Analysing the tourism activity of seniors by applying the method of participant observation

”Go where the process is happening, and watch it.”
E. Babbie

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Abstract. Issues concerning seniors’ participation in tourism have been of increasing interest to many researchers. This results from their dynamic growth in the world’s most developed societies which, together with cultural changes, contributes to greater participation in various forms of tourism. So far, this phenomenon has been examined by applying quantitative methods, surveys being the most common. Some researchers state that qualitative methods may also be of great use in the analysis of tourist behaviour. Therefore, this article aims at presenting the methodological conditions of participant observation as a qualitative method for analysing such behaviour. Its use is exemplified by research findings on Polish seniors conducted among participants of package tours to various European countries. It presents observations concerning their behaviour in both time and space. Special attention was paid to seniors’ motives and the forms of tourism those motives led to.

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1. **Introduction**

The process of population ageing, based on the percentage increase in the elderly in the total population together with a simultaneous decline in birth rate, is clearly visible in highly-developed countries. It is currently becoming one of the world’s major socio-political and economic problems. The phenomenon occurs particularly widely in Europe and, thus, relates to Poland. The growth in the numbers of the elderly anticipated for Poland in the coming years will increasingly affect various spheres of socio-economic life, including tourism. Demographic projections indicate that a dynamic growth in the numbers of those aged over 65 has begun (*Prognoza ludności na lata 2008–2035*, 2009). Such demographic processes contribute to the necessity of adapting tourist services to the needs of the growing segment of senior tourism.

As some researchers state, Polish seniors currently tend to demonstrate a level of tourism consumption lower than those in Western Europe and the United States (Śniadek, Zajadacz, 2010; Bąk, 2013). This tendency has recently shown considerable change as elderly people are increasingly involved in various forms of tourism activity. Moreover, some seniors have noted a decrease in the number of barriers to travel, particularly with regard to foreign journeys (Głąbiński, 2014). What should be pointed out furthermore are the changing patterns of social behaviour that foster greater participation of the elderly in tourism. As Winiarski, Zdebski (2008) claim the stronger the sense of economic and social security, the greater the tendency to explore. Undoubtedly, the increase in the standard of living in Poland increases the social activities of seniors, as exemplified by the rapid growth in the number of ‘Universities of the Third Age’ (Report ‘ZOOM at the Universities of the Third Age’, 2012).

These are reasons why the tourism industry should pay more attention to this segment of the market. Unfortunately, the current level of knowledge on tourism motivation, spatial preferences, forms of activities at a particular tourism destination, as well as the conditions for seniors’ participation are still woefully inadequate. It is, therefore, necessary to undertake extensive research on the forms of tourism activity of seniors. Tourists’ behaviour during a ‘tourist event’ constitutes one of the least explored issues and this is what the article reviews.

2. **Literature review**

Research on the tourism activity of seniors is widely reflected in contemporary literature with an overview of issues and methods applied presented in Poland by, among others, Alejziak (2012), Bąk (2013) and Głąbiński (2015).

The literature mentions various examples of the application of qualitative methods: analysis of biographies (Sedgley et al., 2006); direct interview (Mansvelt, 1997; Hsu et al., 2007; Hunter-Jones, Blackburn, 2007; Nimrod, 2008); experiment (Mackay, Smith, 2006); or case study (Sangpikul, 2008; Prayag, 2012). However, in research of the tourism activity of seniors, the qualitative approach dominates over the quantitative. As Alejziak states (2008), tourism, as it is essentially human, can constitute the subject of both quantitative and qualitative research.

Chojnicki (1999) emphasises the limitations of quantitative methods and he claims that the precision of mathematical and statistical methods does not often correspond to the quality of the empirical data collected. Silverman (2007), a supporter of applying qualitative methods in social research, holds a similar opinion. As he states, researchers who use a quantitative approach should pay attention to difficulties in interpreting data and searching for such
statistically significant correlations as cause-and-effect relations.

Babbie (2007) presents a compromise approach in this context, as he states that research of a qualitative nature is more specific and takes more nuances into consideration. It is, therefore, more accurate, but the specificity of detail makes it difficult to standardise the research process, thus it lowers its reliability. This in turn, means that the re-application of a single research tool in the same conditions and by another researcher would not give the same results. A quantitative approach is, in turn, characterised by a high level of reliability, but the generalisation of results contributes to a partial loss of detailed information.

With regard to research on tourism, researchers stress the necessity of applying all available methods (Walle, 1997). Such a complicated phenomenon requires a comprehensive research approach and the application of different methods, both quantitative and qualitative.

