

Rescuing Hikers in Israel's Deserts: Community Altruism or an Extension of Adventure Tourism?

Natan Uriely, Zvi Schwartz, Eli Cohen and Arie Reichel
Department of Hotel and Tourism Management,
Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

This study focuses on the motivation and attitudes of volunteers taking part in rescue activity in Israeli desert areas. In line with contemporary literature on postmodernism, it is argued that they exemplify a particular case of horizontal de-differentiation in which volunteer rescue activity is intertwined with leisure and tourism. Specifically, we suggest that in addition to an altruistic sense of good citizenship, these rescuers are motivated by leisure and tourism-related pursuits. In addition, we argue that the rescuers' self image as professional hikers leads them to blame the rescued travelers for their predicament, rather than to perceive them as victims of circumstance. The findings of this study are based on responses to questionnaires distributed to volunteer rescuers in the Israeli desert.

KEYWORDS: *Leisure, tourism, rescue, volunteer activity*

Introduction

This study focuses on volunteers taking part in rescue activity in Israeli desert areas, which function as tourist destinations for thousands of visitors annually. Most of these visitors are attracted to archeological sites, unique geological structures and to the beautiful landscape. Recently, local entrepreneurs, with the active support of various government agencies, began offering new activities to attract even more visitors to the area. These efforts seem successful, as the popularity of the desert areas as tourism destinations has steadily increased in recent years. Most visitors, Israelis and other tourists, spend one to seven days in a wide variety of activities in this challenging terrain and difficult climate. In general, the risk associated with the desert experience is fairly high. Most trails are minimally developed, and therefore it is not unusual for travelers to become disoriented and lose their way or fall from heights. The difficult climate may lead to dehydration and heat stroke. Naturally, the danger is even greater for two types of visitors: novice hikers who lack the knowledge and skills required for the challenging conditions of the desert and visitors involved in high-risk activities such as rock-climbing or driving four-wheel and cross-terrain vehicles off-road. As a result, hundreds of visitors and hikers are injured every year, and some of the incidents (i.e., dehydration, orthopedic injuries, and head trauma) are fatal.

Address correspondence to: Dr. Natan Uriely, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Department of Hotel and Tourism Management, P.O. Box 653, Beer Sheva 84105 ISRAEL. Tel. (972) 8 6472245, Fax. (972) 8 6472920; Email: urielyn@bgumail.bgu.ac.il

Hundreds of volunteers, organized into eight units, conduct most search and rescue operations in Israel. These units are organized under an "umbrella" organization called F.I.R.S.T., Fast Israeli Rescue & Search Team. The majority of rescue activities are in desert areas where six units operate. During 15 years of F.I.R.S.T. activity, more than 1,800 search and rescue missions were conducted. In 1997, an average of eight rescuers took part in each mission, and F.I.R.S.T. came to the assistance of 1,003 people throughout the year.

This exploratory study examines the motives and attitudes of the volunteers who take part in F.I.R.S.T. rescue activity. In general, the purpose of this study is to illustrate how volunteer activity might function as a form of leisure and include tourism-related pursuits and experiences. The empirical research of F.I.R.S.T. rescuers serves our attempt to explore the link between volunteer activity and the domains of leisure and tourism. In light of contemporary literature on postmodern tourism, we suggest that volunteer rescuers exemplify a particular case of horizontal de-differentiation in which leisure and tourism pursuits and experiences are incorporated into volunteer rescue activity. Accordingly, we hypothesize that in addition to an altruistic sense of good citizenship, these rescuers are motivated by leisure oriented and tourist related pursuits, such as the challenge of hiking. In addition, we presume that their touristic background and orientation as professional hikers, leads them to blame the rescued travelers rather than to perceive them as victims.

The literature review presented below includes a discussion of the theoretical framework of postmodernism and its alleged materialization in the field of tourism. Two hypotheses were formulated relating theory to the motivations of search and rescue team volunteers and to the reasons why these volunteers blame the hikers they rescue. The methodology section describes the questionnaire and data and is followed by statistical analysis and a discussion section.

