostereotypes (images of one's own nationality).

1.1.2.3 Culture Distances

The concept of culture distance is recognised as another key concept in the culture-contact literature (Bochner & Coulon, 1997). Furnham and Bochner (1986) claimed that much theory and empirical evidence indicates that the greater the cultural distance separating the participants, the more difficult and troublesome the interaction is likely to be in cross-cultural meetings. That is, the closer the cultural distance between two people, the smoother the interaction between them, and the greater the cultural distance between two persons, the larger the barriers that stand in the way of mutual understanding. Furnham and Bochner (1986) related this concept with the similarity-attraction hypothesis, suggesting "people prefer to help, work, play and live with, trust, regard as attractive and vote for others who are similar to themselves compared to persons who are seen as different. This approach is in agreement with and aligned to the in-group/out-group differentiation.

Broad sociological categories such as language, religion, gender relation,

income distribution, family structure can be treated as markers of culture and they can be used to quantify the distance that culturally separate societies (Bochner & Coulon, 1997). While some variables are suggested to be signifiers of cultural distance such as the extent to which they can be characterised as tight or loose (Boldt, 1978; Pelto 1968) direct or indirect (Kashma & Callan, 1994) or future versus past-oriented (Triandis, 1996), Hofstede's classical research (1980) on work-related values of different countries is often cited as empirical statements about the relative cultural distance. Hofstede (1980) used four psychological dimensions (individualism/collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and masculinity/femininity) for index rank order value. Individualism-collectivism refers to whether one's identity is defined by personal choices and achievement or by the character of the collective groups to which one is more or less permanently attached. Power distance relates to the amount of respect and difference between those in superior and subordinate positions. Uncertainty avoidance deals with focus on planning and the creation of stability as a way of dealing with life's uncertainties. The masculinity-femininity dimension is defined as a relative emphasis on achievement or on interpersonal harmony, a distinction that characterizes gender differences in values across many national cultures. Among those four dimensions, Ward, Bochner and Furnham acknowledge that "the construct which received the greatest empirical attention has been individual/collectivism." (2001:11)

1.1.2.3.1 Collectivistic and Individualistic Cultures

Individualism-collectivism refers to the extent to which the needs of the group predominate over those of individuals (Triandis 1995). Kagicibasi and Berry (1989) acknowledged individualism and collectivism as one of the major themes of cross-cultural psychology in the 1980s. This dimension is thought to account for many cultural differences in behaviour. Triandis also calls individualism-collectivism 'the most important world view that differentiates cultures' in the mid 90s (1994:286) and

these constructs were used frequently in research throughout the period (Triandis, Chen & Chon, 1998). Table 1.4 lists the individualism indices of 50 countries compiled from Hofstede in Ward et al. (2001).

Table 1.4 Individualism indices of 50 countries

Country	Individualism index	Country	Individualism index
United States	91	Brazil	38
Australia	90	Turkey	37
Great Britain	89	Uruguay	36
Canada	80	Greece	35
The Netherlands	80	The Philippines	32
New Zealand	79	Mexico	30
Italy	76	Portugal	27
Belgium	75	Yugoslavia	27
Denmark	74	Malaysia	26
Sweden	71	Hong Kong	25
France	71	Chile	23
Ireland	70	Singapore	20
Norway	69	Thailand	20
Switzerland	68	Salvador	19
Germany	67	South Korea	18
South Africa	65	Taiwan	17
Finland	63	Peru	16
Austria	55	Costa Rica	15
Israel	54	Indonesia	14
Spain	51	Pakistan	14
India	48	Columbia	13
Japan	46	Venezuela	12
Argentina	46	Panama	11
Iran	41	Ecuador	8
Jamaica	39	Guatemala	6

(Sources: Ward, Bochner & Furnham 2001:12, compiled from Hofstede 1980, 1983)

The topic of collectivism and individualism has been covered in academic books (Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi & Yoon, 1994; Triandis, 1995), and the constructs were used as the organizing frameworks for the cross-cultural training and research programs (Triandis, Brislin & Hui, 1988; Triandis, Chen & Chon, 1998;

Triandis, Dunnette & Hough, 1994; Landis & Bhagat, 1996; Brinslin, 1986; Brislin & Yoshida, 1994; Earley & Erez, 1993, 1996; Kashima Yamaguchi, Kim, Choi, Gelfand & Yuki, 1994; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Morris & Peng, 1994). Others have challenged the conceptualisation (Fijneman, Willemsen, Poortinga, Erelcin, Georgas, Hui, Leung & Malpass, 1996; Hui & Triandis 1986). Table 1.5 illustrates the differences in characteristics between individualism and collectivism.

Ward, Bochner and Furnham suggested that: “when individualists and collectivists meet, they bring to the encounter different social attitudes, moral values and behavioural inclinations” (2001). For the explanations for cultural styles in conflict, researchers like Ohbuchi, Fukushima and Tedeschi (1999) suggested that people in individualistic cultures view interactions within relationships and groups as occurring between independent individuals, and thus, disagreements and conflicts are accepted as a natural and inevitable aspect of social life. By way of contrast people dislike social disorganisation or disagreements in collectivist cultures. Some of the major cross-cultural studies using the concept of individualism- collectivism are summarised in Table 1.6.

Table 1.5: Individualists and Collectivists Comparison

INDIVIDUALISTS	characteristics	COLLECTIVISTS
Independent Unique entities, separate from others	Self-construal	Interdependent
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Own interest fulfillment over attainment of group objectives • Loose tie to others • Function independently, looking after oneself • Not much distinction between in-group and out-group • Belong to many groups, but lacking genuine intimacy • Use the same pattern of communication with both in-groups and out-groups • Relationship is a means to an end • Demanding one's own goal even if it causes conflicts • Less sensitive to the norms and value more of own satisfaction • Direct in communication, emphasizing explicit communication 	Interpersonal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self sacrifice for the group interests • Tight social networks • Loyalty rewarded by the group protection • Sharp distinction between in-group and out-group • Large differences in how to behave toward in-group and out-group members • Use different mode of communication with members of in-groups and out-groups • Close and intimate but limited number of relationships • Relationship is an end in itself • Maintenance of harmony within the in-group is highly valued • Sensitive to the norms and situational constraints regulating behaviour in-groups • Good at reading implicit interpersonal message
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-worth is evaluated in terms of its independence and uniqueness • Self-esteem is based on individual talent, personal achievement, influence and recognition • Much more brittle relationship with authority and the law. • Less importance is accorded to social cohesion • Diversity in value, behaviours and practices is accepted and often explicitly advocated 	Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-worth is evaluated in terms of being accepted and valued by the person's in-groups • Satisfaction is from achieving and maintaining interpersonal harmony • Family relationships, religious beliefs, loyalty to institutions and authority, being law abiding, and being considerate of the feelings of others are important determinants of self-esteem • Emphasis on conformity and favour uniformity in beliefs, customs, and practices
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Competitive strategies • Active, Assertive and confrontational tactics • Justice goal 	Conflict Resolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saving the face of the other avoiding conflict • Smoothing interactions • Harmony-enhancing strategies • Passive, collaborative & avoiding tactics • Relationship maintenance goal

(based on reviews by Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001:13-14; Hofstede 1980; Triandis 1989; Hui & Triandis 1986; Ohbuchi, Fukushima & Tedeschi 1999; Gudykunst et al 1992; Triandis, Bontempo, Vilareal, Asai & Lucca, 1988)

Table 1.6 (1/2)

Summary of Cross-culture studies regarding the individualism and collectivism differences				
citation	nationalities compared	items compared	Major findings	Implications
Stephan, Saito & Barnett (1998)	Japanese (collectivistic) and US Americans (individualistic)	impact of individualism-collectivism at the cultural and individual level on the expression of emotion	individualism-collectivism expectations at the culture level were partially supported, and only weak effects on individual-collectivism at the individual level were found	individualism-collectivism is not a comprehensive and precise dimension but rather a loose collection of many different cultural characteristics
Triandis, Chen and Chan (1998)	Hong Kong students & Illinois students	horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism using 16 scenarios	Hong Kong sample is more collectivist than the Illinois sample	tested scenarios provide efficient measurement of the constructs
Ohbuchi, Fukushima & Tedeschi (1999)	Japanese (collectivistic) and US Americans (individualistic)	differences in conflict management between collectivist and individualist	individualists prefer assertive tactics, collectivists prefer avoidance tactics, individualists were strongly oriented toward achieving justice, collectivists were more motivated by a concern for relationship with others	there are important cultural differences in the goals and tactics of people involved in interpersonal conflicts
Leung (1987)	Hong Kong Chinese & Americans	preferred tactics used by collectivists and individualists	collectivists (Hong Kongs Chinese) had a stronger preference for bargaining and mediation as ways to resolve conflicts and was perceived as more effective in reducing animosity between the participants than did individualists (Americans)	individualists and collectivists had different expectations about the instrumentality of conflict solving tactics in achieving goals
Hasegawa & Gudykunst (1998)	Japanese (high-context culture) and US Americans (low-context culture)	use of and attitudes toward silence	Japanese have a more negative view of silence when communicating with strangers than when communicating with close friends. There was a difference in negative view of silence between Americans and Japanese when communicating with strangers but not when communicating with close friends. Americans reported more strategic use of silence than did Japanese	There were differences in view of silence between Americans and Japanese

Table 1.6 (2/2)