Research on seniors in Poland that applied the two approaches was that by Bombol, Słaby (2011). It concerned the current needs of the elderly for various services. The researchers concluded that gathering data from primary sources through direct and personal contact with the respondents, including participant observation, enabled a broader understanding of the context of consumer behaviour among the elderly. It also highlighted the high diagnostic value of this type of research carried out on homogeneous sub-populations.

Participant observation constitutes one of the well-known qualitative methods applied in social research. It has been defined by, among others, Denzin (1970: 186): "Participant observation – a strategy applied in qualitative research that simultaneously combines the analysis of documents, interviews with respondents and informants, direct participation and observation and introspection."

The methodological assumptions and conditions for its application are presented by Babbie (2007), Hammersley, Atkinson (2000), Silverman (2007) and others. They state that this method is particularly suitable to explore attitudes and behaviour that can be best understood in natural surroundings. Furthermore, they note that it can be applied in research on small social groups such as a sports team or a group of friends.

Angrosino, Rosenberg (2011), in turn, point out that the eye-witness testimony of a credible observer is, in the social sciences or in the course of a trial, considered to be convincing verification. In his view, it is the research report that usually confirms hypotheses. It may, in certain situations, bring out a researcher's narrative skills, rather than his or her ability to make observations.

He also classifies participant observation into three types:
- descriptive – a researcher describes every possible detail, some of which later turns out to be useless;
- focused – a researcher handles only the material that is significant in the context of a given problem;
- selective – a researcher focuses on specific forms of general categories (including local elections, religious ceremonies).

Silverman (2007) is another social scientist who emphasises the specific methodological aspects of participant observation and stresses the need to remember the impact of a researcher on a respondent. Therefore, in order to avoid negative reactions, a researcher should make a positive self-presentation. As the author points out, it is often difficult to separate participant observation from a spontaneous, informal conversation in field conditions. For this reason, a researcher should approach respondents’ opinions on attitudes, feelings and behaviour with caution.

Some researchers of social phenomena (Glaser, Strauss, 1999; Babbie, 2007; Silverman, 2007) place a strong emphasis on the credibility and reliability of qualitative field research. Their suggestion is that field research should comprise so-called theoretical sampling which includes selecting cases on the basis of relevance to research questions and theoretical assumptions. Based on a suitably selected sample that is 'theoretically significant', it is possible to make clarifications regarding processes, categories and examples which are significant in a broader social context. Silverman (2007) also stresses the need to apply techniques that would enable the accuracy of formulated hypotheses to be verified using such methods as constant comparison, case studies of deviations, in-depth data analysis, and, finally, the use of appropriate summary tables.

Karkowska (2006) indicates another aspect of qualitative research. Referring to the methodolog-
ical assumptions of symbolic interactionism, she states that one should pay attention to both social and political factors, as well as to a respondent's personal situation as these may affect the accuracy of the collected data. Therefore, a researcher must be characterised by great incisiveness when analysing and interpreting the data.

According to Apanowicz (Chybalski, Matejun, 2013: 132) participant observation will only be an effective method if it is: "(...)

— carefully prepared through defining its subject, objectives, time, method (techniques), technical measures and ways of recording and collecting the results;

— objective, thus completely dependent on the attitudes, experiences and subjective judgments of an observer, as well as on the situations and conditions of the perception of a particular phenomenon or object;

— faithful, which allows recognition of the facts in a manner that is free from any distortion resulting from an observer's activity or related to the modification of the behaviour of those people who realise that they are the subject of observation;

— exhaustive, thus allowing perception not only of those items that are to be the subject of observation, but also every slightest detail which affects the working assumptions of the research data;

— insightful, which allows search for conditions and interactions among the observed phenomena or objects."

Observation can be conducted in overt or covert form, depending on whether a researcher reveals his/her role in a particular community and the respondents are aware of the fact that their behaviour is being observed. Miszewski (2007) and Chomczynski (2006) are two who mention the problems concerning participant observation. As they point out, conducting research on such issues as crisis situations, backstage reality, sacred sphere, various subcultures and social groups, is almost impossible without avoiding the impact that a researcher has. Revealing the fact that the research is being conducted can lead to a distortion of the social situation under study, since people behave in a different way when they know that they are being watched. In order to avoid such distortion, and to obtain reliable data, the situation requires the application of covert participant observation.

Patton (1987) points out the advantages of using participant observation and he concludes that this method makes it possible to:

— better comprehend the context of the actions of those involved in the study,
— develop baseline assumptions,
— perceive the phenomena that escape the unprepared observers' attention,
— make observations on those phenomena or behaviour that respondents omit or mention reluctantly when being interviewed,
— have access to respondents' knowledge and individual experiences.

Obviously, gaining information in such a way entails an ethical problem. One of the main issues concerns the fact that a respondent is misled by a researcher who impersonates a member of a group under study (the homeless, drug addicts, pilgrims). The prevailing view is that the purpose of the research, which is to obtain real information, remains superior.