Literature Review

The general issue of membership in voluntary associations was examined in light of various theoretical frameworks, including organization theory (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), social exchange theory (Blau, 1964; Homans, 1961), political and economic theory (Knoke, 1985; Olsen, 1965; Rich, 1980), and incentive theory (Knoke & Wright-Isak, 1982). A review of this literature reveals that two types of incentive for membership in voluntary associations were emphasized: instrumental and expressive incentives. While instrumental incentives refer to public goods obtained by members and non-members of voluntary associations alike, expressive incentives refer to personal benefits exclusively reserved for group members. A recent study regarding the factors that influence business membership in voluntary tourism promotion organizations suggests that both types of incentives are equally important (Donnelly & Vaske, 1997).

While stressing the contribution of the previously mentioned concepts and theoretical frameworks to the understanding of volunteer activity in general, this study attempts to harness a postmodern perspective in order to explore the connection between volunteer activity and leisure/tourism practices. With respect to tourism studies, the term "working holidays" was attached to individuals who combine volunteer activity with leisure/tourism pursuits while traveling (Cohen, 1973, 1974; Mittelberg, 1988; Pizam, Uriely & Reichel, 2000; Uriely & Reichel, 2000; Uriely, 2001). However, since the rescuers examined in the current study remain in their home environment, they represent a different form of the link between volunteer activity and leisure/tourism practices. Thus, this study concerns the motivations of individuals to join and maintain membership in tourism-related volunteer associations that are located in their home environment. Specifically, we suggest that the behavior of F.I.R.S.T volunteers could be interpreted as a manifestation of de-differentiation processes in which the distinctions between tourism-related and daily routine activities and ethics are blurred. This perspective regarding processes of de-differentiation draws upon the literature on postmodern culture in general and postmodern tourism in particular.

The postmodern perspective: The terms "postmodernism" and "postmodernity" are associated with diverse interrelated phenomena that developed after World War II in varied spheres of activity, such as art, architecture, science, politics, cinema, sports, and tourism (Denzin, 1991). Inconsistent use of these terms is recognized even by scholars who promote the postmodern perspective. Bouman (1992) suggested that "postmodernity means many different things to many different people" (p. vii). In the current study, however, the term postmodernity is referred to as a particular set of generalized developments that may constitute a new cultural paradigm and social consciousness (e.g., Lash & Urry, 1987; Rojek, 1995; Urry, 1990).

Among the various developments associated with the notion of postmodern tourism, one could point to the proliferation of simulated environments and "hyperreal" experiences, the growing awareness of the natural, the rise of small and specialized travel agencies, and the growing attraction of nostalgia and heritage tourism. Nevertheless, a complete discussion of these varied developments in the field of tourism is beyond the scope of this paper.

Specific attention is paid in this study to the phenomenon of de-differentiation, which is recognized as one of the most fundamental features of the postmodern era (Lash & Urry, 1987, 1994; Urry, 1990). In this context, the modern period has been characterized by horizontal and vertical processes of differentiation between normative, aesthetic, and institutional spheres of social activity. Horizontally, these processes involve the development of distinct fields of activity, each with its own conventions and modes of evaluation. Vertically, these processes are responsible for traditional distinctions between "high" and "low" culture, or between the consumption of fine art and popular pleasure. The postmodern condition, by contrast, in-

volves a breakdown in the distinctiveness of each of these spheres of social activity.

The notion of de-differentiation was applied in the tourism literature by scholars stressing the decreasing distinctiveness of tourism as a field of social activity (Lash & Urry, 1994; Munt, 1994; Urry, 1990). In this context, Lash and Urry (1994) suggested that tourism could once be characterized by three forms of exchange relationships: financial exchange for rights to occupy mobile property, financial exchange for temporary possession of accommodations and facilities away from home, and financial exchange for ability to gaze at unfamiliar sites. Currently, however, these forms of exchange are no longer confined to tourism practices and may occur in various contexts of everyday life, such as shopping, eating-out, sports, education, and so on. In the era of mass media and simulated environments, this trend is primarily evident with respect to the aspect of visual consumption. Consequently, Lash and Urry (1994) indicated a process through which people become tourists most of the time, whether they are taking a vacation or conducting daily activities. They label the decreasing distinctiveness of tourism as a particular sphere of activity as the "end of tourism."

