

**Exploring the Minds of Sex Tourists:
The Psychological Motivation of Liminal People**

By

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(ABSTRACT)

Sex tourism is one of the world's most controversial industries. While it generates tremendous revenue to the sex tourism destinations, the industry has been condemned as the two main reasons trafficking of women and children exist. Despite this, little research has examined the motivation of sex tourists. The purpose of this study is to develop an understanding of the sex tourism phenomenon and, more specifically, motivation of tourists. This study is exploratory and qualitative in nature. Two key propositions are addressed (1) The person's level of perceived modernity relates to the perceived level of personal needs; and (2) The person's level of perceived personal needs relates to the person's desire of travel for sexual participation.

A mixture of qualitative methods was utilized. The data was collected using semi-structured personal interviews with thirty-three male sex tourists who traveled to Pattaya, Thailand in 2005. The transcribed data was constantly compared and the interviews revealed four substantial themes with eight subsequent categories.

It was discovered that sex tourists were pushed by two main motivational drives: physical and psychological needs which came together as personal needs. Physical needs consisted of "physical problems" and "unmet sexual needs." The psychological problems included "hedonistic drive" and "modernity." The physical gains (tangible attributes) and psychological gains (sense of belonging, freedom and excitement, and power reestablishment) attracted sex tourists to the sex tourism destinations. Therefore, modernity, one of three constructs in this study, was also supported as an important factor which indirectly affected the motivation of the sex tourists.

The last chapter presents the study contribution, implementation, and suggestions for future research. For knowledge contribution to the academic field, this present study reinforces the reliability of Iso-Ahola's (1982) escaping-seeking motivation model. It provides both academic and tourism practitioners a better idea of what sex tourist motivational factors are. The knowledge of sex tourist motivation can assist tourism

practitioners at the sex tourism destinations to improve positioning their destinations in the world tourism market. For the tourism academics, this study offers an exploratory ground for future research to build on both qualitatively and quantitatively in order to form a more rigorous sex tourist motivation model.

To my family
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“I don’t like spending the whole week with one girl. I have been married with my wife for 40 years now. My life is good. I have no problem. But when I come here I don’t want to spend time with just one girl. I have a nice house and big house in Holland. I have my work, my children. I have one son, 41, and another 39. And I have 5 grandchildren. I’m a happy man. And I’m healthy. What do you want more? I travel to Thailand, Chiangmai, Geneva, and Spain with my wife. My wife is beautiful and good-looking...blond. We have a good life” (Robert, interview in May 2005).

Robert is successful and rich. He has his own business, several houses and cars back in the Netherlands. He usually spends time with his family, a beautiful blond wife and kids. “I have a happy life”, he said. “I have two sons and five grandchildren... I have a great life.” When asked why he went out with sex workers in Thailand he paused then replied, “I think I just want something *different*.”

This man is not different from many male tourists whose “dream” and “frequent” destination is not Europe, the Alps, or Windsor Palace. It is half way across the world in Thailand. Walking along the 4-kilometer beach in Pattaya, full of go-go bars and beer bars, they have found their “paradise”.

Tourism has been an incredibly fast growing industry especially since the invention of jet airplanes in the 1960s. People are able to travel around the world in a matter of hours. The World Tourism Organization (WTO) forecasts world international arrivals will reach 1.56 billion in 2020 with Asia Pacific having the second highest number of arrivals, approximately 397 million tourists (WTO, 2005). The Tourism Authority of Thailand reports the number of international arrivals at 10 million in 2003 and 13 million in 2005 (TAT, 2005). Sex tourism is known as one of the major industries in Thailand in spite of being illegal. It is estimated that Thailand has at least 200,000

women and children working in the sex industry and one-third of those are children (Haney, 2000). Obviously, this number is just an estimate since it is difficult to measure the exact number of prostitutes in Thailand due to its illegal nature. Another report shows that the number of prostitutes or commercial sex workers (CSW) in Thailand ranges from around 82,000 to 800,000 (UNIFEM, n.d.).

Prostitution exists in most parts of the world; for example, Amsterdam, Las Vegas, the Philippines, and Thailand. It is certainly not a new industry and has been increasingly and rapidly flourishing within recent years. People are amazed when traveling to Amsterdam, where local men and tourists can simply “window-shop” prostitutes from the streets, 24 hours a day. Prostitution is officially permitted in Amsterdam. Nonetheless, prostitution is illegal in many countries, including Thailand. Surprisingly, even though it is not legal, tourists and locals have been actively involved in the prostitution business everyday.

In many countries, sex tourism is a fast growing industry similar to the tourism industry itself. However, while it obviously brings in huge revenues to a destination, sex tourism also degrades country reputation and impacts on its culture at the same time. Although most people have heard of sex tourism, not many can differentiate normal tourists from sex tourists. This is because a sex tourist can also be the same person as a regular, normal tourist and vice versa, depending on the activities he/she participates in.

The definition of a “tourist” given by the World Tourism Organization (WTO) requires a person to be away from home for at least 24 hours; and those who travel less than 24 hours are considered as excursionists (WTO, as cited in Hoose et al., 2000). Even though it appears to be well defined, the definition of a “tourist” is still problematic when used in some specific contexts or situations. For example, in the case of sex tourism, how can one define a sex tourist? Who are the sex tourists? What is the demographic of a sex tourist? Should sex tourists be classified only as those people specifically traveling to sex tourism destinations with the sole purpose of engaging sexual activities with locals? Is a sex tourist exclusively a person who buys a sex-tour package? Given the broad nature of the term “sex tourist” broader definitions should be employed here. For instance, “anyone who is open to and desires for opportunities for sexual contacts” can be considered as a sex tourist.

An interesting point when attempting to identify a sex tourist is the lack of universalistic criteria. Conversations in a bar can lead to different consequences in different countries. Evidence showed that most sexual activities between tourists and locals in Thailand start with a conversation in a lounge or bar. A conversation between a man and a woman in a bar is common in the United States, so why it is considered a kind of “negotiation” in Asia or in the Caribbean countries?

Often times, it is awkward for a person to declare oneself as a sex tourist because sex tourism is still both illegal and immoral in many countries. Thus, the relationship between tourists and sex workers are occasionally described as “romance tourism” or “travel companionship”. Moreover, many times exchanging money is not essential in the sex tourism as assumed. Tourists and sex workers may engage in sexual relationships without involving currency. However, other forms of pay have been noted. Some tourists give souvenirs from their countries and some pay for all expenses during the time spent with sex workers. Some even offer flight tickets for sex workers to travel back to the tourists’ hometown.

Typical profiles of “sex tourists” are older men who are going through their mid life crisis (Rao, 2003). Interestingly, sex tourists normally have considerably decent jobs, for example, a manager or a self-employed position which allows them to afford trips to faraway destinations. In other situations, in which have been rarely studied, sex tourists are, in general, young women with good education and well-paid jobs, for instance, the female sex tourists in Jamaica (Pruitt & LaFont, 1995). As a whole, evidence from studies has shown that sex tourists could be anyone, irrespective of gender, age, or educational level. Therefore, defining the sex tourist demographic really is a crucial challenge for tourism academics.