Summary of Cross-culture studies regarding the individualism and collectivism differences				
citation	nationalities compared	items compared	Major findings	Implications
Fijneman, Williamson, Poortinga, Erelcin, Georgas, Hui, Leung and Malpass (1996)	Hong Kong, Turkey, Greece, Netherlands & US	how much support they expected to receive from and give to persons in a range of social categories	the ratio between input and output as well as the patterning of input and output over social categories were similar in all samples. Ratings of emotional closeness that were also obtained could account for most variance between social categories	findings fit an interpretation of cross-cultural differences in terms of specific patterns of interpersonal relationships
Soh & Leong (2002)	US & Singapore students	the cross-cultural validity of vertical and horizontal individualism and horizontal and vertical collectivism at the individual level	US students were more HI and the Singapore students were more VC, and the constructs had culture-general and culture-specific associations with values and interests	the cross-cultural validity of the structure and individualism-collectivism dimension of the constructs were supported
Gudykunst, Goa, Schmidt, Nishida, Bond, Leung, Wang & Barraclough (1992)	Hong Kong & Japanese (collectivists) and Australia & US (individualists)	cultural influences in self-monitoring and predicted outcome value on communication in in-group and out-group relationship	people from collectivistic culture draw clearer distinctions between in-groups and out-groups than those from individualistic cultures. Members of collectivistic cultures follow a different mode of communication with members of in-group and out-groups while people from individualistic cultures use the same pattern of communication with both groups.	communication patterns show consistently predictable relationships to collectivistic versus individualistic cultures
Stephan, Stephan, & de Vargas (1996)	Costa Rica (collectivists) & US (individualists)	differences between collectivistic and individualistic culture	people in individualistic cultures express emotions affirming independent self-conceptions. People in collectivistic cultures feel less comfortable expressing negative emotions than people in individualistic cultures.	The differences between two cultures are significant for intercultural communication and understanding of individualism-collectivism
Gudykunst, Nishida & Schmidt (1989)	Japan (collectivists) & US (individualists)	influence of cultural variability on communication	uncertainty reduction is greater concern to collectivistic cultures	individualism-collectivism influence in uncertainty reduction in in-group and out-group relationships

As Stephan, Stephan and deVargas (1996) labeled Japan prototypical collectivism and the US prototypically individualistic, many researchers are interested in comparing their behaviour and perceptions. Table 1.7 summarises some of these studies. Hasegawa and Gudykunst (1998) attempted to investigate the difference in use of and attitude toward silence between Japanese and US Americans and found there are differences between those two nationality groups. Their argument was mainly based on the differences between low and high context communication. Gudykunst, Nishida and Schmidt (1989) supported that cultural variability in individualism-collectivism influences uncertainty reduction in in-group and out-group relationship through in Japan and US data sample. On the other hand, Nishida, Hammer and Wiseman (1998) examined the attitude and perceptions of difficult social situations of Japanese and Americans through what they call "cultural scheme analysis." Among other things, they suggested that there is evidence to believe self criticism of Japanese toward their own group's behaviour; Japanese in-group enhancement and American out-group devaluation; favourable reaction of Japanese toward behaviour of Americans; and Japanese's familiarity to American culture/behaviour. Heine, Kitayama and Lehman (2001) focused on the cultural differences in self-evaluation between Japanese and Canadians and concluded that Japanese were highly responsive to the failure feedback and showed evidence of reverse compensatory self-enhancement while Canadians tend to discount the negative feedback and typically bolster their self-assessments in another unrelated domain when they discover a weakness in one's self domain.

However, not all the studies totally support the condition of Japanese as collectivists and Americans as individualists. Stephan, Saito & Barnett (1998) explored the influence of cultural level of individualism-collectivism scores, on the anticipated expression of emotion in a collectivism culture (Japan) and individualistic culture (the US). It was expected that Americans would anticipate feeling more

comfortable expressing emotions that maintain independence, while the Japanese would anticipate feeling more comfortable expressing emotions that affirm interdependence; the Japanese would make a greater distinction in expressing emotions toward in-group and out-group members than the Americans; and the Japanese would anticipate feeling less comfortable expressing unpleasant emotions than the Americans. Yet, the study results did not support these notions and the researchers concluded that individual-collectivism is not a comprehensive and precise dimension but rather a loose collection of many different cultural characteristics. They argued that the categorisation of collectivistic and individualistic cultures is never stagnant, but rather non-static and has a potential to change. They suggested that Japan could become more individualistic and US more collectivistic. Nevertheless, Stephan and his colleagues (1998) suggested that “the core cultural values of Japanese society are collectivistic in nature. Japanese citizens are socialized to identify more strongly with the in-group than with the individual, to define themselves in relation to others in the in-group, to maintain harmony to save others’ faces, and to respond to group pressures to conform” (Stephan et al. 1998:743).

Table 1.7 Cross-culture studies with Japanese

citation	nationalities compared	items compared	Major findings	Implications
Hasegawa & Gudykunst (1998)	Japanese (high-context culture) and US Americans (low-context culture)	use of and attitudes toward silence	Japanese have a more negative view of silence when communicating with strangers than when communicating with close friends. There was a difference in negative view of silence between Americans and Japanese when communicating with strangers but not when communicating with close friends. Americans reported more strategic use of silence than did Japanese	There were differences in view of silence between Americans and Japanese
Nishida, hammer & Wiseman (1998)	Japanese and US Americans	cognitive differences in perceptions of difficult social situations	there was consistency in the perception of Japanese behavioural rules among the Japanese respondents and in the perception of American behavioural rules among the American subjects. There was also multidimensionality of human behaviour. Different behavioural rules do not always lead to interaction difficulties	self criticism of Japanese toward their own group's behaviour is apparent, but not American's. Japanese in-group enhancement and American out-group devaluation is apparent. Favourable reaction of Japanese toward behaviour of American is apparent. Japanese are more familiar to American culture/behaviour than Americans are to Japanese.
Fijneman, Willemsen, Poortinga, Erelcin, Georgas, Hui, Leung and Malpass (1996)	Hong Kong, Turkey, Greece, Netherlands & US	how much support they expected to receive from and give to parsons in a range of social categories	the ratio between input and output as well as the patterning of input and output over social categories were similar in all samples. Ratings of emotional closeness that were also obtained could account for most variance between social categories	findings fit an interpretation of cross-cultural differences in terms of specific patterns of interpersonal relationships
Heine, Kitayama & Darrin (2001)	Japanese & Canadian university students	cultural difference in self-evaluation and compensatory self-enhancement	when North Americans publicly discover a weakness in one self-domain, they typically bolster their self-assessments in another unrelated domain. This effect is less commonly found in private settings. Following a private failure experience on a creativity task, Canadians discounted the negative feedback, although they did not exhibit a compensatory self-enhancing response. In contrast, Japanese were highly responsive to the failure feedback and showed evidence of reverse compensatory self-enhancement.	self-evaluation maintenance strategies are elusive among Japanese

Some studies have established that there are certain physical distance preferences depending on culture. A review of the literature by Smith and Bond (1999) found that people such as Greeks favour greater proximity, while East Asian tend to prefer much more distance (Watson, 1970 in Smith & Bond, 1999). Also Sussman and Rosenfeld (1982 in Smith & Bond, 1999) reported that previously unacquainted Japanese sat further apart than Americans, while Venezuelans sat closer.

Smith and Bond (1999:98) suggested that, people from individualistic cultures may prefer to emphasise their independence by keeping others at a greater physical distance, or by protecting distinctive areas of personal space, while collectivists might prefer to be closer to other members of the in-group and maintain distance from members of the out-groups. Nevertheless, Smith and Bond (1999) emphasised the danger of oversimplifying the concept because other matters such as relative status and gender are also very important in determining preferred spatial relations as well.

1.1.3 Differences in Tourist Behaviour by Culture/Nationality

Tourist destinations attract visitors from different cultures and countries, and there appears to be a need to examine the differences of the tourists from different countries and/or with different cultural backgrounds (Jafari & Way, 1994). A number of investigations concerned themselves with the assessment of tourists' cultural differences by nationality. A summary of some major studies is listed in Table 1.8.

Table 1.8 Studies regarding the assessment of tourists' cultural differences

citation	nationalities compared	items compared
Albuquerque & McElroy (2001)	USA, Canada, UK, Other Europe, & Caribbean	tourist harassment
Chadee & Mattsoo (1996)	European & Asian students	eating-out, rental car services, & sightseeing tours
Choi & Chu (2000)	Asian & Western tourists	satisfaction levels
Danaher & Arweiler (1996)	four nationality groups	outdoor activities & satisfaction level
Kozak & Nield (1998)	European & Romanian visitors	importance & performance levels of the destination attitude
Kozas (2001)	UK & German tourists	perceived satisfaction levels with their holiday experiences
Kozak (2002)	British & German tourists	motivation differences
Lee & Ulgado (1997)	US & Korean	perceptions of service quality in fastfood restaurant
Pizam & Sussmann (1995)	Japanese, American, French & Italian tourists	tourist behaviour
Reisinger & Turner (1998)	Korean tourists & Australian service providers	communication style, expressing feelings, establishing relationship & attitudes
Richardson & Crompton (1988)	French and English Canadians	vacation travel characteristics
Ritter (1987)	Japanese & Western Europeans	travel patterns
Stephan & Saito (1998)	Japanese (collectivistic) and US Americans (individualistic)	impact of individualism-collectivism at the cultural and individual level on the expression of emotion
Sussmann and Rashcovsky (1997)	French and English Canadians	vacation travel patterns & attitudes towards the destination
Witt (1980)	British and German tourists	tourism demand

As Pizam (1999b) suggested, there are both the indirect and direct methods to carry out cross-cultural research. The former is "how 'outsiders' such as local residents or tour guides see tourists or how they perceive differences in the behavior

of tourists across various nationalities” (Kozak 2001:391), and the latter “aims at exploring whether any differences exist in the behavior, values of satisfaction levels of tourists representing different nationalities and speculating as to their possible reasons.” (Kozak, 2001:391) Pizam and his colleagues conducted a series of studies with the indirect approach, namely the tour guides’ perceptions of differences between tourists from different countries (Pizam, 1999a; Pizam, Jansen-Verbeke & Steel, 1997; Pizam & Jeong, 1996; Pizam & Reichel, 1996; Pizam & Sussmann, 1995). Their studies found that tour guides perceive behavioural differences of the nationality groups. For example, results of the study by Pizam and Sussmann (1995) suggest the Japanese have more distinctive behaviours compared with other nationality groups studied; in this case, American, French and Italian. In particular, Japanese were more social with each other and more interested in shopping, but less social toward the hosts.