Another problem concerns confidential or embarrassing information that a study might reveal and its later use. As some researchers (Hammersley, Atkinson 2000; Miszewski, 2007) state, a researcher needs to maintain integrity as an observer. Any obtained data, not related to the study and which could harm a respondent, should not be disclosed.

In the case of participant observation applied to research on tourism, there is additionally a problem of a financial nature as participating in a tourist destination generates high costs. Therefore, this method is not very often applied.

Participant observation of tourist groups has been conducted during a 'tourist event' by Nalaskowski (1999), who solved the financial problem by being employed as a tour guide. His research related to a specific group of 'tourists' who were engaged in smuggling alcohol and cigarettes during their short ferry trips from Poland to Sweden. He described the role and social status of individual participants, as well as patterns of their personal behaviour.

Bowen (2002) undertook a much more difficult task as he attempted to answer the question of what a tourist really thinks, feels and does, rather than what he or she claims to be thinking, feeling and doing when filling in a questionnaire? He was inspired by other researchers' opinions that numer-
ous results of research on tourist behaviour had not been verified empirically. He also pointed out that tourist services often involved the unpredictability of emergencies. In addition, the consumers' evaluation of the quality of a tourist service not only depended on its providers, but also on the situation of the tourists themselves, as well as the impact of other participants in a 'tourist event'. Therefore, he applied the method of participant observation when he undertook research on small groups of tourists from Britain who were participating in some specialised tourism events held in Malaysia and Singapore. As the author states, the final assessment of the quality of a tourist service is largely influenced by some micro-situations that particular participants of an event may perceive in different ways. He finally concludes that, when it comes to assessing the quality of tourist services, participant observation is a method that, due to the level of its specificity, provides a researcher with valuable information.

The foregoing view is shared by Mackellar (2010) who, having conducted a survey among tourists and festival participants in Australia, stated that participant observation allowed an analysis of the interactions among participants at such events and their expectations with reference to a tourist product.

Observations of tourist behaviour in terms of forms of tourism activity were conducted by Blichfeldt (2008) at camps in Denmark during two holiday seasons. Applying the technique of participant observation, which also included unstructured interviews, she raised the issue of how to make decisions in terms of when, where to and for what purpose tourists left their camp sites. The observations and interviews were conducted in public in places where the tourists were staying (a swimming pool, a playground for children, outside a tent or a caravan), where they felt at ease and were not under time pressure.

The author indicates that those who are on holiday often make ad hoc decisions that depend on their mood, the weather and, above all, the availability of information on local attractions. Therefore, from a marketing point of view, cooperation between owners of accommodation facilities and those of tourist attractions is essential for both their incomes and, following on, for the whole tourism region. She also points out that for tourists on camp sites, the fact of 'being on holiday' constitutes the most important purpose of their stay, synonymous with a sense of ease and freedom, rather than visiting further attractions.

She emphasises the fact that her research, which is of a qualitative nature, does not explain the whole phenomenon. As she states, quantitative research that would determine how representative her opinions are, should be the next step.

McMorran (2010) draws attention to yet another aspect of applying participant observation to research on tourism. Having observed labour relations in the Japanese hotel industry, he confirmed the usefulness of the method and pointed out that being together, without any time limit or the sense of confrontation that were typical for questionnaire or classic interviews, fosters frank and profound responses. In addition, longer term participant observation allows such questions that are hard to answer within standard interviews. Staying together can lead to mistrust between a researcher and a respondent. McMorran concludes in a very original way: "I tell my students of tourism, especially those who are interested in labour relations: put your voice recorders and notepads aside for a few hours and wash up some dishes". This opinion, controversial though it may be, supports the view that research on issues in tourism requires applying various methodologies.

Interviews and participant observation were applied by Bombol and Slaby (2011) in their research on the use of services among seniors. The authors concluded that research through direct interviews and participant observation should be supplemented by information from statistical sources and, with reference to the 55+ population, they may constitute a tool for diagnosing the real (not declared) demand for goods and services.

3. Research objectives and methods

It is commonly thought that seniors form a separate segment of the tourism market (Cai et al., 2001; Nimrod, 2008; Glover, Prideaux, 2009; Hung, Petrick 2009; Nimrod, Rotem, 2010; Bombol, Slaby, 2011). An important aspect of the issue is pointed out by, among others, Dann (2001). Having
analysed the contents of British travel agency brochures, he came to the conclusion that the specific nature and diversity of this segment of the tourism market has been only marginally recognised by the tourism industry. Moreover, the elderly are being treated in a rather patronising way which, in his opinion, is due to a lack of understanding of the real needs of the elderly arising out of their health, physical fitness and individual needs.