Sex tourism is concerned with prostitution since it can be viewed as the tourists using prostitution services outside their home country. Prostitution, although is more common in less developed countries, has long existed everywhere in the world for centuries. It is usually defined as giving cash or other benefits in exchange of sexual services. Nonetheless, due to the unique nature of prostitution, is that not only an exchange of labor for work, but also it is a period of time when a sex worker also gives up his/her power over to anonymous others. The transaction is “not an agreed amount of

labor, but the power to labor over an agreed period of time” (Braverman, 1974, as cited in O’Connell Davidson, 1998, p. 9). Hence, prostitution can be conceptualized as an institution that allows one to control and exercise his/her power over others’ (O’Connell Davidson, 1998). It can also be referred to as a nonproductive (or commercial) sex against payment as opposed to reproductive sex such as sex in marriage with one’s own spouse (Edlund & Korn, 2002). Prostitutes are normally perceived as “lower-class” people. They are there only to provide sexual services for their clients. Not surprisingly, most clients express that they will not ever take prostitutes to be their wives because they want to be able to have an “intellectual” conversation with their mates (Re, 2002).

In these present times, the need for sexual unrestraint has become more peculiar. Bizarrely, a belief that having sexual intercourse with a young girl who has not yet menstruated will increase virility is familiar in some countries (Robinson, 1993). As a result, this idea raises the demand of child sex workers as well as their prices.

Even though prostitution is available in many countries, to reasons why clients use this service has not been thoroughly explored. Several presumptions have been mentioned; but actual research is not prevalent. One direct explanation for using this service is certainly to fulfill clients’ sexual desire or lechery, which may not be satisfied by one’s regular sexual partners. Another rationale is the sexual excitement which cannot be reached by having only one same partner. Many men express their secret desires of having sexual-related activities with prostitutes is because their wives and/or girlfriends would never agree to engage in such bizarre activities.

Gender difference is also another reason that may cause men to use prostitution services. It is said that males and females differ biologically. Men have more sexual drive than women do. This dissimilarity drives men to engage in prostitution. Moreover, the idea of having a wife and at the same time managing to have sexual intercourses with several women shows the “manliness” and illustrates that they are “real men”. This concept is well acknowledged among prostitution users (Re, 2002).

As legalizing prostitution has become an increasingly accepted policy in some countries, sex tourism will definitely be affected. Nevertheless, while researchers may have some knowledge and understanding about prostitution, they still do not know exactly what sex tourism is or how to define it. Also, what motivates sex tourists to

travel for sex in other countries besides his/her own is still unknown. These unanswerable questions need to be explored. Therefore, there is an urgent need to discover and explore this phenomenon now since sex tourism has been understood and perceived as exploitation of women and children. Understanding why sex tourists seek out sexual relationship at sex tourism destinations will provide researchers and tourism practitioners knowledge of how to deal with this phenomenon.

The Purpose of the Study

This study aimed to develop an understanding of the sex tourism phenomenon and, more specifically, motivation of tourists who visit such locals. The questions asked were how sex tourists perceived their behavior as well as their relationships with sex workers. Moreover, the study attempted to explore the reasons that drove sex tourists to engage in sex with locals at foreign sex tourism destinations.

Statement of Problem

There has been an observable amount of studies relating to tourist behaviors and motivation in the past decades (Crompton, 1979; Dann, 1981; MacCannell, 1979, Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987; Fodness, 1994). The renowned Push-Pull framework of Dann (1981), the psychological intrinsic motivation of Iso-Ahola (1982), MacCannell's (1989) tourist search for authenticity, or the Homeostasis, Disequilibrium, and Novelty concept of Crompton (1979), explicitly show attempts to and the importance of understanding tourists motivation to travel.

Though several studies examined tourist motivation issues, very few looked at the drive of sex tourists due to the sensitive nature of the issue. The sex tourism phenomenon is well known by tourism professionals around the world. It is a silent but fast growing industry, especially in developing countries.

The Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) reports the increase of almost 50% of international tourists to Thailand for the purpose of holidays from 1998 to 2004 (TAT, 2005). Moreover, using the reports of the same two years, there is an approximately 48% increase of tourists identifying that they have visited Thailand before (TAT, 2005).

Given the growing number of international arrivals to developing countries, one cannot be sure that all leisure tourists visiting those countries are only there for natural scenery, especially in a place where sex tourism is famous like Thailand

Thailand is usually one of a few countries popping up when talking about sex tourism issues. It is unquestionable that the number of international tourist arrivals alone has no direct relationship with the number of tourists traveling to Thailand for sexual purposes. Nonetheless, evidence from several organized sex tour websites such as www.lovetours.com and www.dexterhorn.com show the propensity of sex tourism occurrence in Thailand. Despite the fact that prostitution is illegal in Thailand, it is suggested in previous research that government has played an important role in stimulating this sex tourism industry by being “quite open in their support of tourist-oriented prostitution” (Agrusa, 2003, p.173). Especially at some famous sex tourism areas in Thailand, for instance, Pattaya or Patpong, sex tourism and prostitution are tolerated.

Available statistics and information together have led to the assumption that sex tourism exists and, above and beyond its existence, is flourishing in Thailand. Despite generating money for the country and certain communities, other aspects of sex tourism are not very pleasant. It obviously degrades national cultures and values, worsens the reputations of the country, and leads to the trafficking of women and children globally. Moreover, sex tourism is apparently a means of HIV transmission. Reports from UNAIDS (2004) show that around 7,100,000 adults and children have been infected with HIV in the South and Southeast Asia region. Thailand alone has around 570,000 infected adults and children, representing approximately 8% of the whole region.

Another problem created by sex tourism is the domestic problems the tourists' face at home. Being able to express their intrinsic sexual needs in the foreign lands discourages sex tourists to attempt solving or changing their undesirable environments back home. These environments or situations may be the feelings towards their own wives/husbands or partners, or towards their everyday life in general. If these unmet needs in their environment are not properly identified, understood and addressed, sex tourism is more likely to continue to exist in the future notwithstanding its notorious effects.

Sex tourism is a timely phenomenon which creates social and health problems both at sex tourism destinations and tourist home countries. Consequently there is a need to explore this phenomenon more deeply. What makes people travel there for sex? What lead them to visit sex tourism destinations? Will there be an end to sex tourism if we know how to fulfill sex tourists' desires?

Significance of the Study

Sex tourism is an immense phenomenon all over the world but even more noticeable in developing countries than in those developed ones (Oppermann, 1999). Interestingly, sex tourism has been condoned by tourism authorities as it generates a vast amount of income to many destinations. Tourists travel to certain destinations, such as Malaysia, the Philippines, China, or Thailand merely because they want to use sexual services in those countries.

Sex tourists travel to faraway destinations for commercial sex. Evidently, the prices of prostitution services in many developing countries are cheaper and easier to obtain than those in their home countries. On the other hand, tourists certainly pay for flight tickets and accommodations more than what they have to pay for the prostitution services in their home countries. When taking these expenses into consideration, some may find it the pricing to be irrational. Conceivably, tourists may perceive some risks of engaging in commercial sex in the home countries. However, this study seeks to identify other explanations to this question.

It is inexplicable to understand why tourists travel half way across the world for sex. It seems nonsense to spend a lot of money only for sexual services when they can actually consume those services in their own countries. It is perhaps correct to consider buying commercial sex as a side product while traveling. Some may explain that sexual services in developing countries are cheap and without any commitment. It is understandable that human beings pursue hedonism and sex is one of hedonic experiences. Unfortunately, no one has researched the motivation driving tourists to travel for sex at the first place. Yet the reasons why they choose to engage in sex in foreign countries are still questionable. This study explored the underpinning motivational factors of sex tourists.

Sex tourism indeed provides both advantages and disadvantages to the local communities and tourist home environment. However, the drawbacks of not having this type of tourist attraction seem to be too terrifying just for the wealth it brings into the destinations. The disintegration of family, traditional values and health problems lead to other problems in the nations. Sex tourism can cause domestic disputes and transmission of the HIV disease back in the tourist countries. As a result, it is beneficial to both the destinations and the originating countries to understand what is behind the needs of sex tourists in order to eliminate the spread of many types of sexual disease.