Through direct methods, some studies looked into satisfaction level (Choi & Chu, 2000; Danaher & Arweiler, 1996), motivation (Kim, 1999; Kozak, 2001), destination image and attitude (Huang, Huang & Wu, 1996; Kozak & Neild, 1998; Luk, deLeon, Leong & Li, 1993; Richardson & Crompton, 1988; Sussmann & Rashckvsky, 1997), travel patterns (Chadee & Mattsoo, 1996; Richardson & Crompton, 1988; Ritter, 1987; Sussman & Rashckvsky, 1997), communication style (Reisinger & Turner, 1998), tourism demand (Witt, 1980), and tourist type (Mao, Howard & Havitz, 1993; Yavuz, Baloglu & Uysal, 1998). Findings of those studies suggested that nationality might have a significant effect on tourist behaviour. For example, Ritter (1987), who studied travel pattern differences between Japanese and Western Europeans, concluded that Japanese prefer travelling in groups and tend to take short holidays while Europeans are more individual travellers. A brief summary of the studies listed above is illustrated in the Table 1.9.

Table 1.9

Summary of Comparative Studies of Tourists from Different Countries or with Different Cultures

dimension	citation	nationalities compared
satisfaction level	Albuquerque & McElroy 2001	UK & Caribbean
	Choi & Chu 2000	Asian & Westerners
	Kazaks 2001	UK & German
motivation	Kozak 2001	British & German
	Woodside & Jacobs 1995	Japanese & Americans
	Yuan & McDonald 1990	Japanese, French, German & British
destination image & attitude	Kozak & Neild 1998	Europeans & Romanian
	Richardson & Crompton 1988	French & English Canadian
	Sussmann & Rashckvsky 1997	English and French Canadian
travel pattern	Chadee & Mattsso 1996	European & Asian
	Richardson & Crompton 1988	French & English Canadian
communication style	Reisinger & Turner 1998	Korean & Australian
tourism demand	Witt 1980	British & German
tourist behaviour	Pizam & Sussmann 1995	American, French, Italian & Japanese

Some researchers related the behavioural differences to the distance traveled (Debbage 1991; Leung, 1987). Debbage believed that those tourists who travelled furthest to the destination were likely to exhibit behaviour of an 'allocentric' nature (an inquisitive and curious individual, who is self-confident and adventurous), while those travelling a relatively short distance behaved in a 'psychocentric' manner. Leung (1987) on the other hand suggested that the likelihood of tourist's acting passively toward interaction with host societies would increase as the distance between a tourist's place of origin and travel destination increases while on vacation.

Pizam and Sussmann argued that "the evidence at hand suggests that nationality is one among a number of factors that account for differences in tourist behavior. National cultures have a moderating or intervening impact on tourist behavior, and if properly controlled and/or used with other variables, would add significantly to one's understanding of tourist behavior (1995:905). Kozak (2001),

among many, suggested that it is important for destination marketing and management to understand those differences in attitudes and behaviour by nationality. Although Dann (1993) questioned the adequacy and usefulness of nationality as a research variable, it remains a convenient categorisation of people's cultural background and home environments.

One of the unique aspects of tourism study regarding tourist psychology and behaviour is that a tourist exists in multiple cultures. Jafari (1987) claimed that there are at least three cultures involved when communication is attempted between tourists and people from host country: tourist culture, residual culture and local culture. Tourist culture refers to the one tourists share as a tourist regardless of the culture they belong to at home. Jafari (1987) explained that at the life of non-ordinary platform (travel destination) with features special and temporal nature, tourists enjoy the tourist culture which is characterised by fantasy, illusion, and inversion. When tourists are away from home, they tend to behave differently from their normal routine: they usually have a more relaxed schedule, they seek new or unusual experiences, and they may dress more casually. It is this "play" mode that Lett (1983) called "ludic and liminoid aspects" of tourism. On the other hand, residual culture is the culture in which people retain elements of their home culture while they are traveling. Sometimes it is referred to as culture baggage or cultural bubble (Boorstin, 1964). Local culture is the culture of the host country and is often one of the reasons for the tourist's visit. Jafari (1987) suggested that these three cultures blend to produce a new breed of culture at tourist's destination. Tourists may behave quite differently at the travel destination than at home. For example, even though Japanese are said to belong to collective culture, their behaviour might be the antithesis of a collectivist when they travel. Therefore, special attention needs to be given to tourist culture and its effect the behaviour of the tourist when investigating tourists.

1.1.4 Japanese Culture and Japanese Tourists

A consensus among researchers is that there are distinct differences between Japanese and Western cultures. Hofstede's approach, as already mentioned in the earlier section, seems to be receiving the most credibility. Table 1.10 summarized the distinct differences in characteristics of Japanese and Western cultures suggested by Hofstede (1980).

Table 1.10 Japanese culture vs Western culture (by Hofstede 1980)

Japanese	element	Westerners
high power distance believes in authority, supervision and hierarchy seniority system dictates respect for age, wisdom and subordination of those of higher social position	Power Distance	low power distance believes that social hierarchy and inequality should be minimised
High uncertainty avoidance avoid conflict, competition and risk-taking to preserve social harmony	Certainty Avoidance	Low uncertainty avoidance tolerate ambiguity, new ideas and different behaviours
collectivist development of strong cohesive groups and focus on group needs individual preferences are sacrificed for the harmony of the family and the group decisions are based on group consensus to avoid conflict	Individualist / Collectivist	individualist concerned about individual needs and goals
masculine focus on performance and growth	Masculine / Feminine	feminine focus on quality of life and the welfare of others

Other researchers also recognised major differences between these two cultures: Japanese belongs to a high context culture with indirect and implicit

communication focusing on situation and context and personal relationship, whereas Westerners belong to a low context culture with explicit communication focusing on argument and facts (Hall, 1976); Japan belongs to a formal culture with strict social rules while informal Western cultures pays little attention to formal rules (Porter 1988).

In the introduction of his book “Welcoming the Japanese visitors”, Nishiyama (1996) claimed that “Japanese visitors are very different from their English-speaking counterparts from the United States, Canada, Australia and European countries. The Japanese have different reasons for travelling overseas and have different expectations and preferences. He listed a number of items as reasons for Japanese overseas travels such as strong interest in travelling, changes in work culture and leisure boom, getting away from congestion, and travelling as group members. He especially emphasised the Japanese desire to get away to foreign countries where they can find open spaces and natural beauty because of the dense population of Japan. Another emphasis was of Japanese travelling as group members. He suggested that Japanese travellers are not as independent and adventurous as American or Europeans and are reluctant to venture out on their own (Nishiyama 1996:9). Moreover, Nishiyama emphasized the characteristics of Japanese travellers in their preference to travel in-group. He explained that one of the reasons for this is that “the Japanese find a sense of comfort (anshin kan) in travelling with other Japanese especially when travelling overseas. Even though an increasing number of Japanese speak some English, they are rather shy and hesitate to interact with foreigners on their own.” (Nishiyama, 1996:9). Ahmed and Krohn (1992) attribute the unique Japanese tourist behavior to ten basic socio-cultural elements in Japan: belongingness, family influence, empathy, dependency, hierarchical acknowledgement, a propensity to save, the concept of kinen (commemoration or souvenir), tourist photography, passivity and risk avoidance.

These ten major elements of Japanese culture are listed in Table 1.11.