A similar process of horizontal de-differentiation between tourism and the routine of everyday life is delineated by Munt (1994), who argues that "tourism is everything and everything is tourism" (p.104). In this context, he mentions the growing tendency to combine a variety of activities, such as adventure trekking, climbing, skiing, and mountain biking with tourism. More significantly, he stresses the penetration of the domain of tourism by intellectual activities, such as the proliferation of ecological, archeological, anthropological, and scientific types of tourism. In addition to the intellectualization of tourism, he points out a process of "professionalization" in the consumption of tourism. In this context, Munt (1994) suggests that the separation of occupational professionalism and the consumption of leisure are beginning to blur. With respect to the penetration of the tourism domain by occupational features, he mentions the development of tourism codes of ethics by travel-related and environmental organizations, such as Tourism Concern and Green Flag International. At the same time, he also describes the growth of outdoor training programs designed for managers as an example of the incorporation of tourism practices in the work and professional domain.

Hypotheses

In light of this emerging perspective of postmodern tourism, the rescue activity of the volunteers examined in this study may exemplify a particular case of horizontal de-differentiation. Specifically, we suggest that their activity demonstrates how leisure and tourism-related practices, such as the involvement in high-risk and challenging hiking and the gratification from being an expert hiker, are intertwined with practices and ethics, such as volunteering and a sense of good citizenship. Thus, the first hypothesis of this study stipulates that:

Volunteer rescuers are motivated by both an altruistic sense of good citizenship and by leisure/tourist-related pursuits, such as the challenge of hiking and rappelling missions.

In line with recent arguments regarding the "professionalization of tourism" (Munt, 1994), we assume that the volunteer rescuers might have developed a self-image of "expert hikers". This assumption is also compatible with the combat military background of most of the rescuers and their previous leisure/tourist experiences, which involve substantial rigorous hiking. Consequently, it is suggested that the volunteer rescuers may look disparagingly upon rescued travelers whom they perceive as unskilled hikers rather than victims of circumstance. Accordingly, the second hypothesis stipulates that:

Volunteer rescuers tend to blame the rescued travelers for their predicament and perceive them as incompetent hikers rather than as victims of circumstance.

Methods

The Questionnaire

Since this is an exploratory study and adequate research tools were unavailable in the literature, a new questionnaire needed to be constructed to test the two hypotheses delineated for this study. The questionnaire contained questions related to the volunteers' activities, the activities that affect their quality of life and their motives for volunteering on rescue missions. Additional questions were included relating to other volunteering activities, educational and medical training, army service, and additional demographic information. The questionnaire was constructed based on the literature, hypotheses to be tested, and preliminary in-depth interviews with eight volunteer rescuers.

As a test of the first hypothesis, five questions were designed to investigate volunteer motivation including a direct question listing eight motivational aspects that may contribute to a person's decision to continue her/his volunteer activity in the search and rescue team. These aspects are: helping others, value of human life, community responsibility for visitors, support tourism to the area (i.e., altruistic aspects) and interesting activity, mental challenge, spending time in nature, and physical challenge (i.e., tourism/leisure aspects). The respondents were asked to rank the importance of each aspect in her/his decision: 1 (not important), 2 (important), and 3 (very important). In addition, respondents were asked to rate the contribution of several activities and hobbies to their quality of life, including helping others (altruistic); challenging hikes, getting together with friends, sports, and risky sports (all tourism/leisure). The scale ranged from 1 (does not contribute) to 5 (contributes very much).

To obscure the intent of these two questions (i.e., to find out if indeed both altruistic and touristic motives exist), the questionnaire included aspects that are not categorized as either of the two tested orientations (e.g., watching movies, listen to music, reading, military service). Three additional

questions focused on other volunteer activities, participation in sports, and type of army service (serving in a combat unit is often voluntary for army reserve soldiers as well as for regular soldiers, as will be presented later).