Being able to understand sex tourist motivation allows academics to recommend programs assisting governments, authorities, and organizations to estimate the demand and reasons why tourists choose or do not choose to travel for sexual pleasure. The goal of this study is, of course, not to encourage the expansion of commercial sex. Rather, it is hoped that the study would reveal information that could be of help to the host destinations to better understand the complexity involved in sex tourism as they formulate appropriate policies and procedures to deal with sex tourism. Additionally, the results of this study will assist the originating countries to implement strategies in order to cope with previously unknown social problems in their countries.

Definitions of Terms in Operational Contexts

Terms frequently used in this study are defined below:

Modernity:

There are different definitions of modernity provided by several researchers. Nonetheless, for the purpose of this study, modernity is defined as “the new social norms or changes in ways of life that replace traditional ways of life and affect people to differently react and adjust themselves to”

Personal needs:

Personal needs are defined as “the needs that result from modern social changes that are needed to be sought and fulfilled”

Sex tourist:

The Wikipedia encyclopedia (2005) defines a sex tourist as “an adult who is having legal consensual sexual relations with another adult often for the exchange of money or presents”. For the purpose of this study, a sex tourist refers to “anyone who travels out of his/her own residential country with an intention to participate in one or more sexual relationship(s) with local populations, regardless of whether their main motivation is only for sex or not”. This study, based on previous research and the geological location in which the study was conducted, focused on only male sex tourists.

Sex tourism:

Based on the definition provided by the World Tourism Organization (WTO), sex tourism is referred to “trips organized from within the tourism sector, or from outside this sector but using its structures and networks, with the primary purpose of effecting a commercial sexual relationship by the tourist with residents at the destination” (WTO, 1995). Sex tourism in this study however is viewed as “a phenomenon which primarily includes both commercial and non-commercial sexual relationships and activities between Western tourists and Thai sex workers in Thailand”

Prostitution:

Prostitution refers to an “act or a practice of engaging in sexual intercourse for money. It is the act of rendering nonproductive sex against payment” (Edlund & Korn, 2002).

Motivation:

Motivation is described as “forces acting either on or within a person to initiate behavior” (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2005). For the specific purpose of this study, motivation refers to “internal forces driving Western tourists to travel to Thailand and to engage in sexual activity(ies) or relationship(s) with Thai women.”

Criteria of a Theory

Type of theory:

This study proposed the relationships between three constructs to explain the sex tourism phenomenon. Therefore, it was considered as exploratory research which attempts to answer the “what” questions. Some might disagree that this study was asking “why”. However, given the fact that not much research had studied sex tourism motivation before, this area was still ambiguous for researchers. It was argued that the exploratory research which studies the phenomenon in the most basic question was suitable for this theory.

Unit of Analysis:

The unit of analysis is “the what or whom being studied...are those things we examine in order to create summary descriptions of all such units and to explain differences among them” (Babbie, 1998, p. G7, 93). This study focused on only sex tourists traveling to Thailand. Sex tourists in industrialized or developed countries are assumed to be dissimilar to those who travel to developing countries. It is because different destinations (developed and developing countries) provide different racial and cultural backgrounds and characteristics of commercial sex workers.

Nonetheless, in order to fully understand the sex tourism phenomenon in developing countries and sex tourist motivation to travel there, Thailand was chosen as it was indeed a developing country and well known for its sex tourism industry. Therefore, based on the study’s purposes, the unit of analysis in this study included only those Western male sex tourists who traveled to Thailand.

Law of Interactions:

The law of interactions shows how constructs in a theory relate to the one another. The law of interactions in this study were the determinant laws. It was presumed that only when a person perceived higher level of modernity, then their level of perceived personal needs would increase. As a result of that, the higher level of perceived personal needs would then raise the desired level of participation in sex tourism.

Boundaries:

The spatial boundary in this study included “only sex tourism that happens in Thailand”. The reason why geographical location was selected as the boundary was because sex tourism issues in Thailand should be different from those in developed or industrialized nations, for example, the Netherlands (Amsterdam) or USA (Las Vegas). Prostitutes in developed and developing countries tend to have different races, traditions, and ways of lives. As a result, a tourist’s motivation for sex tourism also differs accordingly. Additionally, this study looked at only male sex tourists since female sex tourists might have different motivation and Thailand, which was selected as the location of the study, is famous for and among male sex tourists around the world.

Steps in the Study

In order to generate information useful for the research questions, Figure 1 shows steps involved in this study