Bombol and Słaby (2011) focus on this issue in the Polish reality. They state that seniors are an underestimated market niche. They also emphasise the heterogeneity of this social group and the diversity of needs.

Summarising the foregoing opinions, it can be concluded that seniors are an important and homogeneous segment of the tourism market. The elderly require a varied marketing approach, primarily through adapting tourist products to the various needs and requirements which are affected by many factors (gender, age, health condition, income, education), as well as through using personalised methods of communication.

Therefore, very important questions (not only of application) arise: (a) What forms of tourism activity do seniors most eagerly take up during package tours?, (b) How do they accomplish their desires during a tourist trip?, (c) What are their expectations concerning tourism services?

Obviously, these issues have already been dealt with but, as emphasised by Nimrod and Rotem (2010), seniors’ tourist behaviour have been analysed so far using primarily quantitative methods. On the other hand, those previously presented indicate their limited usefulness for an attempt to answer the research questions. Thus, taking opinions (Bowen, 2002; Babbie, 2007; Blichfeldt, 2008; McMorran, 2010; Bombol, Slaby, 2011) into consideration, it seems that, despite various methodological limitations, it is participant observation itself that constitutes an appropriate research tool by means of which the foregoing questions may be answered. Considering to Angrosino, Rosenberg’s position (2011), the method defined as ‘focused observation’ was applied, paying particular attention to phenomena that are difficult to grasp in questionnaire research.

The author is a tour guide with extensive experience who has been regularly guiding trips organised by a Polish travel agency for students of the ‘Universities of the Third Age’ since 2003. The duties related to looking after them turned the author’s attention to the possibility taking advantage of that situation and, applying participant observation to undertake a study of behaviour during a trip.

An idea of Wodejko (1998) was used in order to systematise the observations. He divides a package tour into four stages (preparing for a trip, travelling to a destination, a stay in a tourist destination, a return journey to the place of permanent residence). Due to the nature of the research method, the study focused only on three selected parts (Fig. 1).

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**Fig. 1** Stages of a tour by Wodejko (modified)

Following the foregoing methodological recommendations (on small homogeneous groups), participants of only certain types of trip were involved in systematic observations. These included trips abroad for Polish seniors that were advertised by an agency as residential-recreational. Their schedules assumed a journey from the city where the travel agency had its headquarters to a tourism destination, activity in the form of sunbathing and swimming, taking part in on-site cognitive tours to local attractions, and ending the trip with a return. Each trip included so-called days off when no common activities were planned. The duration of such trips ranged from 7 to 10 days. A coach was the means of transport used to and from a final destination at a distance of up to approximately 1500 km from the office of a travel agency (a plane – over longer distances) (Table 1). The coach was also used whenever there was an on-site excursion. The only difference in the case of air transport was that the agency rented a coach with a driver from a local company.

The most underlined marketing element of a trip that a travel agency offered to the students of ‘Universities of the Third Age’ was the possibility of sunbathing and swimming in a ‘warm sea’ or thermal spa, as well as getting to know the local attractions of natural and cultural heritage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Tourism destination</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Means of transport</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Spain – Costa del Sol</td>
<td>Sept</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>plane + coach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Italy – Sardinia</td>
<td>Sept</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>plane + coach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Hungary – hot springs</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>coach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Croatia – Makarska Riviera</td>
<td>Sept</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>coach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>France – Languedoc coast</td>
<td>Sept</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>coach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Spain – Costa Brava</td>
<td>Sept</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>plane + coach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Spain – Majorca</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>plane + coach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>France – Corsica</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>plane + coach</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author

The most difficult element from a methodological point of view, was how to record the facts from observations made by the participants, as a tour operator spends most of his day on duties related to the care of tourists and providing sightseeing information, so the notes were prepared each evening after completing a day’s work. The record of observations regarding a particular day and the most significant information was obtained in the course of direct conversations with participants of regarding the main motives for their actions. The conversations were either individual or group and were initiated by the author, in connection with his duties as a tour leader or by the participants themselves.

Some attention needs to be paid to a circumstance which, undoubtedly, had an impact on the results. Being a tour leader, the author constituted an important source of information for senior tourists on the sights of a visited place. In addition, due to his responsibilities, he undertook various organisational activities at their request, including finding expected information. This mainly resulted from the tourists’ lack of knowledge of a foreign language to communicate.

After each group had returned, a report on the whole trip was drawn up (the feedback on the quality of services, the tour leader’s self-assessment, participants’ comments and feedback on the schedule, services, satisfaction).