Two questions that tested the second hypothesis focused on the extent to which the volunteers blame the hikers they rescued for irresponsible or dangerous behavior on the trail. The first question asked the respondent to state which of the following three statements best describe their perception regarding why hikers need to be rescued: taking unreasonable risks, lack of skills, or other factors beyond the hikers' control. The second question listed eight categories of hikers: singles, families, groups, youth organizations (e.g., scouts), military groups, school pupils, "yeshiva" students and visitors using four-wheel drive vehicles. The rescue teams used these same categories in their official records. The respondents were asked to evaluate the behavior of hikers in each category in terms of risk taking. The respondents used a scale of 1-5 where 1 denotes "very cautious", 2 being "cautious", 3 being "taking reasonable risks", 4 being "taking unreasonable risks" and 5 being "taking extremely unreasonable risks."

The 16-item questionnaire was distributed to all volunteers of the six search and rescue teams that operate in the southern desert of Israel as described in the following section.

Data

Two hundred and one (201) questionnaires were distributed to members of six different teams that operate in the southern desert of Israel by the leader of each search and rescue team. Since the majority of rescue activities take place in desert areas, we focused on the six units that operate in the Israeli desert. A letter stating the importance of the study and a pre-addressed stamped envelope were enclosed with each questionnaire. The questionnaires were answered anonymously. Of the 201 questionnaires, 62 (30.8%) were returned and analyzed in this study. Five questionnaires contained some missing data.

About 37% of the respondents are between 18 and 30 years old, 48% are between the ages of 31 and 45, and the rest are 45 or older. Seventy percent of the volunteers are married with children, 53% live in collective communities called kibbutzim, 36% live in cities, and the rest (11%) reside in small communities. All volunteers had at least a high school diploma and 50% hold a degree from a college or a university. Almost all of the respondents had some type of medical training—mainly in first aid. All respondents were male (probably since only men serve in combat units) and had served in the army (76% in combat units). Sixty-one percent of the volunteers had been involved in altruistic activities in the past, and all of them reported that they had previously engaged in various leisure or tourism-related activities that involved hiking and other challenging tasks. Most respondents reported that their families strongly supported their pursuit of this activity (an average score of 4.3 on a 5-point scale).

As noted earlier, in order to measure altruism and tourism/leisure motivation, two major questions were presented, one "direct" and the other "indirect". The direct question included the following altruistic motives: helping others, value of human life, a community's responsibility toward its guests, and supporting tourism in the region. The Alpha Cronbach reliability coefficient of .64 indicated moderate reliability. Adding the "indirect" measure of altruism ('volunteering and helping others contribute to my quality of life') lowers the reliability coefficient to .57 only.

Testing the reliability of the tourism/leisure aspects indicated a relatively low reliability coefficient (.42) for the "direct" items: interesting activity, mental challenge, spending time in nature and physical challenge. However, the reliability measure of the four "indirect" (quality of life) items is higher: .56. Including both direct and indirect aspects (eight items) yielded a reliability coefficient of .55, while combining all 13 items of tourism/leisure versus altruistic aspects, both direct and indirect, resulted in alpha coefficient of .64.

Results

Our analysis suggested that the data supports the first hypothesis, which is that both altruistic and touristic aspects motivate the search and rescue team volunteers. Table 1 summarizes the answers to the direct question about their motives. In this question the respondents were asked to weigh the importance of each aspect in their decision to participate in search and rescue activities.

Two altruistic aspects, "value of human life" and "helping others", scored the highest (2.7 on a scale of 1-3). The next two aspects (in terms of importance) are tourism/leisure oriented. Both "interesting activity" and "mental challenge" scored 2.4. The next important aspect is "spending time in nature" (tourism/leisure oriented), which scored 2.2. The other three

TABLE 1
Aspects Affecting One's Desire to be Part of the Search and Rescue Team (Scale 1-3).