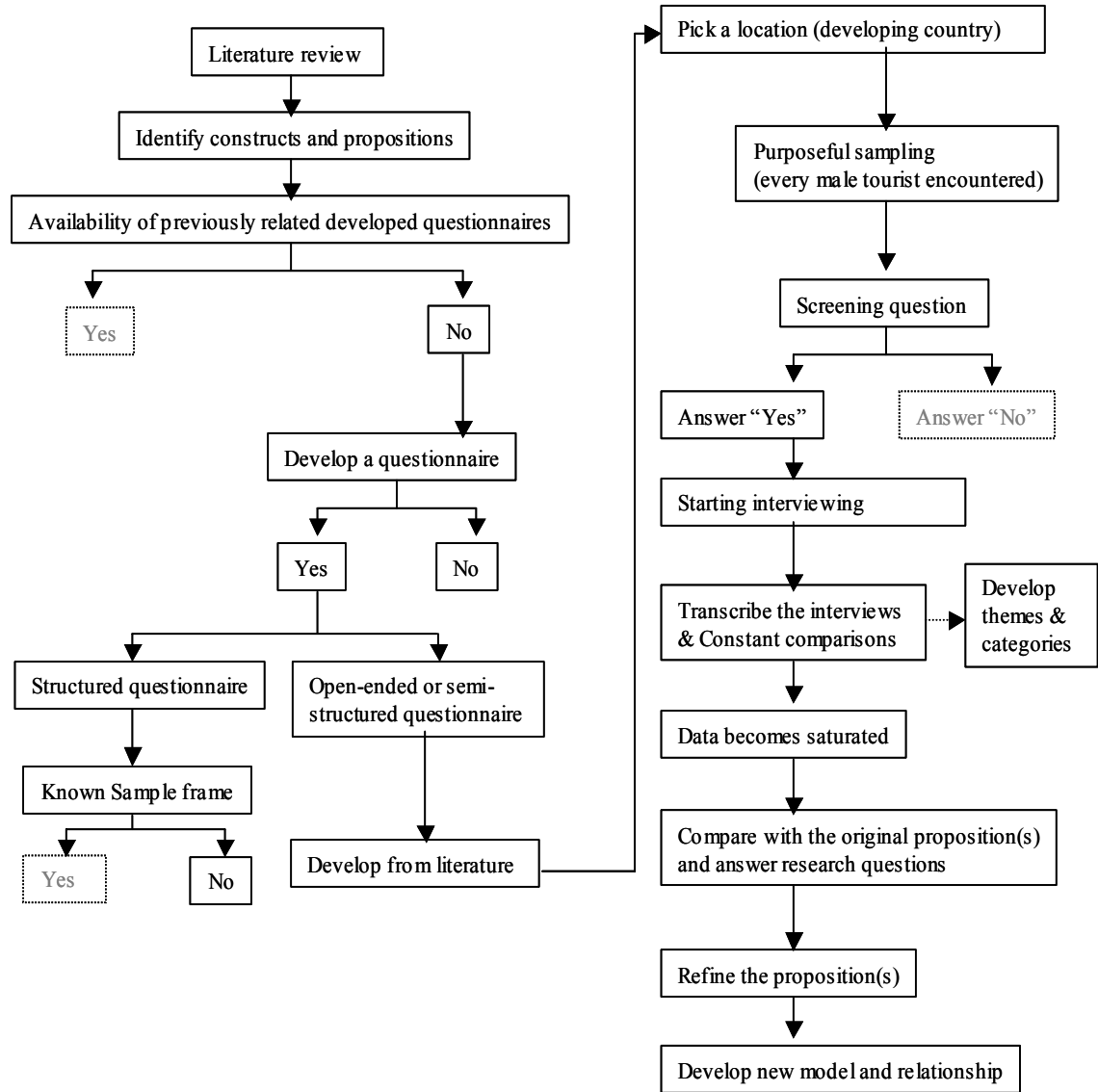


Figure 1: Steps involved in the Study

The study began by reviewing previous literature relating to tourist motivation as well as studies and reports about sex tourism. Literature was reviewed and summarized to develop constructs and propositions explaining the sex tourism phenomenon and, more importantly, motivation of the sex tourist. As issues regarding to sex tourism had been under-explored, there was no readily developed questionnaire particularly measuring motivation of sex tourists available. Hence, it was important to conduct an exploratory study. Given that sex tourists did not publicly expose themselves, it was impossible to

know the sample frame to develop a reliable measurement scale. Therefore, a semi-structured, open-ended questionnaire from literature was chosen in this particular study.

Thailand was selected as the study location because it was considered as a developing country or less to middle income country based on the World Bank (World Bank, 2005). Random sampling was not utilized due to the study's objective to gain in-depth information from those who had experiences in sex tourism. For that reason, the study used the purposeful sampling method in order to include only information-rich informants. To facilitate this procedure, Pattaya, Thailand, one of the famous sex tourism destinations was chosen to be the study location.

A screening question to separate tourists having experiences or planning to participate in sexual activities in a foreign country was used. Only those who had had sexual relationship or planed to engage in sexual activities with locals were individually interviewed by the researcher. According to the grounded theory methodology, themes and categories were revealed based on the interviews. Once when data collected from tourists had become saturated, the researcher stopped interviewing. Information, specifically new themes and categories, were constantly compared and finally aggregated into the pre-developed propositions in order to refine and to reflect on what was discovered.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Despite the increasing number of tourism research, research in tourist motivation has been very limited. Even though motivation is important for travel businesses to understand tourist behavior and experience (Jamal & Lee, 2003), it is considered to be the least developed area among other well-regarded areas, for instance marketing, component sectors, or statistical measurements (Pearce, 1982; Fodness, 1994; Ernavati, 2003).

It is believed that “the concepts of involvement, perceived importance of an activity in terms of self-development, self-enhancement, ego, role fulfillment, and responding to perceived requirements of significant others, can all be argued to be important variables determining motivation, behavior, and derived satisfaction” (Ryan & Glendon, 1998, p. 170-171). Due to the complexity of this issue, tourist motivation is seen as very difficult to measure. Numerous problems emerged when researchers wish to explore tourist motivation. First, tourist motivation inspires behavior in a long-term process. It should not be confused or identified as a short-term process by only measuring tourist satisfaction. Secondly, the problem of who explains the behavior is also crucial. The explanations can be different between those given by the researchers and the tourists themselves. Reasons for traveling provided by tourists may not even be definitely true as some might be biased towards favorable answers.

Studies in the past fairly looked at tourism and leisure behavior based on their ideological difference. The examinations of these two were rooted on entirely dissimilar grounds. Tourism was observed with regards to its industrial core. On the other hand, leisure behavior has been treated differently by investigating its social theoretical ground (Moore et al., 1995). Later, an emphasis was placed on the idea that tourism and leisure experiences were related and were actually a continuum (Carr, 2002). Based on several prior studies, Carr (2002) suggests tourism and leisure studies should not be regarded as totally separate fields. The two areas possibly possess a very close underlying commonality. Motivation of tourists, therefore, should not be ignored as a total distinct notion from motivation for leisure activities. Furthermore, scales and measurement

applications should be considered as a subset of leisure measurement (Harrill & Potts, 2002).

Leisure researchers also deliberate the issues of tourist motivation. Ryan & Glendon (1998) agree that people eventually and comfortably adjust themselves towards their desired realities on their vacations. Participating in tourist activities resulted not only from internal needs but also expected outcomes. Employing the Leisure Motivation Scale created by Beard & Ragheb (1983, as cited in Ryan & Glendon, 1998), Ryan & Glendon (1998) discover four factors: Social, Relaxation, Intellectual, and Competence-mastery. Beard & Ragheb's (1983) Leisure Motivation Scale is also used in another study testing leisure needs prior to and following a vacation which is done by Lounsbury & Polik (1992). They find the four original dimensions (intellectual, social, competence mastery, and stimulus avoidance) steadily remain in their own study on vacation satisfaction.

The Development of Research in Tourist Motivation

Deliberately, motives initiate participation in leisure activities. These often times result in personal satisfaction in a way that motives must arise before satisfaction (Dunn Ross & Iso-Ahola, 1991). Among a few pioneers researching in tourist motivation issues, Cohen (1972) draws attention by looking at the relationship between tourists and the travel industry from his sociological perspectives. Tourist motivation for travel is driven by the desire to get away from a tourist's daily environment. Tourism is a modern phenomenon which provides modern people with exciting and gratifying experiences. Cohen (1972) believes many tourists prefer certain levels of comfort, familiarity, and enough security while traveling. Furthermore, tourists can be divided into four types: the organized mass tourist, the individual mass tourist, the explorer, and the drifter, positioning differently on the familiarity/ novelty continuum.

An organized mass tourist, the least adventurous kind, prefers familiarity while traveling and usually follows pre-designed trips and schedules. Those who fall into the individual mass tourist group have some amount of control over their vacations. They are not totally dependent on the tour guide regarding their schedules and plans. The organized mass tourist and individual mass tourist both are in the familiarity-oriented

category, of which tourists tend to seek familiarity in their vacations rather than new or exotic experiences. On the other end of the continuum, novelty-seeking tourists can be divided into two groups: the explorer and the drifter. Contrary to the mass tourists, the explorers travel individually. Nevertheless, they still depend on the comfortable accommodations and transportations. The extreme novelty seekers are the drifter, who organize their own trip, travel alone, and are eager to experience any possible local lives of people at the destinations (Cohen, 1972).

MacCannell (1973) explains tourist motivation relating to the issue of authenticity in tourist settings. He asserts that tourism is a form of religious practice in the modern world where the shallowness and in-authenticity of daily life is perceived. Contrary to primitives, whose solidarity is directly concerned with individuals' behavior in their groups, modern men's solidarity is restricted by more complex relationships among bureaucracies, communities and other organizations. MacCannell (1973) sees tourists' enthusiasm to involve in local traditions or lifestyle as a means "to enter into a quest for authentic experiences, perception, and insights" (p. 602).

Dann (1977) argues that tourists travel because they need to get out of the "anomie" society in which the norms governing their interactions have lost their meanings. An Amonia is an individual affected by his/her social situation. Changes and disorders in the world cause weakness in human's feelings and hence can be deemed as a reason pushing people to travel. The "push" and "pull" factors actually drive tourists to travel. The "push" factors, according to Dann (1977), are factors predisposing them to travel, which can refer to amonia in this case, whereas the "pull" factors are the attractiveness of the destinations or resorts. A desire for "ego-enhancement" triggered by the feeling of superiority while traveling fulfills humans' need to be recognized. A person feels better of himself when visiting other places where his background of achievement or failure back home is unknown. This longing for a vacation keeps people alive and behaving normally in their home environment.