What should be emphasised is the fact that the observations related mainly to tourists’ behaviour that did not result directly from the schedule that was followed by the whole group, but they mainly focused on so-called leisure and individual activities.
4. Findings and discussion

4.1. Taking seats on a coach and travelling to one's destination

Taking seats on a coach was an extremely significant issue emphasised in many statements and articulated by the participants’ behaviour. Since it was students of the ‘University of the Third Age’ that made up the majority of the participants, they had already known one another when deciding on a trip and obviously agreed closer and further companionship. In the case of married or informal couples it seemed obvious, but the vast majority of participants were women travelling on their own. The number of men in both groups did not exceed 15%. The arrangement of seats on the coach led to creating mini social groups of two, four or, less often, six. The fact that a neighbouring seat was randomly taken by an unknown or little-known person frequently contributed to developing interpersonal relations. The mutual journey to a destination and, what follows, getting to know each other, often led to those people jointly undertaking most activities during the whole trip. "Who will I sit with? I don’t know anybody"; one of the participants’ concerns before boarding the coach may constitute an illustration of this problem. This means that company on a journey was of a great significance for seniors.

The issue of taking the seats at the front of a coach frequently arose in the participants’ (women only) requests. The tour operator applied the principle of priority concerning boarding and taking a seat on a coach by date of application. As a result, some female participants who had signed at a later date made a discreet request (privately, in a low voice) to the tour leader to waive this rule, justifying it primarily by difficulties with lower limbs and medical recommendations. "I have some knee disorders and have to sit in the front. Here is my medical certificate." As observation and some spontaneous statements of participants indicated, the real reasons were probably different. Some of the elderly considered the seats in the front to be privileged and enabling the passengers to feel the thrill of the journey to a greater extent. This was primarily connected with getting to know more since the front of a coach provided, in their opinion, better visibility and proximity to the source of information i.e. the tour guide. The statements of those who occupied the seats at the back of the coach: "We all paid the same amount for the tour so why do the same people still sit at the front? We should be swapping seats every day!" may prove this fact.

Over the following days there were also attempts to break the rules set by the tour operator when those at the back took seats at the front of the coach. Such attempts had no chance of success as they evoked a firm and emotionally strong objection on the part of other participants. Disagreeing with such behaviour resulted not only from cognitive objectives, but also from the fact that swapping seats would disrupt social relations existing within groups. "We had enrolled for the tour earlier so that we could sit together." "What counts on a trip is, above all, the company." "For us, the excursion starts from the moment you leave."

The foregoing behaviour concerns the issue of a tourist time budget (Pearce, 1988). Since the time of a trip is almost always limited, the majority of tourists try to make the most of it. This might be the cause of the participants behaviour as they regarded a transfer to be important in itself rather than just time spent travelling to their destination.

The proximity of other participants travelling on the same coach or plane always contributed to making or developing social contacts. The travellers spent the journey discussing their visits to the planned tourist attractions. In the case of air transport and local coach services, all on-site excursions were separately paid. In the vast majority of cases, decisions about participation and payment for a trip were made together, after exchanging views with their nearest travel companions. Quite long journeys to a destination often contributed to the integration of participants via their common consumption of snacks and drinks taken from home. Purchasing food and drinks in restaurants during stops along motorways, or while waiting for a plane at the airport, was rather limited. The decisive factor indicated was the high prices outside Poland. On the other hand, tourists loved taking the opportunity to buy the drinks that coach drivers offered at a significantly lower cost.

Seniors paid a lot of attention to the tourist information provided by tour leaders. Demonstrated by a high level of concentration and silence, as well as numerous questions preceding explanations. If a participant was talking, he or she was ‘prompted’ to stop: "Please be quiet!" “We can't hear
Interest in some specific tourist information must have been really high as some individuals (women only) were taking notes while being given an explanation. During stops they also asked additional questions about the geographical names of towns and regions, as well as historical facts. “Could you repeat the name of this town?” “Can you spell this name?” “I will never remember these names.” Their notebooks (A–5 or less) often consisted of a dozen or even dozens of pages of handwriting. They were afterwards used to help create photo albums complemented with relevant captions. Taking all these examples into account, it can be stated that there is a very strong cognitive motivation among senior tourists participating in these trips.

4.2. Accommodating a group in a hotel and getting to know the place of stay

Arrival at a particular destination was followed by a very significant moment affecting the assessment of the whole trip: accommodation. When being accommodated, the participants addressed requests to get rooms adjacent or close to the ones of people that had formed the mini-groups (4–6 people) before the trip itself. The desire to live on the same floor and, most preferably, next door proved the stability of the social relationships already existing in their places of residence. The tourists justified it by having common belongings and knowledge of tastes, the desire for mutual visits to rooms and taking common forms of activity at times determined by both the participants and the schedule as free, as well as having group meals.