Aspect	Average Score (n = 57)	Standard Deviation (n = 57)
Helping others (altruistic)	2.7	0.44
Value of human life (altruistic)	2.7	0.49
Interesting activity (tourism/leisure)	2.4	0.75
Mental challenge (tourism/leisure)	2.4	0.65
Spending time in nature (tourism/leisure)	2.2	0.69
Community responsibility for visitors (altruistic)	2.1	0.85
Physical challenge (tourism/leisure)	1.9	0.80
Support tourism to the area (altruistic)	1.6	0.74

Note: 1 = not important, 2 = important and 3 = very important

aspects were of less importance (see Table 1), and scored 2.1 for "community responsibility for visitors" (altruistic), 1.9 for "physical challenge" (tourism/leisure) and 1.6 for "support tourism to the area" (tourism/leisure).

Thus, analysis of the self-reported reasons for volunteering in the search and rescue teams indicates that team members were motivated by both pure altruistic and tourism/leisure aspects. Furthermore, the volunteers indicated that the altruistic considerations were more important in their decision than the competing leisure-oriented motives. Since the official F.I.R.S.T. publications mentioned only altruistic aspects as reasons for the existence of the organization, this result may reflect respondents' self-selection. However, the incorporation of tourism/leisure-related motivations in the search and rescue activity seems to be intriguing.

A similar result is obtained by analyzing the answers of the indirect questions concerning the activities that contribute to their quality of life (Table 2): helping others (altruistic); challenging hikes, getting together with friends, sports, and risky sports (tourism/leisure).

Both "helping others," an altruistic-oriented activity and "challenging hikes," a tourism/leisure related activity, scored very high, with an average of 4.1 on a scale of 1-5, where 5 = contributes very much. Hence, the volunteers value both the altruistic and the tourism/leisure aspects of life.

Answers to questions about other volunteer activities, sports, and military service provide additional support for the first hypothesis. Forty-three percent of the volunteers reported that they were or are currently involved in some other volunteer activity that has to do with helping others. Although the volunteers believed that rigorous activities such as challenging hikes and sports contribute to their quality of life, they seem to regard risky sports with less enthusiasm. It is possible that the volunteers' reluctance to openly admit the importance of high-risk sport to their sense of quality of life is a byproduct of their exposure to the organizational culture of F.I.R.S.T., which values the avoidance of unreasonable risks.

The volunteers' military service record provides yet another interesting perspective. All respondents (100%) served in the army and 76% served in

TABLE 2
Contribution to Quality of Life (A Scale of 1-5)

Activity	Average Score (n = 60)	Standard Deviation (n = 60)
Helping others (altruistic)	4.1	0.92
Challenging hikes (tourism/leisure)	4.1	0.96
Getting together with friends (tourism/leisure)	4.0	1.03
Sports (tourism/leisure)	3.8	1.27
Risky sports (tourism/leisure)	3.2	1.49

Note: 1 = does not contribute, 5 = contributes very much

combat units. These figures are much higher than the national averages (e.g., only fifty percent of the adult population served in the army). Army service, especially in a combat unit, relates to both aspects of motivation investigated in this study. Specifically, serving in a combat unit is often voluntary and includes challenging activities such as orienteering, rappelling, and long and difficult hikes.

The second hypothesis focuses on the volunteers' view of the people rescued. According to this hypothesis, rescuers are thought to blame the hikers for their predicament and perceive them as incompetent rather than view them as victims of circumstance. The data strongly support this hypothesis.

When asked why hikers need to be rescued, 76% stated that the hikers lacked proper skills, 39% stated that hikers take unreasonable risks, and only 16% of the respondents stated that factors beyond the hikers' control are to blame (note that since the respondents could select more than one reason, the sum is not 100%). Hence, the results indicate that, as we hypothesized, most rescuers tend to blame the travelers rather than to see them as victims of circumstance.