The Push and Pull concepts are also recognized in Mansfeld's (1992) destination-choice process. The Push motivations are the needs to get out of tourists' artificial and day-to-day life whereas the Pull motivations are basically the desired images and attractions at destinations. In his paper, Mansfeld (1992) also discusses classifications of

tourists mentioned in Pearce (1982). He argues that the classifications which focus on the type of motivation and its control period are substantially overlapping. He further urges researchers to explore more deeply on tourist motivation by finding out whether the motivation for travel is actually initiated by “one-motive only” or “multi-motive” situations.

Cohen (1979) refines his work in tourist motivation and focuses on tourist experiences. “The quest for the center” is the basis for traveling. A person’s worldview constrains him to choose alternative forms of touristic experiences in order to find his “center”. Thus, five modes of tourist experiences are identified: recreational mode, diversionary mode, experiential mode, experimental mode, and existential mode. These modes are positioned on the “pleasure-pilgrim” spectrum, of which the recreational mode being the most pleasure-seeking and the existential mode means similarly as a modern pilgrimage. Tourists in the recreational mode enjoy their trips only because trips meaningfully help restore their physical and mental well-being. Therefore, these trips do not provide deep self-realization or self-expansion but mostly entertainment and pleasure.

Tourists in the diversionary mode travel to escape from the boredom or meaningless routine of normal life. A vacation does not have to necessarily be meaningful, but only a means to get them out of their routine. Cohen (1979) strongly defines the diversionary tourist mode as “the meaningless pleasure of a center-less person” (p.186). Alternatively, authenticity plays an important role in the experiential mode. Feeling alienated in his own environment, a tourist searches for meaning in the life of others in different places. This concept relatively encompasses MacCannell’s (1976) work, “The Tourist: A New Theory of Leisure Class,” which focuses on authenticity in tourism. He suggests that tourism is similar to a pilgrimage in terms of searching for authenticity. However, Cohen (1979) argues that pilgrims and tourists differ in their beliefs in the center. Pilgrims seek out the center of their religion, but tourists have no perimeter in their quest for an authenticity. In addition, tourists do not ultimately convert into others’ life. The “otherness” of locals at destinations still remains.

The next tourist mode in Cohen’s (1979) typology is the experimental mode. Tourists engage more deeply in different kinds of experiences, hoping to find one that

can fulfill their needs. They interact with local lives but refuse to totally undertake them. Finally, existential mode refers to tourists who actually commit themselves to new cultures and embrace them as pilgrims who may convert to another religion.

Crompton (1979), on the other hand, emphasizes the psychological aspects of tourist motivation. He argues that people will travel when they reach the state of disequilibrium. They will need a break from their routine. This break can be just staying at home or traveling, either for pleasure or business purposes. If a pleasure vacation is selected, particular motives will drive them to select certain destinations. Nine motives are identified, seven of which are categorized as socio-psychological motives and the other two are cultural-based. The socio-psychological motives compose of escape from a perceived mundane environment, exploration and evaluation of self, relaxation, prestige, regression, enhancement of kinship relationship, and facilitation of social interaction. Novelty and education form the cultural dimension. Crompton (1979) also stresses that these nine motives are not mutually exclusive, meaning that they work in combination and multidimensional with each other.

Dann (1981) reviews existing literature about tourist motivation and clarifies the concept of tourist motivation as “a meaningful state of mind which adequately disposes an actor or group of actors to travel, and which is subsequently interpretable by others as a valid explanation for such a decision” (p.205). Seven categories derived from the review of literature are as follows:

1. Travel as response to what is lacking yet desired
2. Destinalional “Pull” in response to motivational “Push”
3. Motivation as fantasy
4. Motivation as classified purpose
5. Motivational typologies
6. Motivation and tourist experiences
7. Motivation as auto-definition and meaning

Concluding with the seven approaches above, he suggests difficulties in researching tourist motivation because tourists may not be able to identify/reflect their real motivations or may not be willing to do so. Furthermore, motivation should not be confused with aspiration, verbal justification, satisfaction, reason, or intention. However,

motivation is perhaps practically comparable to disposition which offers the sense of tendency. Dann (1981) expresses that “the proximity of motivation and disposition stems from the patterning of behavior which has come to be associated with the individual or group. Knowledge of such patterned behavior provides the opportunity for inference and prediction. To this extent motivation and disposition overlap” (p. 205).

It will be fallacious for researchers studying motivation not to mention Maslow’s (1954) Hierarchy model. Maslow states basic needs or human motivational drives range in a hierarchical pattern. When the lower needs are fulfilled, people attempt to achieve higher level needs. Five needs are explained: physiological needs, safety needs, the belongingness and love needs, the esteem needs, and the need for self-actualization.

Physiological needs, the very fundamental of all human needs, are basically the needs of hunger for survival. Maslow (1954) clarified the physiological needs as the most influential which are habitually given priority over the other types of needs, such as safety, love, or esteem. When these needs arise, others will be pushed aside. The second level of need is the safety. Maslow sees humans’ attempt for safety as similar to an infant seeking for security. Everyday adults seek safety and security by driving a quality car, living in a safe environment, select the peaceful working place, or preferring a predictable and stable job shows how we all seek out reconciliation and safety.

The belongingness and love needs are subsequent to the safety needs. After physiological needs and safety needs are attained, a man will be ravenous for affection from other people, for example, family or people in the workplace. The longing to receive love and possession will be prevalent when the first two kinds of needs, the physiological and the safety needs, are accomplished. Esteem needs can be categorized into two ways: esteem for oneself and of others. Humans crave for strength, the feeling of mastery and competency which can fulfill the esteem needs for themselves. Recognition from others and reputation, on the other hand, build up the esteem needs of others.

The need for self-actualization is the highest level of need. People, when achieving all lower needs, will search of what they “can” do or “can” be. Self-actualization needs are choices, not the necessities. Nonetheless, people will eventually

reach this state once other needs are served and satisfied. Besides, individual differences best (best what?) differentiate people at this stage (Maslow, 1954).

Pearce (1982) also agrees that Maslow's model has an ability to explain tourist motivation. However, the model needs some enhancement in terms of description, sensitivity, with more emic framework to better explain tourist motivation. Pearce (1982) realizes the importance of Maslow's motivational theory in two areas. First, it provides knowledge of levels of human needs; and secondly, "the concept of self-actualization, as defined by Maslow, contains an inherent notion of individual choice and self-determination" (Pearce, 1982, p. 53).

Looking at tourism motivation literature, "escape" and "excitement" concepts have been recognized for quite a while. Mannell & Iso-Ahola (1987) suggest two dimensions of psychological benefits of leisure and tourist experience which are (1) to escape from routine and stressful environments and (2) to seek recreational opportunities. This idea is adapted and modified from the original Iso-Ahola's intrinsic motivation work in 1982. Iso-Ahola (1982) explains that by escaping everyday life and mundane environment, a person escapes both personal and interpersonal worlds. When seeking rewards through participation in leisure activities, including tourism activities, people feel sense-determination, sense of competence or mastery, challenge, learning, exploration, and relaxation (Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987). These two forces are seen as interrelated to each other, as there is always a drive to get away from what people do everyday to find activities that more on the opposite end of the continuum, some activities more thrilling and exciting. People who experience less stimulation in their lives are more likely to prefer participating in greater novelty and stimulation on the ideal vacation, and vice versa (Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987).