Table 1.11
Ten Major Elements in Japanese Culture Which Influence Their Consumer Behaviour

belongingness	travelling in groups and seeking comfort in togetherness
family influence	purchasing gifts for close friends and family members and reciprocating
empathy	projecting the feelings of others and not expressing true personal feelings, including displeasure
dependency	being loyal and devoted in exchange for security and protection
hierarchical acknowledgement	behaving in accordance with social status
propensity to save	accumulating funds for an emergency and saving for a home to overcome feelings of insecurity
concept of "kinen"	collecting evidence of travel to prestigious tourist destinations
tourist photography	importance of photography
passivity	avoidance of participating in physical activities)
risk avoidance	avoidance of adventurous leisure pursuits)

Source: Ahmed and Krohn 1992

Unique characteristics of Japanese tourists suggested by Nishiyama (1996) and Ahmed and Krohn (1992) have attracted enough attention to make this specific nationality group a focus of some tourism research. Swarbrooke and Horner (1999) called Japanese tourists "one of the classic stereotypes of the tourism world", but at the same time pointed out it is a market which is little understood. Heung Qu and Chu (2001) examined the travel motives and travelling characteristics of Japanese tourists to Hong Kong. They found that "enjoying holidays", "food", "safety",

“exploring different culture”, “seeking fun”, and “touristic attractions” to be important to Japanese travellers. Reisinger and Turner (2000) compared satisfaction factors between Japanese tourists to Hawaii and those to the Gold Coast, Australia, and found Japanese tourists are satisfied with more attributes in Hawaii than on the Gold Coast, which may support the popularity of the destination. Moeran (1983) examined Japanese travel brochures with ideological principles. His analysis included such popular Japanese expressions as: “Travel is contact (tabi wa freai)” and suggested that “contact” is a key word. Also he focused on the popular concept “tabi no haji wa kakisute” while he explained “when Japanese go abroad, they are temporarily without any group affiliation. Escape from the restrictions imposed by the group used to give rise to the popular proverb tabi no haji wa kakisute: the tourist could do something ‘shameful’ precisely because he is travelling free of social pressures.” (p104)

Nozawa (1992) examined the characteristics of Japanese outbound travel, and suggested that the Japanese tourist market is undergoing a considerable qualitative change, that is Japanese tourists are becoming more mature, independent, and diverse in their travel preferences. Yet, she believes that the package will likely remain the dominant mode of Japanese overseas tourism. The examination of Japanese package and non-package tours of Yamamoto and Gill (1999) also supports her point.

Some studies, examining Japanese tourists through a comparative analysis with tourists from other nationality groups, have already been discussed in the previous section (see Table 1.8). Those studies report that Japanese visitors feel that family togetherness is the major benefit sought (Woodside & Jacobs, 1985), and for the Japanese, the budget is the most important pull factor followed by ease of travel and culture and history (Yuan & McDonald, 1990). The Japanese also have

the least in common with the other national segments (Pizam & Sussmann, 1995), and the recent Japanese overseas tourist market is diverse in its character (Cha, McCleary & Uysal, 1995)

Lang, O'Leary and Morrison (1993) examined Japanese female travellers by activity segments, Ahmed and Krohn (1992) focused on consumer behavior of Japanese tourists, Keown (1989) investigated Japanese visitor to Hawaii to construct the purchase model, Dace (1995) explored the Japanese culture to draw implications for hotel marketing, and Reisinger and Turner (2000) examined cultural differences between Japanese tourists and Australian hosts. Tamao (1980) examined the trend of Japanese domestic and international tourists. Moore (1985) investigated the differences between Japanese in an arranged tour and one as individual traveller in Los Angeles to analyse their behaviour and the reasons why Los Angeles was popular to Japanese tourists. He suggested that individualism is becoming a more important philosophy in Japanese society, which is also reflected in trends of individual Japanese overseas travel. He also suggested an increasing desire for Japanese travelers for seeking more authentic experiences, including being in touch with the lives of the local people, rather than just touring popular destinations. Holtzman, Murthy and Gordon (1991) examined the preferences of Japanese tourists in order to serve them better. Nishiyama (1996) provided some tips to cater to the special needs of Japanese based on the cultural difference. Some other researchers focused on the purchasing and evaluation behaviour of Japanese tourists (March, 1997; Ziff-Leivine, 1990) and restrained expression of dissatisfaction of Japanese tourists (Ahmed & Krohn, 1992; Dace, 1995; Reisinger & Waryszk, 1994). Many of these studies implied that not all Japanese tourists are alike, a point which is valid for tourists of any nationality.

The diversity and complexity of this material is recognized but it still leaves

unanswered major questions of tourist-tourist perception. Nevertheless, the material reviewed will be employed as a significant background of partially related studies to help design and interpret the present work.

1.2 Encounter Reactions in Recreation Settings

Elements in tourist-tourist encounters may be found in the leisure literature, where researchers explore recreational activities and encounters. A recreation setting, especially an outdoor recreation setting, is often where strangers meet whether they like it or not. Therefore, various leisure studies have investigated the encounter phenomenon, which often involves conflict. Some researchers are interested in conflict between different user groups while others focus on encounter norms or issues of user density. This section of the literature review covers both topics.

“Efforts to better understand conflict will maximize continuity in its meaning among visitors, managers and researchers and enable accurate assessments of its prevalence among recreation areas and visitors.” (Schneider, 2000:130) In leisure study, the most commonly used definition of conflict is the one presented by Jacob and Schreyer (1980) and is “goal interference attributed to another’s behavior” (p369). Table 1.12 summarises the major studies of recreation conflicts. Many different variables are examined as to their influence on the reaction patterns. Many studies focus on conflict between different user groups, others are interested in density levels and crowding norms.

Table 1.12 Summary of Major Studies of Recreation Conflicts (1/2)

Citation	Measuring:	Major findings
Gibbons & Ruddell (1995)	<p>The effects of goal orientation and place dependence on goal interference between two different user groups</p> <p>Different user groups: helicopter skiers & traditional skiers</p> <p>Goal Orientation Place dependence</p>	<p>Asymmetric conflict exists</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Group type is the strong predictor of goal interference · goal orientation, place dependence, & goal interference have significant relationship
Gramann & Burdge (1981)	<p>If goal interference theory of outdoor recreation conflict is relevant.</p> <p>Different user groups Goals</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · weak support for the goal interference conflict model · Asymmetric conflict
Ivy, Stewart & Lue (1992)	<p>Effect of tolerance and fulfilment of expectations on perceived conflict</p> <p>Different activity groups: motorboaters & canoeists</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Asymmetric conflict · Tolerance level affects the perceived conflict
Jackson & Wong (1982)	<p>Perceived conflicts between two recreation groups, differences in motivations and level of mutual understanding</p> <p>Recreational orientations (different user groups): skiers & snowmobilers</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Asymmetrical conflict exists · Differences in perceived conflict involve recreational orientation and motivations for participation
Ramthun (1995)	<p>Whether four factors (out-group evaluation, leisure activity identification, years of experience and frequency of participation) make individual more sensitive to the behaviour of other use groups.</p> <p>The effect of sensitivity on actual attributions of conflict</p> <p>Different user groups (hikers and mountain bikers)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · The out-group evaluation variable proved to be the single most powerful predictor of sensitivity to out-group behaviour
Ruddell & Gramann (1994)	<p>Different user groups: wind surfers & RV campers</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Asymmetric conflict <p>A significant relationship exists between the goal orientation of visitors & the perceived potential for interference from the noise</p> <p>The less tolerant a person's individual norm for noise levels, the more likely that violations of the social norm for noise will be perceived as a source of interference.</p>

Table 1.12 Summary of Major Studies of Recreation Conflicts (2/2)

Citation	Measuring:	Major findings
Vaske, Donnelly, Wittmann & Laidlaw (1995)	Distinction between inter-personal conflict and conflict in social values. A) Conflict types: · Interpersonal · Social value · No conflict B) Type of visitors · Current hunters · Former hunters · Non-hunters C) Number of previous visits	Differences in social values rather than interpersonal ones are a major influential factor in conflicts.
Vaske, Donnelly & Petruzzi (1996)	Encounter norms & perceptions of crowding Country of origin (cultural orientation)	Country of origins affect the encounter norms and perceived level of crowding
Watson, Niccolucci & Williams (1994)	The extent of conflict between two user groups Test the relative importance of various predictors of conflict Different user groups (hikers/stock users)	Asymmetric conflict relationship exists between hikers and stock users
Williams, Roggenbuck & Bange (1991)	Whether differences between stated norms and reported encounters influence perceptions of crowding, behaviour to avoid others, overall trip satisfaction and type of trip received. Trip experience: · Wilderness · Scenic Encounter types · Numbers of boats seen · % of time in sight of other boats Number of times waiting at rapids	· Crowding perceptions, efforts to avoid other users & type of trip received depend on the degree of norm-encounter compatibility. · Satisfaction was not related to norm-encounter compatibility

1.2.1 Influential Factors in Reactions to Encounters

Manning (1985, 1986) categorised the influential factors in encounter reaction into three: the characteristics of respondents; the characteristics of visitor encountered; and situational or environmental variables. Characteristics of visitors include the type and size of group, visitor behaviour, and the degree to which groups are perceived to be alike. Characteristics of the encountered visitor refer to the demographics, activity type, as well as behaviour. Situational and environmental

variables include the location and setting. Table 1.13 summarises the major study variables suggested by Manning.

Table 1.13: Influential Factors in Conflict

Manning's Categories	Variables Examined	citation
Characteristics of Respondents	Previous Experiences	Hammit & McDonald 1983; Schreyre, Lime & Willimas 1984; Vaske, Donnelly, Wittman & Laidlaw 1995; Willimas, Schreyer & Knopf 1990
		Ramthun 1995 (less experienced, more sensitive)
	Activity Type/ Activity Identification	Tarrant, Cordell & Kebler 1997; Ramthun 1995; Vaske, Donnelly, Wittman & Laidlaw 1995
	Goal Orientation	Gibbons & Ruddell 1995; Ruddell & Gramann 1994
	Place Attachment	Altman & Low 1992; Gibbons & Ruddell 1995
	Tolerance / Out-group Evaluation	Adelman, Heberlein & Bonnicksen 1982; Ivy & Stewart 1992; Ramthun 1995;
		Watson, Niccolucci & Williams 1994 (lifestyle tolerance is weaker predictor of conflict)
	Frequency of Participation	Ramthun 1995 (not significant predictor of sensitivity to conflict);
	Social Group	Manning, Lime, Freimund and Pitt 1996
	Nationality	Vaske, Donnelly and Petruzzi 1996
Gender & Friendship	Rustemli 1992	
Characteristics of Visitor Encountered	Encounter Type	Tarrant, Cordell & Kebler 1997
Situational or Environmental Variables	Location	Andereck & Becker 1993; Shelby 1981; Tarrant, Cordell & Kebler 1997; Westover & Collins 1987
	Total Daily Use Level, Water Release Level, Time of Day, Day of the Week	Tarrant & English 1996

Among these attempts to examine the influential factors in perceived crowding, Vaske, Donnelly and Petruzzi (1996) examined the relationship between country of origin and encounter norms, and found that some differences in nationality affect the expectations and response to the crowded frontcountry (developed) recreational setting. Among five different countries of origin (Canada, United States, Japan, Germany, and England), they found that Japanese and Germans are most likely to be sensitive to the crowded situation.