An interesting insight into how the volunteers perceive hikers' behavior is provided by the results of an additional question: respondents were asked to rank the risks taken by each of several types of travelers. Table 3 summarizes the answers to this question. First, the volunteers believed that different kinds of travelers tend to behave differently in terms of risks taking. Since the scores range from 5 (extremely unreasonable risk) to 1 (very cautious), a score of 2.5 or higher means taking some level of risk. Accordingly, three types of hikers are perceived to exhibit somewhat risky behavior (youth organizations, schools, and organized groups). The most disparaged group by far consists of yeshiva students (i.e., students in religious institutions). This

TABLE 3
How Does Each of the Following Type of Hiker Behave with Regard to Risk?
(A Scale of 1-5)

Type of Hiker	Average Score (<i>n</i> = 60)	Standard Deviation (<i>n</i> = 60)
Singles	3.2	0.96
Families	2.1	0.83
Groups	2.3	0.83
Youth organizations (e.g. scouts)	2.4	0.95
Military groups	2.2	1.15
Schools	2.4	0.96
Yeshiva students	4.5	0.81
Visitors using four-wheel drive vehicles	3.0	0.99

Note: 1 = "very cautious", 2 = "cautious", 3 = "takes reasonable risks", 4 = "takes unreasonable risks" and 5 = "takes extremely unreasonable risks."

group received an average score of 4.5. However, 1997 statistics show that only eight out of 167 rescue missions involved yeshiva students. Furthermore, of the 15 recorded fatalities, only one was a yeshiva student. This evident discrepancy between 15 perceived behavior of hikers and the actual records might be explained by a mechanism similar to the one that influenced the second hypothesis.

Our interpretation suggests that this discrepancy is derived from the perception of rigorous hiking as an activity associated with the high level of machismo that characterizes Israeli culture in general, and the military service, in particular. As mentioned previously, three-quarters of the volunteers served in elite combat units in the army, and all of them were involved in challenging leisure or tourism-related activities. By contrast, yeshiva students represent the complete opposite of the macho male, and their image is discordant with sport/tourism/leisure activities, such as hiking. Part of this image is a result of the fact that most of these students do not serve in the army. As such, it is reasonable to assume that since the volunteers expect them to be the least experienced hikers, they also believe that these yeshiva students take the largest risk by just daring to hike these difficult trails! Furthermore, it is suggested that this finding supports the argument that the volunteers' attitudes toward the rescued travelers are mainly related to their own identity as highly skilled hikers.

Discussion

The findings in this study support both hypotheses. Volunteers in F.I.R.S.T. are motivated by both altruistic causes and leisure and tourism-related aspects associated with rescue activity. While most volunteers state that their involvement in search and rescue activities is primarily motivated by their sense of responsibility for hikers' safety, the data suggest that their quest for leisure and tourism aspects related to the rescue experiences is of similar importance.

In addition, the volunteers seemed to blame rescued hikers (particularly yeshiva students, singles, and visitors using four-wheel drive vehicles) for taking unreasonable risks while hiking, rather than seeing them as victims of circumstance. We suggest that their tendency to blame the rescued travelers might reflect an approach that emphasizes the distinction between themselves as expert hikers and the rescued travelers as unskilled hikers. The rescuers' self-image as a professional hiker could derive from their background as soldiers in elite combat units and from their touristic experiences as adventurous backpackers. However, since we did not ask the rescuers about their self-identity as hikers, our interpretation should be regarded as a possible explanation rather than a firm conclusion.

From a theoretical perspective, the results of this study are interpreted in line with the postmodern approach toward contemporary culture, in general, and the present nature of leisure and tourism in particular. Specifically, we suggest that the results of this study reflect a process of horizontal de-differentiation, which is perceived as a major characteristic of the postmod-

ern era. The notion of horizontal de-differentiation refers to processes in which conventional distinctions between different fields of social activity are gradually decreasing in contemporary culture. Accordingly, leisure and tourism-related activities are intertwined with practices that were formerly associated with other domains of social activity. In line with this theoretical observation, we suggest that volunteers in the search and rescue teams examined in this study illustrate a process of horizontal de-differentiation in which altruism and volunteer activity are intertwined with leisure and tourism pursuits. In this respect, the contribution of this case study could be evaluated in terms of its ability to exemplify a conceptual construct that received only little empirical support.