Traveling produces satisfaction by providing intrinsic psychological rewards and assisting people in leaving their mundane environment. A trip may start because tourists wish to get away from their personal environment and remain stimulated by that reason for the whole trip, or the reason can change later. Besides, each trip can be initiated differently depending on what tourists have experienced beforehand (Iso-Ahola, 1982).

In response to Iso – Ahola's (1982) comment, Dann (1983) asserts that it is valuable and necessary to collaboratively develop research in tourist motivation area.

The issue of tourist motivation is complex and therefore requires different theoretical approaches and perspectives from researchers in different fields.

Fisher and Price (1991) look at pleasure travel motivation and discover that it has an indirect effect on the level of intercultural interaction while having a direct effect on vacation satisfaction and post vacation attitude change. The study shows that vacation satisfaction and post vacation attitude change are influenced by pleasure travel motivation through intellectual interaction. However, it should be noted that the “escape” motivation is negatively related to intercultural interactions, implying that when tourists would like to escape, they are more likely to avoid intellectually interacting with natives (Fisher & Price, 1991).

Gnoth (1997) illustrates that motives and motivation are different. While motives are inner-driven by a person’s personality, motivation is stimulated by outside forces, for example, an interaction with the environment which promotes learning processes. Hence, motivation is the result of relationships between causes and effects when a person translates their interaction experiences, and that in turn will become a person’s set of habitual characteristics. The main dissimilarity of these two is that one is cognitively forced whereas another is behaviorally driven. It is the motive, the generic energizer for behavior, which moves people to engage in activities. Motivation leads them to participate in certain different activities, indicating object-specific preference. Moreover, emotion also needs to be investigated when looking at tourist motivation since tourism is considered as one of pleasure-seeking activities (Gnoth, 1997).

Gnoth (1997), Goossens (2000) emphasize the importance of emotion on motivation for pleasure-seeking travel. Goossens’ hedonic tourism motivation model combines the concepts of push and pull, emotions, and behavioral intentions together. The push factors, or the disposition-stimulus-response, consist of internal needs, motives, and drives. Examples of these needs are relaxation, escaping from everyday life, and social interaction. Thrill and excitement are reasons that lead people to travel as well.

On the other hand, advertisements of destinations and services provided are considered as Pull factors. The advertisements do not include only those directly provided by the destination promoters, but also cover information from other tourists or previous visitors. These pull factors in some way facilitate the push motivations. For

instance, quiet and peaceful resorts providing a gateway into another world outside what tourists see everyday fulfill tourists' push motivation to escape the mundane environment.

However, it is important to note that, according to Goossens (2000), these push and pull factors basically respond to human emotion, meaning push factors act in response to the emotional needs and pull factors react to emotional benefits. It is vital to highlight the importance of emotional forces which mainly complete the experimental process. Furthermore, the leisure experience is a very crucial element to stimulate and affect the destination choices. Providing matching leisure activities with tourist motivation will consequently achieve higher tourist satisfaction. Hence, destination promotion campaigns should understand and include these push and pull forces and seek to use both forces in order to attract more tourists.

Plog's (1991) allocentric – psychocentric typology of tourists has also been widely recognized. Simply speaking, allocentric tourists are outgoing, self-confident individuals who prefer all types of experiences, including those considered “risky.” On the other hand, the psychocentric tourists can be seen as those regular mass tourists, who are non-adventurous and tend not to explore new things or experiences. People in this group tend to be concerned about small aspects and details in everyday life. Most mass tourists fall in the psychocentric category. However, tourists normally range on this allocentric – psychocentric continuum and very few are likely to fall in the extreme ends. Plog (1991) includes results from 1,800 national samples in which he discovers that the two dimensions are normally distributed.

The revised paper, which was published in 2002 *Journal of Travel Research*, Plog (2002) reaffirms that his tourist psychographic concept is still functional. Venturesomeness (allocentric) shows a stronger prediction than demographic information for example household income on the types of activities tourists pursue on leisure trips. Even though this tourist typology is widely recognized, it has been doubted and criticized for the ability to explain real tourist motivation since it cannot truly illustrate why people are categorized into those two types (Harrill & Potts, 2002).

Later researchers concentrate on applications of motivational forces. Fodness (1994), utilizing functional theory, attempts to build up a tourist motivation scale. His

investigation was based on three studies: exploratory study by qualitative interviews, scale designing using factor analysis, and market segmentation. Fodness (1994), reveals five factors including; knowledge function, utilitarian function: punishment minimization, value expressive: self esteem, value expressive: ego enhancement, utilitarian function: reward maximization. He later concludes that the study focuses more on tourist motivation conceptually and behaviorally and therefore provides better explanations for the latent constructs themselves.

Tourist Motivation Research: A Journey into the Deepest Force inside Us

Obviously there are few researchers interested in tourist motivation which is considered one of those research areas least explored by academic society. An investigation of sightseeing tourists motivation shows that the “seeking” motivation primarily is the main motivation for tourists to do sightseeing and that they covet knowledge and social interaction (Dunn Ross & Iso-Ahola, 1992). For the sightseeing tourists, the escape forces are not strong as to seek knowledge. More specifically, non-affinity tourists were more motivated and satisfied with seeking knowledge than convention tourists and tour group. The study confirms that a tour offers tourists personal and interpersonal rewards and a channel to escape everyday world (Dunn Ross & Iso-Ahola, 1992). Satisfaction of sightseeing tourists, in this study, has proved not to be influenced by a long-term process motivation.

Using the Push and Pull motivation items, Baloglu and Uysal (1996), discover a significant relationship between destination attributes and motives. Employing the canonical correlation analysis procedure, they are able to identify four market segments with overlaps of respondents who were asked to rate the importance of reasons considered when taking an overseas vacation trip. These four groups consist of Sports activity seekers, Novelty seekers, Urban-life seekers, and Beach/ Resort seekers. Travelers in the Sport activity seekers group want to be active, competent, and participate in sport activities, while the Novelty seekers try to gain knowledge by engaging in other cultures or exploring undisturbed nature. The Urban-life seekers tend to participate in urban activities and look for comfort, high quality attractions. Finally, beaches and

reliable weather are appealed to Beach/ resort seekers whose main motivational forces are to find escape and excitement (Baloglu & Uysal, 1996).

Motivation of garden visitors is also investigated (Connell, 2004). “Social”, “horticulture”, and “setting” are three dimensions of motivation to visit gardens as identified in the study. The Social dimension concerns reasons relating to other visitors, for example, “to be with others like me” and “to visit with groups”. Learning ideas of how to do gardening and enjoying gardens comprise the second dimension, Horticulture. The last dimension, setting, consists of motivational items relating to the opportunity for sensual immersion, peace and quiet, and leisure time (Connell, 2004). These three dimensions imply seeking motivation mentioned by Dunn Ross & Iso-Ahola (1992) in their study about motivation of sightseeing tourists.

A number of researchers have looked at cross-cultural aspects of motivation (Kim, 1998; Awaritefe, 2004; Kozak, 2002, Correia & Crouch, 2004). Understanding differences in motivation of people from different cultural backgrounds is helpful in promoting and managing international tourism (Kim, 1998). A study that looks at travel motivation of tourist traveling to Algarve, Portugal, shows differences in four driving motivation factors identified as: adventure/ sports; knowledge; escape/ socialization; and leisure/ relaxation. British tourists are more motivated by the need to discover new places and socialize with other cultures while the Spanish tourists would prefer leisure and sense of relaxation. On the other hand, German visitors are forced by escape/ socialization and Knowledge factors (Correia and Crouch, 2004).