Rustemli (1992) found that the influences of gender and friendship appear to be more important than spatial influences on reported experiences of crowded: people felt less crowded when surrounded by friends or females. Also, there were differences in the perception of crowding between males and females: males claimed it was more crowded when they were physically too close, and females reported higher degrees of crowding when surrounded by men rather than women.

Hall and Shelby (1996) examined the relationship between the presence of norm and other variables and found that residence, trailhead use level, and past wilderness experience were related to the presence of norms. Those with norms were more likely to rate social and ecological impacts as problems and were more supportive of restrictive management practices.

Many studies have tested the hypothesis that use density (or encounters) is negatively correlated with experience quality (Manning, 1999; Shelby, Vask & Heberlein, 1989). Some researchers such as Ditton, Fedler & Graefe (1983) and Schreyer & Roggenbuck (1978) claimed that crowding perceptions tend to be greater among those who are seeking solitude or escape from social pressure than those who put emphasis on affiliation of social interaction. On the other hand, Hammitt and Rutlin (1995) believe that privacy is more conceptually linked to wilderness

encounters than perceived crowding based on an environmental psychology orientation. Claiming that privacy is not the opposite of crowding, they examined the relationship between level of desired privacy achieved and use encounter standards at three different locations, and found that degree of desired privacy achieved served as a better dependent variable for investigating the enjoyment-actual encounter phenomenon than has satisfaction or crowding of past studies.

Results from these studies indicated that there are many factors that influence people's different goals and tolerances (which are expressed by differences in either the presence or the value of norms). Important management implications from this include, as Hall and Shelby (1996) suggested, that "if different subpopulations of users have different norms, managers cannot simply survey all users and use some central value as a standard".

1.2.2. Conflicts between different user groups

Recreation conflict research historically has emphasised the extent of conflict between members of specific groups (Watson, Niccoucci & Williams, 1994:373). The most consistent findings in these studies were the tendency for asymmetric antipathy between different activity groups (Adelman, Heberlein & Bonnicksen, 1982; Blahna, Smith & Anderson, 1995; Gibbons & Ruddell, 1995; Vaske, Donnelly, Wittmann & Laidlaw, 1995; Watson et al., 1991; Watson et al., 1994). In most of the surveys, only one of the groups expressed negative evaluations, or one group expressed significantly more negative evaluations. In other words, there is a tendency for one group to be more sensitive to the conflict than the other group, when two different activity groups have conflicts. For example, paddling canoeists were more sensitive to motorboaters (Adelman, Heberlein & Bonnicksen, 1982; Ivy, Steward & Lue, 1992). Paddling canoeists disliked motorboaters, but the people using motorboats were not bothered by, and often enjoyed seeing the other group.

Similar tendencies were found between different user groups as summarised in Table 1.14. This asymmetry tends to occur between the traditional user group and the new user group (Driver & Bassett, 1975; Ramthun, 1995, Watson, Williams & Daigle, 1991), non-motorised user groups and the mechanised user groups (Adelman, Heberlein & Bonnicksen, 1982; Gramann & Burdge, 1981; Ivy et al., 1992; Jackson & Wong, 1982; Knopp & Tyger, 1973), and appreciative recreationists and consumptive recreationists (Graefe, Vaske & Kuss, 1984; Jackson, 1987). Apparently the traditional user group, the non-mechanised user group and appreciative recreationists have more concern towards the new user group, motorised user group and consumptive recreationists. It is assumed that noise and safety issues may be one concern and value differences are another.

Table 1.14 Asymmetric Antipathy between Different User Groups

More Sensitive Groups	Less Sensitive Groups	Citations
paddling canoeists	motorboaters	Adelman, Heberlein & Bonnicksen 1982; Ivy, Steward & Lue 1992
paddling canoeists	motor canoeists	Shelby 1981
cross-country skiers	snowmobilers	Jackson & Wong 1982
non-motorised backcountry skier	helicopter skier	Gibbons & Ruddell 1995
traditional backcountry visitors	llama packers	Blahna, Smith, & Anderson 1995
hikers	mountain bicyclists	Carothers & Vaske 2001; Ramthun 1995
hikers	recreational stock users	Watson, Niccolucci & Williams 1994
non-hunter	hunter	Vaske, Donnelly, Wittmann & Laidlaw 1995
RV Camper	Windsurfer	Ruddle & Gramann 1994

From the results of his study, Ramthum (1995) found that the out-group evaluation was the single most powerful predictor for sensitivity to out-group behaviour. He figured that “the categorisation of individuals as members of an out-group is closely related to evaluations of goal interference by those individual and this stereotyping process seems to lead individuals to make assumptions about the probable behavior of out-group members and these assumptions, in turn, make the individual more sensitive to interference by members of that group.” Ramthum (1995) continued that attributing conflict to another user group could lead to a more biased evaluation of that group, and this reciprocal relationship can lead to a spiral effect increasing bias and perception of conflict. In-group/out-group differentiation and stereotyping have already been discussed in this chapter as issues of cultural contact, however, it appears that such concepts also apply well to recreation settings between different user groups.

1.2.3. Encounter Norms, User Density and Crowding

Encounter norms and user density is another major issue in which leisure researchers are interested.

1.2.3.1 Norms, Density and Crowding

Considerable research has examined the relationship between encounter norms and conflicts, partly because of its practical implication for managing the recreation areas. Norms are standards of what is and is not acceptable (Hall & Shelby, 1996). Many studies have focused on crowding norms (Hall & Shelby, 1996; Hammitt, McDonald & Noe, 1984; Kuentzel & Heberlein, 1992; Kuentzel & McDonald, 1992; Manning, Johnson & Kamp, 1996; Manning, Lime, Freimund & Pitt, 1996; Manning, Valliere, Wang & Jacobi, 1999; Patterson & Hammitt, 1990; Roggenbuck, Williams, Bange & Dean, 1991; Ruddell & Gramann, 1994; Shelby,

1981; Shelby, Vaske & Donnelly, 1996; Tarrant, Cordell & Kibler, 1997; Williams, Roggenbuck & Bange, 1991) and have constantly found that those who have specific crowding norms are more sensitive to encounters with other people. Tarrant et al. (1997) gave an extensive literature review on the past studies of crowding categorising the influential factors into two: situational condition and personal factors. Their review is summarized in Table 1.15.

Table 1.5: Studies about Perceived Crowding and Situational Condition / Personal Factors
Crowding occurs when actual or perceived use levels exceed desired levels and it is depend on:

Situational Condition	citation	Major findings
Number of perceived encounter	Hammitt, McDonald & Noe 1984; Shelby & Heberlein 1986	Use levels influence the number of encounters, which in turn influence perceived crowding
Location of encounter	Ditton, Fedler & Graefe 1983; Patterson & Hammitt 1990; Shelby, Vaske & Heberlein 1989; Tarrant, Cordell & Kibler 1997; Westover 1989	Encounters had a less negative effect on users' experiences in the periphery than in the interior of wilderness; users reported lower tolerance levels for encounters in campsites than a the trailhead or on the trail
Types of group encountered A) different user groups B) different size C) experienced /inexperienced users D) specialists / generalists	Ditton et al. 1983; Grammann & Burdget 1984; Hammitt et al. 1984; Jacob & Schreyer 1980; Manning 1985; Tarrant, Cordell & Kibler 1997	Crowding tolerances was lower when encountering A) traditional users & non-motorised users encountering non-traditional users/motorised users; B)one large party of users than multiple small parties; C) experienced / specialists encountering inexperienced / generalists * perceptions of crowding increase when users encounter others who are perceived to have values or goals that conflict with their own
Type of activity	Shelby & Heberlein 1986 ; Tarrant, Cordell & Kibler 1997	Asymmetric relationship between traditional users & non-motorised users encountering non-traditional users/motorised users
Personal Factors		
Preferred Encounter	Shelby & Heberlein 1986; Tarrant, Cordell & Kibler 1997	Variance in crowding can be substantially increased by measuring the extent to which users encountered more or less people than they preferred
Tolerable Encounter Level	Patterson & Hammitt 1990; Roggenbuck, Williams, Bange & Dean 1991; Shelby, Bregenzer, & Johnson 1988; Tarrant, Cordell & Kibler 1997	Non-specialised users are lie likely to report tolerable encounter levels than specialized

* based on Tarrant, Cordell and Kibler 1997

Crowding has received considerable attention in recreation research in relation to encounter norm. Rustemli (1992) described crowding as a negative experiential state associated with special aspects of the environment. Ruddell and Gramann (1994) defined crowding as "one form of conflict perceived when the number of people in a recreation setting is deemed to interfere with one's important recreation goals". Similarly, Graefe and Vaske (1987) suggested that feelings of crowding tend to occur when the presence of others causes expectation or goal achievement to be

disappointed while Shinha and Shinha (1991) and Evans and Lepore (1992) argued that it occurs due to diminished control over unwanted interaction with others or when the level of social stimulation exceeds that which is desired by the individual. Crowding can be seen as a negative value judgment of a particular people density, which may vary between individuals according to social and psychological factors. Therefore, the perception of crowding depends on the desired experience in a particular situation. In certain settings, people expect a high level of density and are tolerant of crowding condition (Graefe & Vaske, 1987) and in some settings even require a high level of density to function adequately (Westover, 1989).