By suggesting that the volunteers' rescue activity could be seen as a manifestation of horizontal de-differentiation, in which altruism is intertwined with leisure pursuits, this study provides additional insight into understanding contemporary membership in voluntary associations. As mentioned earlier, motivations for volunteer activity were usually examined in light of theories such as exchange theory, organization theory, political and economic theory, and incentive theory. While recognizing the contribution of these theories to the understanding of volunteer activity, we suggest that this study exemplifies the strength of the postmodern approach as a cultural analysis. Specifically, by drawing upon the concept of horizontal de-differentiation, we are able to discuss the specific phenomenon of voluntarism in the context of general trends in contemporary culture.

The findings of this exploratory study may also provide insight into practical issues, such as the development of a "volunteering tourist" segment in the tourism market, the relations between rescuers and rescued vacationers or travelers in tourism destinations, and the quality of service provided by volunteer rescuers. Nevertheless, an extensive discussion about these issues is beyond the scope of this exploratory study. Finally, we stress the need for future research in order to substantiate the ideas presented in this particular case study and further examine the reliability and validity of the questionnaire and the sensitivity of the scale. Specifically, we call for future studies that will investigate the link between volunteer activity and leisure and tourism in other social and environmental settings. Moreover, while recognizing the need for further empirical support for conceptualizations of the postmodern era, we also recommend considering the postmodern theoretical approach as an analytical instrument in future analyses of cultural phenomena.

References

- Blau, P. M. (1964). *Exchange and Power in Social Life*. New York: Wiley.
- Bouman, Z. (1992). *Intimations of Postmodernity*, London: Routledge.
- Cohen, E. (1973). Nomads from Affluence: Notes on the Phenomenon of Drifter Tourism. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 14(1-2), 89-103.
- Cohen, E. (1974). Who is a Tourist? A Conceptual Clarification. *Sociology*, 22(4), 527-555.
- Denzin, N. K. (1991). *Images of Postmodern Society: Social Theory and Contemporary Cinema*, London: Sage Publications.

- Donnelly, M. P. & Vaske, J. J. (1997). Factors Influencing Membership in a Tourism Promotion Authority. *Journal of Travel Research*, 35(4):50-55.
- Homans, G. C. (1961). *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Knoke, D. (1985). The Political Economics of Association. *Research in Political Sociology*, 1, 211-42.
- Knoke, D. & Write-Isak, C. (1982). Individual Motives and Organizational Incentive Systems. *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, 1, 209-254.
- Lash, S. & Urry, J. (1987). *The End of Organized Capitalism*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Lash, S. & Urry, J. (1994). *Economics of Signs and Space*, London: Sage Publications.
- McCarthy, J. D. & Zald, M. N. (1977). Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82(6), 1212-1241.
- Mittelberg, D. (1988). *Strangers in Paradise: The Israeli Kibbutz Experience*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.
- Munt, I. (1994). The "Other" Postmodern Tourism: Culture, Travel and the New Middle Class. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 11, 101-123.
- Olsen, M. (1965). *The Logic of Collective Action*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Pizam, A., Uriely, N. & Reichel, A. (2000). "The Intensity of Tourist-Host Social Relationship and its Effect on Satisfaction and Change of Attitudes: The Case of Working Tourists in Israel". *Tourism Management*, 21(4), 395-406.
- Rich, R. C. (1980). The Dynamics of Leadership in Neighborhood Organizations. *Social Science Quarterly*, 60, 570-587.
- Rojek, C. (1995). *Decentering Leisure Theory*, London: Sage Publications.
- Uriely, N. & Reichel, A. (2000). Working Tourists in Israel and Their Attitudes Toward Hosts. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(2), 267-284.
- Uriely, N. (2001). Touring Workers and Working Tourists: Variations Across the Interaction Between Work and Tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 3(1), 1-8.
- Urry, J. (1990). *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, London: Sage Publications.