Having checked in, seniors diligently familiarised themselves with their room facilities expecting a tour leader to help them in this respect. The eldest participants, in particular, also asked for help in how to use the devices in their rooms (door locks, shutters, switches, remote controls). Others coped with these issues through mutual assistance. An important factor contributing to cooperation was the fact that some knew a foreign language (usually German), which allowed them to read the room instructions or communicate with the hotel staff.

The participants would always spend the first hours of their stay by familiarising themselves with the hotel infrastructure (lobby, restaurant, bar, pool and, alternatively, spa facilities). “Where is the restaurant?” “Where shall we have breakfast?” “How do I get to the pool?” “Is there a beach?” Senior tourists, in the vast majority, did not make any attempt to self-explore the town where their hotel was located, but waited for the tour leader’s initiative. “When shall we go to the city together?”

This last question relates to the issue of factors affecting the spatial behaviour of tourists in a tourism destination. This observation confirms the opinion of Seaton, Bennett (Lew, McKercher, 2006) that activities undertaken by tourists are significantly influenced by the information they are given by a go-between. Here, the tour guide was perceived as the first source of information on a destination. Tourists did not leave their accommodation place (hotel, resort, holiday home) unless a group tour was organised by a guide – the ‘mediator’. As Lew, McKercher (2006) state, such a situation occurs mainly in all-inclusive facilities which offer a wide range of services. Referring to the ‘Territorial Model of Tourist Behaviour’ described by Lew, McKercher (2006), they represented the T1 type, i.e. did not leave their short-stay place of accommodation (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Territorial Models of Tourist Behavior in Local Destination

4.3. Exploring a town and a tourist region

As scheduled, each trip began with a group sightseeing of a town or, alternatively, an area together with a tour leader or a local guide. The meeting point before leaving was always well-known to the participants (hotel lobby, car park in front of a hotel). The sightseeing was done on foot or by coach and on foot, and covered the major tourist attractions of a town. The excursions organised within the following days were similar; the only difference was that they were to various tourist sites around the whole region. A group walk or a coach trip always ended at the place of accommodation. Each visit was accompanied by numerous questions to a guide or a tour leader and concerning social issues, customs and daily life, traditional dishes and recommended places of consumption (“Please write the name of this dish down for us.” “And where can you eat that?”), as well as products of local handicrafts or industry which could serve as souvenirs. These are, undoubtedly, additional facts supporting seniors’ strong cognitive motivations.

No significant differences in the behaviour of tourists resulting from the location and types of natural environment and cultural heritage were observed. The topography and a significant difference in height between the site and the position of the coach park, constituted the only factor affecting participation in exploring. In such situations, when there was no local means of transport, those who suffered from health problems, exceptionally gave up sightseeing. It was similar when entering the towers of historical buildings (castles, churches), however ensuring adequate time significantly limited the problem.

It was, furthermore, pointed out that, regardless of the size and type of a tourism destination, only after getting to know the topography of the surroundings in the company of a guide or a tour leader, did the seniors attempt to go beyond the hotel grounds on their own. The vast majority went to a nearby beach or a bathing area following a route they had been familiarised with. Nearly everyone almost always moved in groups of a minimum of two or (frequently) more, based on those social groups whose existence had already been revealed on the coach. They shopped or, alternatively, visited food courts on the way. This confirms Lew and McKercher’s (2005) opinion that the spatial behaviour of tourists on package tours are more determined by the topography of a village and group conformism than by individual preferences. The Territorial Model of Tourist Behaviour refers to this movement as a T2 type or a Convenience-Based Movement (Fig. 2).

Few tourists (never alone) undertook walks in other directions from their place of accommodation T3 – Concentric Exploration. No free or unrestricted move T4 – Unrestricted Destination-wide Movement – was observed during senior tourists’ stays (Fig. 2).

Moving around the ‘familiarised’ space of a tourism town occurred several times each day according to a certain pattern. Breakfast was always followed by a walk from a hotel to a beach or a swimming pool, and the return took place at around noon. The same route was made by tourists for the second time in the afternoon and then (in the case of some seniors) once again in the evening. The exception was that the last did not intend to sunbathe or swim but rather to use the catering services on the route and enjoy the scenery. When other places of interest to tourists (usually shops or food courts) were not located on the shortest route to the beach, the seniors went on separate walks from their hotel to a particular destination and back. Lew, McKercher (2006) refer to such ways of moving as P1 ‘Point-to-Point Pattern’ (Fig. 3) and, when it is carried out on different routes, they call it Single Point-to-Point P1a, whereas when it is carried out on the same, they refer to it as Repetitive Point-to-Point P1b (Fig. 3).

Spatial behaviour that involved following a certain circular route with several stopping points on it (hotel – beach – shop – restaurant – shop – another attraction – hotel) were intensified by better and better knowledge of a town P2 – Circular Patterns (Fig. 3).

Regardless of the length of stay, however, senior tourists were not seen to individually use public transport services. Lack of language skills or knowledge of network connections and timetables were listed by seniors as the main obstacles. For the same reasons they did not benefit from generally accessible bus excursions like ‘Hop on, hop off’.
The fact that any initiative on the part of a tour leader concerning a group tourist departure or using public transport, which had not been earlier scheduled, aroused great interest. Almost all the tourists were eager to participate in these types of ventures. As they emphasised, the problem was not additional cost but the lack of security in a situation beyond a familiar area. The participants’ sense of personal safety as well as the key role of a tour guide turned out to be, therefore, a very significant issue.

Only a few gave up all the offered local tours in favour of sunbathing and swimming. What should be noted is the fact that whether they were paid extra on the spot or previously included in the price of the whole package, it did not matter. As the participants explained, reasons were mainly dictated by indisposition or fatigue. Some tourists gave up in order to look after a close person or a companion they shared a hotel room with.

The foregoing behaviour, characteristic of individual participants of package tours, indicates that, when it comes to analysed cases, group decisions were of greater importance than individual preferences concerning what was offered locally and the tourism infrastructure.

4.4. **Having meals and forms of activity undertaken by seniors in their free time**

Celebrating meals constituted a very important part of the daily ritual. Meals were almost never consumed individually and almost always in the company of at least one person. If the arrangement of tables in a restaurant allowed it, larger groups had meals together. The respondents (especially women) mentioned two reasons for such behaviour. Firstly, meals during a trip enabled social contacts. Secondly, discussion held during breakfast concerned plans for the day and it was the time when decisions regarding activities were made. It was the opposite of everyday life when such activities were done alone or with a spouse at most “At home I have breakfast in the company of a cat.”

What indicates the significance of common meals, particularly formal dinners, are the frequent photographs of people sitting at a table, and even the manner of serving dishes, table decorations, or the contents of dishes. Such frequent requests as: “Can you take a photo of us for my album?” may sow this.
In their free time, after breakfast, two-person or larger groups left their accommodation and went to a beach or a swimming pool where they stayed sunbathing and swimming together until noon. Since the tour schedules did not provide lunch at a hotel, tourists consumed what they had purchased in shops, on a beach or in a hotel room. They definitely used public catering less frequently. As shown in their statements, restaurants were beyond seniors' financial capacities and, on the other hand, they underlined that would prefer to spend the money on tourist attractions. “I prefer to eat something quickly and go on a boat trip and see something, rather than spend the money in a restaurant. I will eat my fill in the hotel tonight anyway.” This is yet another argument indicating the importance of cognitive motives among seniors.

The afternoon activities were more varied. Some participants went to the beach again or used the hotel leisure facilities or, much less frequently, stayed in their rooms (usually men). When going to the beach in the afternoon, female participants would often go together to the shops near their place of accommodation. Dinners were eaten slowly and in a relaxed atmosphere. Each element of a meal was celebrated, which was conducive to discussing the impressions of the day and arranging plans for an evening together.

Since the participants had usually known one another before, the requests put forward to a tour leader by some informal leaders to organise an evening out (wine tasting, an evening with a regional program) were not uncommon. Nearly all the participants took part in this type of entertainment. The issue of additional costs was never really a problem. When being interviewed, the participants emphasised the fact that they might not have an occasion to participate in a similar event again. “I have been here for the first time and I will probably not come here again.” “I keep asking the Lord how much life there still is ahead of us.” “Whatever! We live at the expense of our heirs.”

These views again confirm the important issue of the tourist time budget which, in the case of seniors, is additionally accompanied by an awareness of passing time. Furthermore, such behaviour and opinions justify both the cognitive motive and the need to develop contacts.

Secondly, they emphasise the important role of those who assist tourists in meeting the needs of seniors and providing them with a sense of comfort and safety. It should be noted, however, that the participants manifested their initiative in organising free time. Within the whole trip, there were not more than one or two evenings out that were organised by a tour leader. On other days, the participants met in small groups and socialised in hotel rooms, on the beach or in public places in the hotel area or nearby. Informal couples were in the minority. This did not apply to married couples who frequently initiated and hosted the evening events. This indicates again that seniors' needs for social contact were, apart from cognitive motives, of great importance.

The participants very rarely used hotels' events. The lack of foreign language skills was, as signaled before, the main cause. Dinner dances, popular despite the significant dominance of female participants, were the exception. It is yet another indication that language barrier was a serious problem for seniors in the use of services offered in a place of tourist stay. It hindered communication and decreased the sense of security.

4.5. The return journey

Common shopping for souvenirs in the shops nearby turned out to be one of the most significant activities undertaken during the entire stay and, especially, before the return. When staying in countries not belonging to the eurozone, the participants often got rid of local currency (Bulgaria, Hungary, Croatia) by making some reckless purchases “And I bought an unnecessary gadget again.” A return journey was filled with discussions of common experiences, evaluations of visited attractions and, above all, plans for more trips.

Seeking additional information from a tour leader on visited places, purchased local products, observed local customs was an important complementary activity. A significant number of participants wrote the information down explaining that it would be necessary to describe the photos after returning from a trip.
5. Conclusions and limits to the application of participant observation in analysing seniors’ tourism activity

The foregoing observations and partial conclusions can be regarded as referring to a relatively homogeneous group of active seniors with clear cognitive motivations, living in households with above average income. Furthermore, this is also a group with highly developed social needs. The need for social contact was met and developed during the trip has an emotional base and contributes to feelings of personal safety, particularly through mutual assistance in emergency situations (illness, indisposition).

According to Middleton (1996), from a marketing point of view, they can be described as a group focused ‘for experience’. The attitudes and types of behaviour characteristic are motivated by concerns about the future and security. In the case of the example analysed, these concerns arose mainly from an awareness of the inevitable deterioration of health and loss of physical condition over time. Moreover, today’s generation of Polish seniors specifically exploit current opportunities that arise from Poland’s membership in the EU as, unlike this those from western countries, they could not travel freely before 1989 due to political and administrative limitations.

It should be emphasised that those involved in the trips analysed, manifested considerable autonomy in relation to their leisure activities and did not expect any above-standard care. Dann (2001) drew attention to a similar problem and pointed out that seniors should not be treated by tour operators as ‘big kids’.

A very important factor contributing to Polish seniors’ interest in organised tourist trips is the lack or poor knowledge of foreign languages which prevents communication in the place of stay of a tourist destination. This reduces the sense of personal safety and limits tourists’ spatial activity to the area located near their place of accommodation and previously explored with a tour leader or a local guide. It, additionally, makes it difficult to meet highly developed cognitive needs. Therefore, professionally trained tour guides, and local guides that are able to handle senior tourists, play a very important role in this regard. What is more, the majority of seniors do not participate in the events offered by hotels due to difficulties in communication.

What constitutes quite a serious challenge is the evaluation of the material collected on how the observed behaviour is typical for the whole segment of senior tourists. Uncommon use of participant observation among tourists, makes it difficult to compare the collected material with other cases. Applying this method during research among other groups could, therefore, lead to some interesting conclusions.

These observations allow the following suggestions to be proposed for those organising tourist trips for Polish senior tourists:

1) Due to the continuous increase in the number of senior travellers, one should be aware that they constitute an increasingly important segment of the tourist market of very diverse socio-demographic characteristics and, therefore, the offer should be very varied and flexible, allowing a choice of different forms of activity in the tourist destination.

2) Due to strongly developed cognitive motivations and social needs, only tour guides with extensive knowledge of sightseeing, a very good knowledge of foreign languages, empathy and great interpersonal skills should be employed.

3) The existence of social groups among seniors should be taken into account during journeys and accommodation, adapting them as much as possible to their needs.

4) The programme should be varied but not too intensive. A tour guide should, in a discreet manner, adapt the pace of exploring to the physical abilities of participants by organising breaks in scenically attractive locations. Visiting the most important tourist attractions of an area should be organised taking into account the time needed for a photograph of elements of nature, culture and the life of inhabitants.

5) A crucial element of a trip is to provide sufficient time for meals, coffee breaks, social gatherings and for learning about a village, local goods and culinary curiosities individually. A tour guide should be open to participants’ own initiative in the field of organising social activities or group outings in their free time.
6) Concerns connected with learning about places and countries, which mainly result from difficulties in communicating with the local population, will decrease, as the level of foreign language skills of the next generations grows. However, the lack of independence of a part of society is a lasting phenomenon which increases with age. For this reason, the elderly should be treated as a permanent segment of the market creating great opportunities for tourism business.

7) A sense of security is an important element that influences an assessment of the quality of an entire ‘tourist event’. It is primarily affected by the perception of direct contact staff (driver, tour operator, local guide, receptionist, restaurant service) and the hotel infrastructure, as well as the destination itself.

In conclusion, participant observation, as a research method for senior tourists’ activity, provides information that cannot be achieved by applying quantitative methods. Following the opinion that tour operators do not understand the specific travel needs of seniors (Dann, 2001), the information that is obtained in this way may be of practical significance, especially for the tourism industry.

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