Summarising work from Veal (1973), Hall (1974) and Wager (1964), Glasson, Godfrey and Goodey (1995) provided a graphic illustration of user satisfaction and level of use (p50) as shown in Figure 1.2. This suggests that the setting and type of the activity have an influential effect on the relationship between density/perceived crowding and satisfaction. In natural settings people tend to prefer less dense situations while they expect theme parks to be more crowded to a certain extent. In settings such as theaters and concerts, people seem happier with large crowds. Hall (1974 cited by Getz, 1983:247) also suggested that for some leisure pursuits crowding was already a positive factor or was not necessarily a detracting factor.

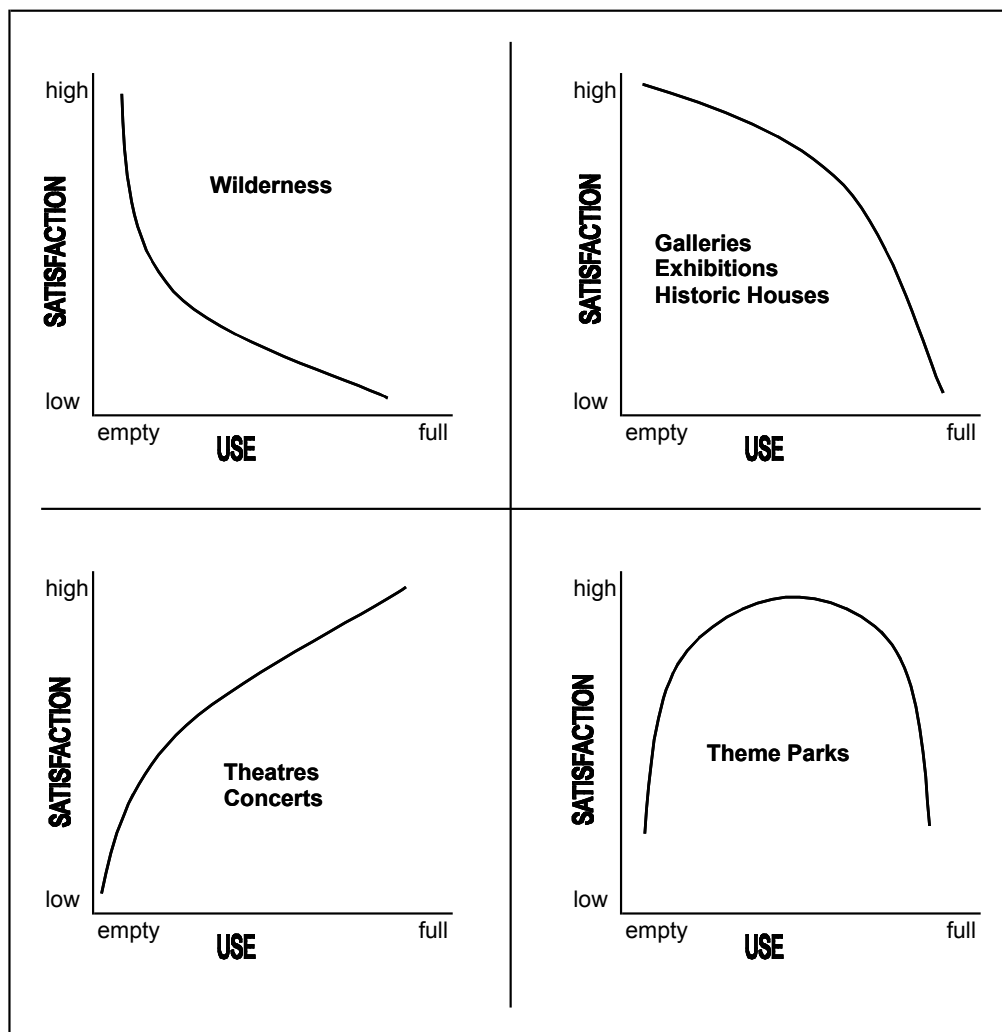


Figure 1.2: User Satisfaction and Level of Use (from Glasson, Godfrey and Goodey 1995)

1.2.3.2. Responses to Crowding and Coping Behaviour

While many researchers focused on the cause of conflicts, some also have been interested in visitors' response to conflict (Kuentzel & Herberlein, 1992). "High usage at a site influences the visitor experience when visitor perceptions of crowding are increased; environmental perceptions of litter, noise, general wear and tear and, perhaps, physical degradation are made when the motivations for visiting a site cannot be achieved." (Graefe & Vaske, 1987; Westover, 1989). Bell, Greene, Fisher and Baum (1996) listed some possible responses for crowding as

assertiveness, a rush to complete an activity in order to escape to a less dense situation, physical and/or social withdrawal, and adaptation to make the best of a bad situation. Hammitt and Patterson (1991) identified a more systematic list of six physical and six social coping behaviours to avoid encounters/interactions. They found that most respondents used physical coping behaviour more often than social coping behavior. Their other findings included that the importance of solitude to visitors was related significantly to adoption of all six physical coping behaviours but to none of the social coping behaviours; visitors who have lower encounter norms and who were more sensitive to the actual encounters experienced, participated significantly more often; level of past experience had little influence on use of coping behaviours. Schneider and Hammitt (1995) identified three possible visitor responses to recreation crowding: product shift, rationalisation and displacement. Adapting the concept of a model of stress appraisal and response (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984 in Schneider & Hammitt, 1995:227), they constructed an adapted model of response to outdoor recreation conflict (Figure 1.3). Their work is acknowledged in terms of an extended view of the conflict consequences as a process. While those coping behaviour concepts assume that outcome of the recreation conflict may lead to no return visits and no public support, however, some reported otherwise (Kuentzel & Heberlein, 1992; Manning & Ciali, 1980).

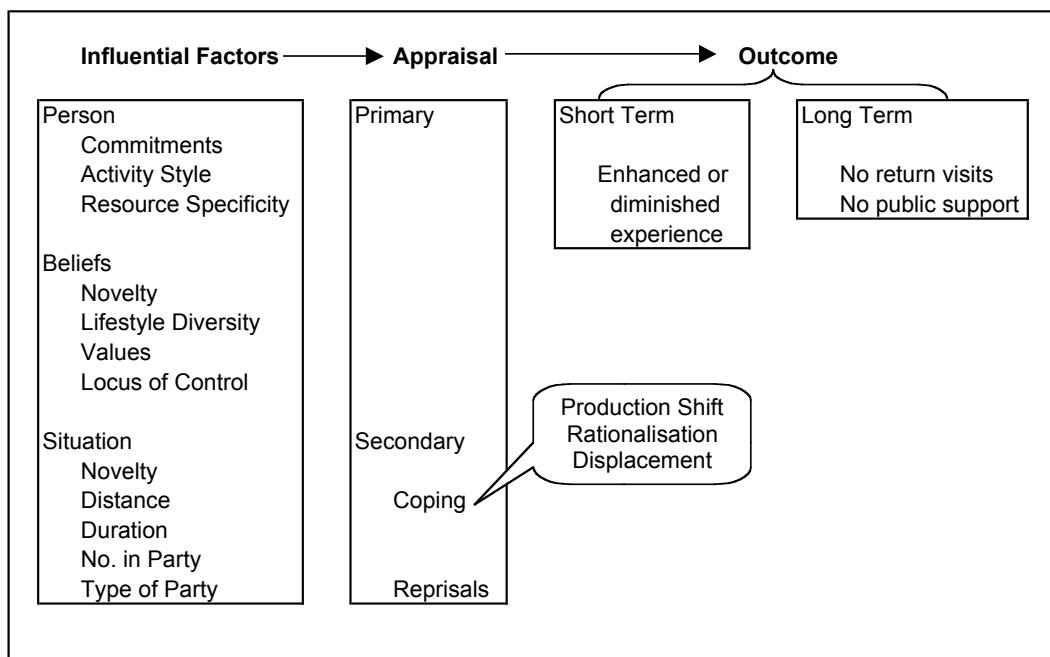


Figure 1.3 Model of Stress Appraisal and Responses

(based on Schneider and Hammitt 1995)

1.2.3.3. Problems in Norm or Density Related Studies

Critics of this research have found problems in density, perceived crowding and norm-related studies. For one thing, there is no established definition of encounter norm or measurement standards. This lack of research foundation may be blamed for some inconsistent findings.

Another issue is whether encounter norms actually exist. Some researchers claimed that only a few people had encounter norms. For example, Roggenbuck et al. (1991) found that fewer than half of their survey participants had norms related to appropriate encounter levels and many said the numbers encountered made no difference or said they made a difference but could not give a number.

A third issue is the relationship between crowding and satisfaction. As stated earlier, studies of encounter norms and crowding have been given attention partly

because of its assumed management significance to visitor satisfaction. However, some studies such as Williams et al. (1991) found that while crowding perceptions, efforts to avoid other users and type of trip received depend on the degree of norm-encounter compatibility, but satisfaction was not related to norm-encounter compatibility. Other researchers, such as Stewart and Cole (2001), found a consistently negative but only weak relationship between number of encounters and recreation experience quality among visitors. Manning and Ciali (1980) also investigated the relationship between density and satisfaction. They reported a clear negative relationship when tested using a hypothetical situation, but no relationship is found when using actual field data. They concluded that “the density-satisfaction relationship is complex and should be incorporated cautiously in decisions establishing appropriate use density levels for outdoor recreation areas.” (Manning & Ciali, 1980)

All those uncertainties have led researchers like Roggenbuck et al (1991) to suggest a need for clarity in definition, measurement and reports of recreation norms, as well as recognizing theoretical development in this field in the area of the meaning of norms and recreation encounters.

1.2.3.4. Crowding at Tourism settings

Graef and Vaske (1987) remarked that there was very little research on the capacity of tourists to tolerate other tourists. McManus (1989) listed some reasons for this lack of study including a lack of interest in the idea of limiting tourist growth and a negative association between density and satisfaction.

Urry (1990:44-47), among others, has made the distinction between the physical carrying capacity of a tourist site and its perceptual capacity, the former meaning the literal sense that the place cannot take any more people with the latter

has more to do with subjective quality of the tourist experience. He emphasised the subjective nature of the perceptual capacity because the same place can be viewed differently by different people and at different situation. He suggested that there is a 'romantic' form of the tourist gaze, in which the emphasis is upon solitude, privacy and a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze. Also he suggested that there are places that are designed as public places:

They would look strange if they were empty. It is other people that make such places. The collective gaze thus necessitates the presence of large numbers of other people... Other people give atmosphere or a sense of carnival to a place. They indicate that this is the place to be and that one should not be elsewhere. And as we saw, one of the problems for the British seaside resort is that there are not enough people to convey these sorts of message. ... It is the presence of other tourists, people just like oneself, that is actually necessary for the success of such places, which depend upon the collective tourist gaze. This is also the case in major cities, whose uniqueness is their cosmopolitan character. It is the presence of people from all over the world (tourists in other words) that give capital cities their distinct excitement and glamour... Where the collective gaze is to be found there is less of problem of crowding and congestion. (Urry 1990:44-47).

Urry's remarks serves as a caution that the findings and results of the largely North American studies on leisure and recreation settings can be automatically applied to international tourist settings. Urry's point is the same with Glasson, Kerry and Goody (1995) discussed earlier in this chapter, who suggested the attraction type influences the preferred use level.

1.2.4 Recreation Conflict Theory

The majority of outdoor recreation conflict research has been conducted based on Jacob and Schreyer's conceptual framework (1980). Defining the recreation conflict as "goal interference attributed to another's behaviour" (p369), they offered a theoretical perspective for conflicts in recreation settings. It was suggested that conflict was influenced by, and varies with, four factors; 1) recreation activity, 2)

resource specificity, 3) mode of experience, and 4) tolerance for lifestyle diversity. Jacob and Schreyer's ten hypotheses for the causes of conflict with propositions they gave are summarised in Table 1.16.

Table 1.16: Ten Hypothesis of Jacob and Schreyer (1980)

Factor based	Propositions
Activity Style	1. The more intense the activity style, the greater the likelihood a social interaction with less intense participants will result in conflict 2. When the private activity style confronts the status conscious activity style, conflict results because the private activity style's disregard for status symbols negated the relevance of the other participants' status hierarchy 3. Status based intra-activity conflict occurs when a participant desiring high status must interact with other viewed as lower status 4. Conflict occurs between participants who do not share the same status hierarchies 5. The more specific the expectations of what constitute a quality experience, the greater the potential for conflict.
Resource Specificity	6. Evaluations of resource quality: when a person who views the place's qualities as unequalled confronts behaviors indicating a lower evaluation, conflict results. 7. Sense of possession: conflict results when users when a possessive attitude towards the resource confront users perceived as disrupting traditional uses and behavioral norms. 8. Status: conflict occurs for high status users when they must interact with the lower status users who symbolize a devaluation of a heretofore exclusive, intimate relationship with the place.
Mode of Experience	9. When a person in the focused mode interacts with a person in the unfocused mode, conflict results.
Tolerance for Lifestyle Diversity	10. If group differences are evaluated as undesirable or a potential threat to recreation goals, conflict results when members of two groups confront one another. * Two common stereotype themes: Technology and resource consumption Prejudice (ethnic, racial and social class distinctions)

Activity style identifies the various personal meanings assigned to an activity by individuals, and includes the intensity of participation, status in the activity, and range of activity experiences. It is the importance the individual gives to the given activity. Key words are intensity, privacy, status and expectation. For example, the more intense the activity style, the greater the likelihood that conflict occurs through

contact with less intense participants. Resource specificity refers to the importance a person attaches to the use of a specific resource or place. It varies from person to person, with the range of experience, possessive feelings toward, and relationship with the resource. Key words are evaluations of resource quality, sense of possession and status. Mode of experience is described as a continuum of environmental focus determined by the recreation activity itself. Those involved in activities where movement precludes detailed examination of the scenery are unfocused and those able to concentrate on the detail are focused. As the environment becomes more focused, an individual produces more rigid definitions of what constitutes acceptable stimuli and is increasingly intolerant of external stimulation. Finally, tolerance for lifestyle diversity represents the willingness to share resources with members of other lifestyle groups and varies with both the technology associated with the activity and its resource consumption. People may not willingly share resources with others who have a different lifestyle, and the lower the tolerance, more likely the conflict occurs. Ivy et al. (1992) point out that intolerance of other groups may be the result of how an activity and its participants are stereotyped, without the context of situational factors.

Manning (1985, 1986) has categorised influential factors in conflict (Table 1.13) as already discussed earlier. Jacob and Schreyer's four factors are all included in "characteristics of respondents" category of Manning, and Manning adds two more categories as "characteristics of visitor encountered" and "situational factors." While Manning's categories did not come with conceptualised discussion, it can be seen as more comprehensive than Jacob and Schreyer's approach.

It is apparent that the majority of the recreation researchers depend on the conflict theory of Jacob and Schreyer (1980). Still, Schneider and Hammitt (1995) acknowledged the works of Lindsay (1980) and Burry, Holland and McEwen (1983)

as attempts to further develop the conflict theory. Also, more recently, three attempts were made to develop a better understanding of recreation conflict by suggesting new conflict concepts. First, Ramthun (1995) questioned the empirical verification and relationship of Jacob and Schreyer's variables, and tested his four variables, which included two from Jacob and Schreyer's (1980) approach. He placed more emphasis on out-group evaluation saying, "there is extensive evidence that an individual's perceptions of social situations are labeled by identification as a member of one group rather than another" (Ramthun, 1995:160). While all the above concepts focus on influential elements of conflicts, Schneider and Hammitt (1995), as already mentioned in this chapter, suggested a conceptual response model of recreation conflict. They saw the conflict not as a single event, but rather a process that participants are going through. This agrees with Ross who pointed out that "although the term conflict often connotes an event, it is more useful to think about a process, involving the disputants' sequence of responses to each other" (Ross, 1993:17). Schneider and Hammitt (1995) attempted to capture both perception of, and response to, conflict. Lazarus and Folkman's model of stress appraisal and response (1984) was adapted into a recreation setting (as shown in Figure 1.3).

Vaske and his colleagues (1995) attempted to categorise conflicts in two types by their nature; interpersonal conflict and social value conflict. The former is based on goal-interference as in Jacob & Schreyer (1980), and can "occur when the physical presence of an individual or group interferes with the goals of another individual or group. This is goal-interference conflict because the goals for visiting a particular setting are inhibited in some way" (Vaske et al., 1995). The latter kind of conflict "can arise between groups who do not share the same norms and/or values independent of the physical presence or actual contact between the groups. These situations can be labeled either value conflicts or social conflicts." (Vaske et al., 1995).

For interpersonal conflict to occur, the physical presence or behavior of an individual or a group of recreationists must interfere with the goals of another individual or group. Social values conflict, on the other hand, can occur between people or groups who do not share the same norms and/or values independent of the physical presence or actual contact between them (Carothers et al., 2001:47-48). They pointed out that most recreation conflict studies look for interpersonal conflict, which is the result of the actual encounter, however, pre-informed social value conflict may be the major cause of the conflict, which requires no actual contacts. Their emphasis was on the need to understand the value orientation of different user groups. Carothers, Vaske and Donnelly (2001: 47) also remarked that most researchers have examined interpersonal (or goal interference) conflict and not social value (or social acceptability) conflict.

The six concepts introduced above are summarised in Table 1.17. These existing theories still leave room for criticism, and many claim a need for a strong conflict theory. However, the conflict model of Jacob and Schreyer (1980) remains dominant, while Schneider (2000) calls for an advanced model, pointing out persistent inadequacies in earlier approaches.

Table 1.17 Summary of Conflict Concepts / Theories

Citation	Essence of the Theory	Foundation	Strength (○) / Weakness (●)
Jacob & Schreyer (1980)	Conflict is influenced by and varies with recreation / activity style / resource specificity / mode of experience / tolerance for lifestyle Social interaction plays an important role in the conflict process	Goal-Interference Theory Expectancy-Value Theory	○ Widely accepted and the majority of outdoor recreation conflict investigations have been based on this concept ● Empirical verifications of the suggested variables & relationships is still far from complete (Watson, et.al., 1994) ● Did not show measurement method
Lindsay (1980)	A single recreational sphere is available for outdoor activities, and as different activities fill the space, conflict potential increases.	Spatial Model	● Advanced a spatial model of conflict ● Empirical investigations unknown
Bury, Holland & McEwen (1983)	Difference in degree of environmental dominance and technology dependence of each activity predicts conflict.		● Direct empirical investigation unknown
Schneider & Hammitt (1995)	A series of appraisal processes that lead to a response to conflict are influenced by 1) Personal factors 2) Situational factors	Stress Appraisal and Response (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984)	○ Covers visitor's response to conflict ○ See conflict as a process not as a single event ● Empirical investigations unknown
Ramthun (1995)	Some psychological characteristics make one more sensitive to the behaviour of others and therefore root of the conflict attribution. 1) Evaluation of Out-group, 2) Leisure Activity Identification, 3) Years of Experience,	Partly adapting Jacob & Schreyer (1980)	○ Used path analysis to test the model ○ Emphasis an out-group evaluation
Vaske, Donnelly, Wittmann, & Laidlaw (1995)	There are two types of conflict interpersonal conflict social value conflict	Jacob and Schreyer (1980) plus "Value/Social Conflict" (Williams 1993)	○ Strong argument for understanding the value orientations of different user groups

1.2.5 Tourist Contact and Interaction in Tourism

Some studies of the relationship between tourist and local people are interested in how tourists see people from the visited region. Many found that local people are viewed as a part of the attraction of the destination, that is exotic natives. Dann (1996b), through the examination of tourist brochures, found that local people might be seen as part of the cultural attraction, service providers, entertainers, or a part of scenery by tourists. Similar types of studies are rare regarding how tourists see other tourists. Are tourists happy to see other tourists or are they bothered to see or meet other tourists? Are tourists recognised as another travelling individual or in some other way? Are there any differences in tourist encounters by characteristics of both parties or settings?

There are limited studies of tourist-tourist interaction and few theories or guiding concepts to answer these questions. Exceptions include MacCannell's explanation of the phenomenon of tourist angst, suggesting that tourists care about other tourists with whom they come into contact, often seeking to distance themselves from others (1989). However, as Dann (1999:160) pointed out, very little attention has been paid to the sources of this tourist angst, or if it always happens among tourists. In fact, one of the common motivations of travel is known to be meeting new people (Heung et al., 2001), a view contrary to the concept of tourist angst. This contradiction is interestingly reflected in the following two empirical investigations. Hammitt and Patterson (1991) investigated backpackers' behaviour of avoiding encounters with others in wilderness settings and found that physical coping behaviours were used more often than social coping behaviours by the backpackers to keep their privacy. Dann (1998) explains this as the "anti-tourist who resides in every tourist." Loker-Murphy and Pearce (1995) and Murphy (2001), applying the social situation theory, reviewed the common topics in backpackers' conversation and found that meeting other people, particularly other backpackers,

was an essential part of backpackers' experiences. The study by Hammitt and Patterson and Murphy's study are quite contrary in their focus. While the former study looks at how backpackers avoid each other, the latter focuses on how they interact with each other.

Pearce's attempt to examine the helping behaviours among travellers and strangers at bus terminals (1980) is very unique, investigating the specific context of tourist contacts. He found that familiar strangers (fellow bus travellers) tend to receive more help than total strangers do, and also female and foreign strangers were helped more than male and domestic tourists. These results seem to suggest that tourist interactions may be influenced by the familiarity of the encountered tourists, as well as their gender and nationality. More studies are called for in order to gain a better understanding of tourist-tourist encounters.

Also, little research has focused on the capacity of tourists to tolerate other tourists and other impacts on their experience (Walter, 1982; Getz, 1983), even though other factors are reported more frequently such as economic, social and psychological impacts on local communities, and effects on the natural environment. For example, Hillery, Naucarrow, Griffin and Syme (2001) investigated tourists perception of environmental impact. One of their findings showed that tourists perceived "too many people" as a direct problem related to tourism and as a major threat to the environment. This means that tourists consider too many people will directly harm the environment and that their experience is negatively impacted as a result of perceived crowding.

While travelling, people mix and often interact with each other. Other tourists become, regardless of one's liking or not liking it, part of one's travel experience because they share the facilities and attractions: who they are, how they dress and

how these customers behave affect one's experience (Morrison 1989:38). One good example of the studies on the impact of other customers on service experiences at tourism setting is one by Grove and Fisk (1997). Through interview with 436 respondents, they collected descriptions of satisfied and dissatisfied incidents with a visit to an attraction due to the presence of other customers. Three hundred and thirty critical incidents were categorized into physical protocol incidents in line, verbal protocol incidents in line, other protocol incident in line, other protocol incidents, friendly/unfriendly sociability incidents, and ambiance sociability incidents. The likelihood of others positively or negatively affecting one's service experience across respondents' demographic characteristics such as gender, age, nationality (U.S. vs. others), educational level, marital status, and income were also analysed. They found that other customers have considerable impact upon one's service experience at tourism settings especially when they were waiting in line.

1.2.6 Management of Tourist-Tourist Contact and Customer Mix

At a practical level, researchers such as Pearce (1989), McManus (1998) and Pullman and Thompson (2002) have attempted to suggest how to better manage the conflicts between anticipated attraction visitors regarding tourism queues and pedestrian flows. Grove and Fisk (1997) also made a number of implications for tourist management from the outcome of their study results mentioned earlier. While these kinds of practical studies are very helpful to manage visitors as a whole, another important approach is the one with the concept of customer mix.

The customer mix is "the combination of customers that use or are attracted to a specific hospitality and travel organisation (Morrison 2002:588)". This concept is closely related to market segmentation and can be useful to manage the co-presence of customers with different segmentation. Understanding and managing customer mix is important because it influences the customers' satisfaction, and

Morrison also argues that the type of customers influence the image of the destination and services they visit and use (Morrison 2002: 307). As an example, he pointed out that certain types of customers attract other similar customers. The customer mix requires the careful management of the interactions between customers, and it is recommended that the marketers should make sure that the customers they are targeting are compatible (Morrison 2002, Kotler, Bowen, and Makens 2003).

Wearne and Morrison (1996:58) listed seven criteria for customer mix assessment for the tourism industry: size, location and accessibility, homogeneity of the customer (personality types, lifestyle, class, age, occupation and income), profitability, durability, expectations of the segment, and ability to service it. Among these, homogeneity was mentioned so that there is an equitable blend. According to Wearne and Morrison “this is mostly sorted out by the customers who will chose the property that has a customer mix with similar lifestyle values to themselves.”

1.3 Outcomes of Literature Review

Through reviewing the past studies mainly in cultural contact and recreational conflict, the following have become apparent, many of these research directions are relevant to the proposed study of tourist-tourist encounters:

- There are suggestions of factors that affect encounter conflicts (such as Jacob & Schreyer's 1980) and they can be categorised into three: the characteristics of respondents; the characteristics of visitor encountered; and situational or environmental variables (Manning, 1985, 1986).
- Density, nationality difference, tolerance, and in-group/out-group distinction are some of the factors in encounter conflict.
- Although recreation conflicts have been studied relatively well, recreation

conflict theory is not yet solid and the conflict measurement method is not standardized,

- There are sequences of encounters (such as proposed by Schneider & Hammitt, 1995), which suggest encounter conflict may be a major issue for visitor management.
- There are several elements and variables of the contact and, among them in-group/out-group evaluation, together with stereotyping is a critical factor in person-person encounter.
- People experience “culture shock”, though this varies in degree when they encounter a different culture than their own.
- Nationality stereotyping, a form of out-group evaluation, is one of the causes of cultural conflict.
- Individualism and collectivism is an important classification to measure cultural distance.
- Japanese belong to collectivistic culture and have distinct characteristics differing themselves from Westerners.
- When they travel, tourists behave differently than at home – in tourist culture.
- Tourist carry residual cultures or a cultural bubble from home so tourists from different culture still behave differently.
- A tourist destination is where different cultures meet: host culture, tourist culture, and those cultures tourists carry over from home.
- The importance of managing customer mix in tourism settings has been pointed out but there are only few empirical investigations conducted.

From the preceding review, it can be assumed that there are four different influential factors in tourist-tourist encounter reactions: A) characteristics of the tourist; B) characteristics of the encountered; C) encounter setting; and D) tourist culture. Encounter reactions can be positive, which leads to satisfaction, or

negative, that may require coping behaviour and/or bring dissatisfaction.

However, since there was not a rich supply of evidence relating to tourism settings, many questions still need to be answered such as:

- What are the factors of conflict at the tourist-tourist encounter setting: Does the concept of Jacob and Schreyer (1980) and other concepts (e.g., influential factors for conflict) apply?
- Is a tourist-tourist encounter the same as other culture contact: Do the suggestions of Furnham and Bochner (1986) apply (e.g., “in-groups” are favourably treated)?
- Does stereotyping in relation to nationality affect the tourist encounter, both as an encountering and an encountered party?
- What are the consequences of tourist-tourist encounters?
- How do tourists view other tourists: What kind of object is the tourist for other tourists?
- Simply, do tourists like to see other tourists? What are the international differences?
- How is conflict in tourist settings measured?

This Chapter has introduced the topic of the research and has reviewed the related literature mainly in leisure and culture studies. There are a number of questions listed above to extend the findings and concepts from the existing literature to the tourist-encounter settings. The following chapter, Chapter 2 is devoted to a review of literature on methodological issues. The specific hypotheses being explored in this research will be developed from these questions after a consideration of the possible methodological approaches for this kind of research.