Awaritefe (2004) conducts a study in Nigeria and identifies nine factors influencing tourist motivation to travel. Four of nine motivation factors are categorized as push factors, including, psychological (tension-reducing), self-actualization and cultural/ education (inductive – arousal-seeking), as well as belonging and love. The five pull factors consist of dynamic factor, current decision, static factor, commercial (business), and information/ advertisement on destination. Tourists express their needs, or push factors, to achieve self-actualization and self-mastery as the highest motivation. Awaritefe (2004) also reveals that tourist motivation does not vary significantly between demographic groups. However, the difference lies between foreign and domestic visitor tourist groups in the various destinations, which are park/ ecotourism, landforms/

adventure, and cultural/ historic. Remarkably, foreign tourists place more importance on those items associated with “push” motives. On the other hand, domestic tourists tend to seek for comfort/ satisfaction, safety/ security, convenience, or those “pull” factors when they travel.

The travel motivation of German and British tourists traveling to Turkey and Marloca were studied by Kozak (2002). Factor loadings for both samples, German and British, give altogether four dimensions: culture, pleasure seeking/ fantasy, relaxation, and physical. The results of this study show that, when traveling to Turkey, German visitors significantly report higher scores in factor “physical” and “relaxation” than do the British respondents while British travelers rate significantly higher in “pleasure seeking/ fantasy”. When visiting Marloca, differences show in “physical” and “cultural” motivation that German respondents rate significantly higher than British respondents.

Travel Motivation for “Hedonistic” Activities

Hedonism is defined as “the doctrine or theory of ethics in which pleasure is regarded as the chief good, or the proper end of action” (OED, 2005). Hedonic consumption is referred to “consumer multisensory image, fantasies, and emotional arousal in using the products. This configuration of effects may be termed hedonic response” (Hirshman & Holbrook, 1982, p. 93). It largely involves in experiential processes, imagining, daydreams, emotions, and desires (Hirshman & Holbrook, 1982).

Some tourism activities can be seen as hedonistic because of their results or consequences are viewed as not providing benefit to the tourist themselves. For example, visiting places once ruined by natural disasters or traveling to the Auschwitz concentration camp seem to be too dreadful for many tourists, but not for some. These places are not tourist attractions for many people simply because, superficially, they do not provide creativity or relaxation. Other activities are simply considered morally wrong, for instance, gambling and sex tourism. Therefore, hedonism can be taken into account when explaining tourist motivation for visiting those such places or participating in potentially immoral activities.

Goossens (2000), suggesting the hedonic tourism motivation model, discusses that even though the push and pull factors have been widely researched, there is still the

need to emphasize the psychological factors, tourist emotions. No matter which activity or destination tourists select, it reflects their emotional and experiential needs, pleasurable moods, emotions, and feelings. Tourists normally evaluate products, in this case, the destinations, and choose those that can best serve their emotional needs.

Little research in tourism motivation is available in the academic world but even less research has touched on tourist motivation in such striking areas like gambling and sex tourism, which can be thought of hedonistic activities. Gambling is considered one of several means to increase revenue for many destinations, for instance, the famous Las Vegas, already-transformed Indian Reservations, and in several countries around the world. In South Korea, motivation of gamblers are placed in four categories, naming Socialization and learning, Challenge, Escape, and Winning (Lee et al., 2005). As many would expect, winning money or rewards is the main purpose to participate in gambling, followed by challenge. The least important factor, even though holding most explained variance, is socialization and learning (Lee et al., 2005). It is worth mentioning that the main motivation items rated the highest are related to winning, excitement, fun, and thrill. This implies the driving forces inside gamblers which perhaps are tedious home or work environment which push them to look for new and exciting experiences.

On the prospect of sex tourism, Harrison (1994) looks at tourism in relation to prostitution. With the case of Swaziland, the author is interested in the links between prostitution and tourism. Government reports dated from 1950s to 1980s are summarized and finally concluded that tourism in Swaziland does not cause prostitution, even though it is involved in the process. Tourists should by no means be blamed for their actions when they are away from home since their actions are the reflections of their environment in their home country. Tourists release their frustrations at the destination. Furthermore, it is encouraged for Swaziland police to take action with prostitution clients or tourists than the prostitutes themselves (Harrison, 1994).

The World Tourism Organization defines sex tourism as “trips organized from within the tourism sector, or from outside this sector but using its structures and networks, with the primary purpose of effecting a commercial sexual relationship by the tourist with residents at the destination” (WTO, 1995). Sex tourism can be referred to an international travel in which “tourists may not consciously focus on attaining certain

sexual goals as the main objective, but may nevertheless be open to and possibly even desirous of sexual adventure while traveling” (Carter & Clift, 2000, pp. 7). Even though sex tourism is wide-spread in many countries, not much research has been done to explore this industry. Most research was conducted as exploratory research and looked at a broader concept of sex tourism.

Oppermann (1999) investigated the sex tourism and prostitution in a broad area. He studied sex tourism in different countries and focused mostly on surrounding situations and environment. In one of his articles in 1999, “Sex Tourism”, Oppermann also provided the new approach to look at sex tourism. Sex tourism is not actually a subset of prostitution. However, it is simultaneously intertwining with prostitution. Sex tourists can fit into stages in sex tourism continuum depending on six parameters: purpose of travel, monetary exchange, length of time, relationship, sexual encounter, and who falls in this category of travel. Most tourists do not usually have the sole purpose to engage in sex tourism at the destination. Sex tourism is also somehow a by-product when traveling.

Oppermann (1999) claims that sex tourism and prostitution are in fact not the same, nor a subset of each other, but do they intertwine. That is to say, prostitution exists whether or not the tourism industry exists, and vice versa. Sex tourism is a gray area which should be examined with great caution. Each of the mentioned six parameters is a continuum which tourists or sex tourists may fit into. There is a wide range of characteristics which any tourist can belong to, for example, in the case of the first parameter, the intention of having sexual activity(s) with strangers on holidays. In the first parameter, a tourist may be a business man traveling to Bangkok where sex tourism is popular, for his business contract. Nonetheless, he inadvertently engages in a sexual activity on one night with a local girl(s) who unfortunately is a prostitute. This business man may fall into the “no intention to participate in sex tourism” category. On the other hand, the prostitute will fit on the other end of all six parameters. In another case, a person who calls himself a “sex tourist” may have sexual activities and finally fall in love with a normal accountant whom he met at a company aboard, not in a go-go bar. In this particular case, the man would be positioned on the right hand side of the parameters but

not the girl. Therefore, it is very hazy for one to truly give a clear cut about who is or is not involved in sex tourism.

Ryan & Kinder (1996) focus on the motivation of sex tourists and conclude that the motivation to travel for sex is similar to those of regular tourists. Arguing the claim that sex tourism is a form of deviance, the authors suggest the need to emphasize what constitutes socially acceptable behavior. Deviant behavior and sex tourism occur as liminal activities which are usually deemed as misshapen behavior.

The interviews in Ryan & Kinder's (1996) study show that tourists who are clients of prostitutes express feelings reflecting to their home environment. An interviewee comments about what he gets in return for visiting prostitutes is simply to cuddle someone and have a company. This can be implied that he does not have someone back home or has a troubling relationship. But in most cases, the motivation of sex tourists is to experience variety and excitement. Clients can act or do some improper activities, such as openly "talking dirty" which would normally be considered as indecorous, in the sex tourism environment. Unsurprisingly, sex, fantasy and concealment are also the major reasons why tourists visit prostitutes in other countries (Ryan & Kinder, 1996). Concealment is important to tourists because it reduces ties of responsibility. Responsibilities resulting from sexual engagement would have been obligatory if the women were not prostitutes. Alternatively, for some tourists, the relationship with prostitutes becomes more meaningful and more romantic as a boyfriend-girlfriend relationship.

Opinions of sex tourists and expatriates about sex with prostitutes in the third world illustrate the natural internal needs inside the mind of heterosexual males, especially Caucasians. They need to control which is normally limited in their social laws and norms. It is perceived as their confined "natural right", which covers the right to access women bodies. Additionally, sex tourists and expatriates, mostly White males, hold to the power of being "civilized" which somehow gives them the right to defraud their superior norms and regulations. At the same time, they use the privileges of being a far more civilized people to take advantage from Third world women (O'Connell Davidson, 2001).

“This leaves them in a position to make almost unlimited choices, and so to exercise quite extraordinary powers of sovereignty (their description of themselves as “kings” is, in this respect, not very far-fetched)... It is down to them to decide whether or not to provide economic support for the children they father, whether or not to beat their wives, or to leave bruises on women they sleep with, whether or not to mete out racist abuse, whether to pay prostitutes the ‘services’ they have ‘consumed’ or to simply offer them a plate of lasagna, even whether or not to sexually abuse children. It is, in short, down to them to choose whether or not to harm or help their ‘natural’ subordinates” (O’Connell Davidson, 2001, pp. 14).

The word “control” has been mentioned in several studies including recent qualitative research done by Ryan & Martin (2001). The ways tourists interact with strippers in an Australian bar by gazing, sometime staring, and tipping the strippers indirectly exposes the control tourists have over the dancers. Even though the encounters require no physical interaction or, many times, even conversation, tourists’ power is clearly seen in the strip club or what Ryan & Martin (2001) called “the theater of life”.

An interesting point is that viewing a striptease does not actually provide male tourists with final sexual fulfillment. Instead, it offers them only temporary possession of female bodies by looking at them. From the interviews with dancers, their clientele is comprised of twelve specific categories: lonely or unhappy men; the bachelor party; the bachelorette party and young women; young men; business men; boys from the bush; sailors; hunters or fishermen; disabled; female companions of men; regular drinkers; and horny men (Ryan & Martin, 2001).

The silent communication between strippers and clients or tourists presents the complexity of control process. While a stripper seems to be in charge of their strip acts and interactions with male clients with the ability of teasing and playing with the clients, the males’ obscured psychological need to control is still prevails. Nevertheless, these intermingled acts can sort themselves out so smoothly that observers can rarely seek to identify the forces behind them.

Not all sex tourists are male, females also practice this behavior while traveling aboard. One of the first studies about female sex tourists done by Pruitt & La Font (1995) describes females needing to use their power, similar to the need of males. This power comes with higher economic status and racial differences between western women and local Caribbean men. Trips and relationship(s) arising during these trips are normally referred as “romance tourism” instead of sex tourism. This is because women travel to the destination for a relationship, which signifies a true, long term relationship including both physical and emotional involvement.

The relationship often times goes on for several (or many) years. Western women and local men keep their relationship through letters, phone calls, money, gifts or souvenirs which are routinely sent to local men by the western women. These women’s higher economic status provides them security and independence which, unbeknownst to them, turns into power and control over local men. The idea and consequences behind these situations are critical as it is the reason that keeps many relationships between western women and local men alive over time.

While people’s evidence of poverty is reckoned as repulsive in tourists’ own western countries, shacks and slums at tourist destination, for example, in Jamaica, are perceived as noble. Whereas the poverty in their own countries would be seen as threatening, in Third world or developing countries, the poverty affects tourists emotionally which gradually transforms from guilt to pity. Eventually this emotional path leads to the idea of helping. Many female tourists in developing destinations therefore consider their financial assistance for local men relatively important (Pruitt & La Font, 1995).

Another study reports that female tourists do not intend to have a relationship with local men before arriving at the destination (Harold et al, 2001). However, they have heard about the reputation local men have of being “fantastic” lovers. According to Harold et al (2001), female sex tourists can be categorized into five major groups based on their pre-arrival expectations. The first group is called “first time romantic tourists”. This group consists of female tourists who do not intend to engage in sexual relationship with local men prior to their travel to the destination. Those anticipating a sexual relationship and involve in sex when they arrive are referred as “first time sex tourist”.

The third group is labeled “romantic returnees” including female tourists who have had relationships with local men in their prior trips and then return to maintain the relationship. The “committed sex tourists” group describes women who prefer to spend their time and have sex with only one partner. Finally, the last group, “adventurer sex tourists”, applies to female tourists who simply want to have sex with several local partners (Harold et al., 2001). Nonetheless, similar to Pruitt & LaFont’s (1995) study, almost none of female tourists accept the term “sex tourist” as their view of their relationship with local men is more as romanticism than just sex. However, Pritchard & Morgan (2001) interestingly point out that this so-called “romance tourism” implicitly discloses the unequal power society grants to men and women. Males’ travel behavior (engaging in sexual relationship in foreign countries) can be seen as contributing towards “prostitution;” however it is referred as “romance tourism”, which is far less powerful, in the case of female tourists.

Marketing is an important tool to cultivate tourist interest in a destination. In the case of sex tourism, images and brochures of destinations presenting pictures of beautiful ladies in their traditional costumes inspire masculine exploration (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000). These sexually stressed advertisements and images directly involve in sex tourism as they lure and show tourists, especially heterosexual men, that their sexual desires can be exercised and fulfilled at the destination. Pictures showing beautiful Third world ladies are perceived as exotic, natural, and feminine somehow reinforce tourists’ hidden intensity to discover. Advertisements of tourism landscapes in the East and South are constructed as feminine and natural, versus the life in the West and North which is viewed as technological and masculine (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000).

In modern or developed countries numerous new social rules, which inadvertently take away “the freedom within” from people, are implemented. These structured and organized regulations force people to escape boredom and the restrained environment they are in. On the contrary, in developing countries where rules and regulations have just started being put into place, there is still some room for people to think or act independently. Often, these actions are considered uncivilized or improper in developed countries. However, people are freer in the way that they can think and do “whatever” they want at the developing destinations. This is because of being tourists, they are given

some privileges only because ‘they don’t know the traditions’ or ‘they are the guests’. Or else local laws at the destinations may really be relaxed and favor tourists. Therefore, it is understandable to see tourists traveling to less developed countries and participating in activities they have never tried before.

In any case, looking back on general tourism motivation literature and more specifically research on sex tourism, it can be asserted that changes in life resulting from new regulations and controls in the society tourists’ come from can create the need to get away from one’s home environment. People need to excite themselves by traveling to new places and interacting with new people. More particularly, with regard to sex tourism, sex tourists have shown the tendency to travel aboard to serve their intrinsic needs which cannot be fulfilled within their home environment. Therefore, the following sections will discuss the relationships between tourism, modernity and the needs to travel to participate in sex tourism.

The Study Constructs

This study assumes that there are relationships between three constructs: modernity, personal needs, and sex tourism participation (Table 1). The relevant literature is described below.

Table 1: The Study Constructs

Construct I “Modernity”	Construct II “Personal needs”	Construct III “Sex Tourism Participation”
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Modernity in the Modern World

Modernity has roots in the 16th - 17th century when the French and American political revolutions and the British economic revolution occurred. Modernity combines individualization, differentiation or specialization, and abstraction (Modernization, Encyclopedia Britannica, 2005). It refers to “a process of growing differentiation of economic, political, and cultural subsystems” (Touraine, 1992, pp. 57). More specifically, the word “modernity” is defined as:

