The Overland Hippie Trail to India and Nepal in the 1960s and 1970s: A Comparison with Contemporary Backpacking

Submitted by

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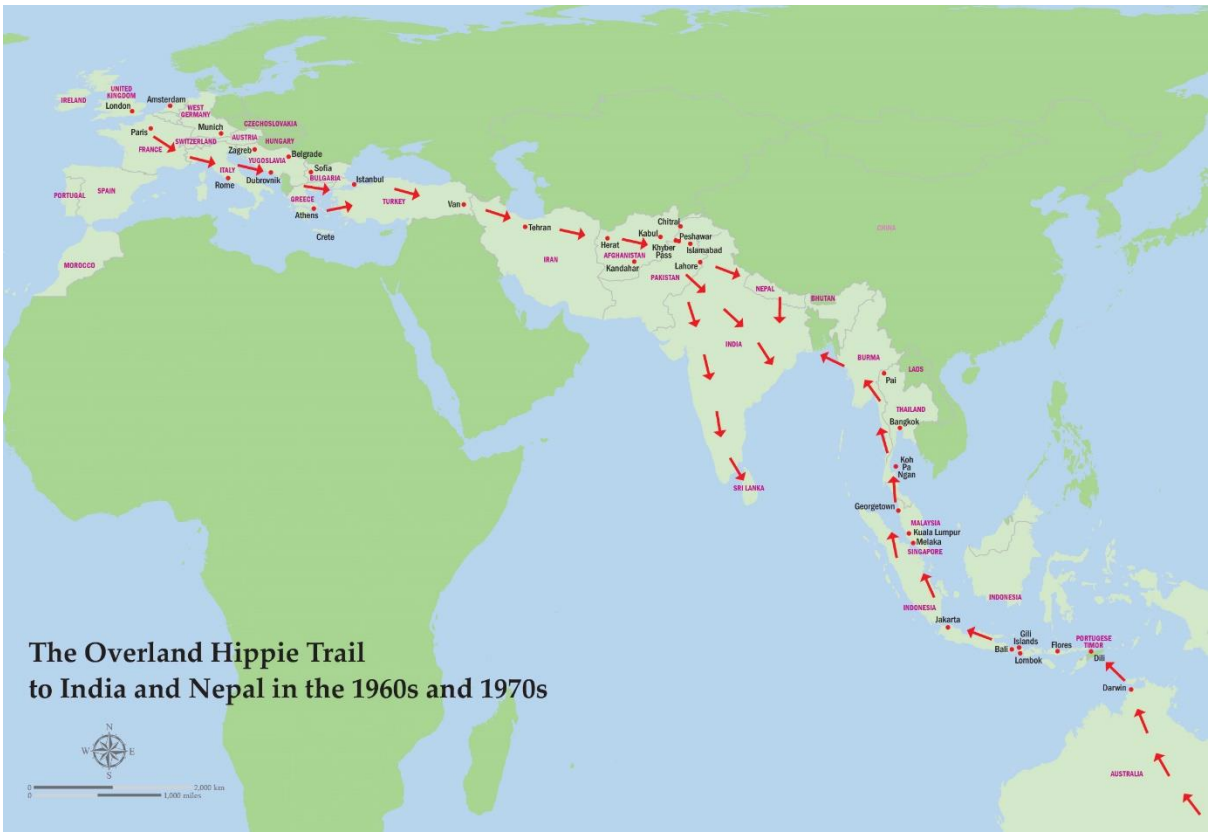
MAPS:

Route Map of the Overland Hippie Trail in the 1960s and 1970s:



Map of Popular Overland Trail Destinations in the Indian Subcontinent:

Abstract:

This thesis explores continuity and change in the motivations of travellers to India and Nepal. The thesis contrasts interviews with 70 independent 1960s and 1970s Western travellers on the 'Overland Hippie Trail' with interviews with 80 contemporary Western travellers. The analysis is framed across six (Weberian) ideal types exploring people's motives for travel to India and Nepal in the recent past and present: 1. Disillusion with the West, 2. Intrigue with the East, 3. Transit, 4. Adventure, 5. Heightened Status, and 6. Familiarity with India. One surprising conclusion of this study is that travel motivations of backpackers on the Indian Subcontinent have remained remarkably similar. The exception is 'Transit'.

These findings are counter-intuitive. The 1960s and 1970s were a different era. Attitudes, outlooks, fashions and tastes have changed since, yet travel motivations (at least to India and Nepal) have remained similar. Backpacking is now a common experience for young Westerners, whereas during the Overland Hippie Trail era it was associated with an unusual counter-culture. While contemporary backpackers are 'normal' nowadays, the Hippie Trail travellers were seen as a minority 'anti-establishment' group. Many elements of Indian culture are now widely available in the contemporary West, whereas the Overland Trail Generation had to travel to experience them. So why do so many continue to travel East today, and why do they still cite the same travel motives as their Hippie Trail predecessors?

The more things change, …the more they stay the same. These findings suggest that while backpacking is evolving rapidly elsewhere, backpacking in India remains a unique phenomenon with its own subculture. Western travellers to India, past and present, still share an Orientalist view of timeless India. The exotic and mystical prevail.

Statement of Authorship:

Except where reference is made in the test of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis. This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

Grant Szuveges, 25 February 2020

Human Ethics:

All research procedures reported in the thesis were approved by the relevant Ethics Committee, Safety Committee or authorised officer.

Interviews were conducted for this thesis under the approval of the La Trobe University Human Ethics Committee, Approval Number 2021-13.

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CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction:

'The Overland Hippie Trail', also known as the 'Hippie Highway' or 'Road to Kathmandu' refers to the popular, and highly romanticized, transnational travel movement involving an overland journey to India or Nepal from the developed world. The movement began in the mid-1960s and ended abruptly in 1979 in a significantly changed world. Over that fifteen year period, The Overland Hippie Trail played an important role in the shift of consciousness and spiritual awakening of the West.

I completed an Honours Thesis in 2014 on the Overland Hippie Trail. It explored the views of just 38 travellers who only travelled during the 1960s and 1970s.[1] The work in this PhD study builds on my exploratory 2014 Honours study. Sub-sections of this thesis discussing the route (Chapter 4) and celebrities (Chapter 6, Section 7) still draw lightly on my 2014 work.

2,1. The Overland Hippie Trail and contemporary backpacking:

The Overland Trail triggered the modern backpacking movement – a transnational mass movement which became more mainstream with each passing year. As explained by scholar Agnieszka Sobocinska (2014), "Tourism scholars have established that contemporary backpacking was born along the Hippie Trail."[2]

If the Overland Trail could be compared to any other travel movement, the closest is the Continental European 'Grand Tour' of the 17th and 18th centuries, when wealthy

[1] Grant Szuveges, *The Overland Hippie Trail to India and Nepal in the 1960s and 1970s*, Honours Thesis (La Trobe University, 2014).
[2] Agnieszka Sobocinska, 'Following the "Hippie Sahibs": Colonial cultures of travel and the Hippie Trail', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer 2014), 2.

young Englishmen travelled en masse to classical sites in Italy and Greece.[3] As noted by author Rory Maclean, "Both groups aimed to learn and extract pleasure from 'the foreign'. Most of all, they travelled to be transformed."[4]

The Grand Tour only shaped a generation of the aristocracy. The Overland Trail, however, was largely egalitarian. While working class people had flocked in droves to the seaside for decades[5], the Overland Trail was the first time an entire generation of young people from all socio-economic backgrounds had the opportunity to undertake a long international journey. Interviewee Michael Mayers concluded, with evident irony, "We might claim to be the first free mass movement of young people from the west to the east since the Crusades."[6] Gemie and Ireland (2017) explained that those travelling the trail formed a mass movement of Westerners travelling East to learn rather than to criticise or exploit.[7] "Put simply, they travelled between the Age of Imperialism and the Age of Islamophobia; they were not aiming to build empires, to exploit natives, to convert non-believers or to wage war on terror. Their travels could be seen as the largest, longest pacifist demonstration in history."[8] Counterculture historian Jonathon Green, however, explained that when considering the all too frequent excesses and disasters, the trail could be compared (and not favourably) with the *Children's Crusade* of the thirteenth century.[9]

Comparisons have also been made between the Grand Tour and contemporary backpacking by scholars such as Loker-Murphy and Pearce (1995), Stephenson Shaffer (2004), and Scott Cohen (2011).[10] Caprioglio O'Reilly (2006) explained that

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[3] Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 1-16; Scott Cohen, 'Reconceptualising Lifestyle Travellers: Contemporary 'Drifters', in Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann (eds.), *Beyond Backpacker Tourism: Mobilities and Experiences* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010), 65; Rory Maclean, *Magic Bus: On The Hippie Trail From Istanbul To India* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 12; Renee Rogers, 'Prelude to the Journey', *Letters from the Hippie Trail: Overland Travel from Europe through Asia 1977-1982* (First published USA: Self published on Kindle 2012, republished Kindle Books Edition, 2016), [no page numbers].
[4] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 12-13.
[5] John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze:* Second Edition (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 16-26.
[6] Michael Mayers, interview with author, via email, July 4, 2014.
[7] Sharif Gemie and Brian Ireland, *The Hippie Trail: A History, 1957-78* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 149.
[8] Ibid., 27.
[9] Jonathon Green, *All Dressed Up: The Sixties and the Counterculture* (Great Britain: Pimlico, 1999), 224.
[10] Laurie Loker-Murphy and Philip L. Pearce, 'Young Budget Travellers: Backpackers in Australia', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (1995), 820-821; Tracy Stephenson Shaffer, 'Performing Backpacking: Constructing "Authenticity" Every Step of the Way, *Text and Performance Quarterly*,

backpacking, like the Grand Tour, is a form of education: travellers attain desirable attributes though exposure to a classic culture.[11] She emphasized that reference is commonly made to the educational nature of travel even by those not aware of the Grand Tour: Educational experiences, the forming of character, and the making of a more cultured individual are all used as reasons offered to friends, family and future employers as to why one has travelled.[12]

Both the Hippie Trail and contemporary backpacking are *transnational* phenomena. They cannot easily be studied through the lens of any specific nation state. Instead, the travellers and their journeys have been examined in this project through a transnational lens. The transnational approach is discussed in further detail in Section 7 of this chapter.

As a history thesis, rather than a tourism industry study, the primary purpose of this thesis is to study the travel motivations of travellers who travelled the Overland Hippie Trail in the 1960s and 1970s. The contemporary cohort of travellers interviewed for this project have been used as a point of contrast (with the Overland Trail era travellers) in order to examine whether independent budget travel on the Indian Subcontinent is still the same as it was during the Overland Hippie Trail era and to determine what has changed about it since the 1970s. While the contemporary backpackers provide an important contrast and comparison, the main focus of this study has always been the travel motivations of the Overland Hippie Trail travellers.

This research project contrasts the travel *motivations* of travellers who undertook the 'Overland Hippie Trail' to India and Nepal in the 1960s and 1970s with those of *a snapshot* of contemporary backpackers travelling *specifically* in India and/or Nepal since January 1st, 2014. The project examines parallels, similarities and differences between the travel motivations of the two groups. The major primary source material for this project consists of interviews conducted by the researcher with 70 travellers who undertook the Overland Hippie Trail between 1960 and 1979 as well as with 80 travellers backpacking in India and/or Nepal since the beginning of 2014.

Vol. 24, No. 2 (April 2004), 140; Scott A. Cohen, 'Lifestyle Travellers: Backpacking as a Way of Life', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (2011), 1543.

[11] Camille Caprioglio O'Reilly, 'From Drifter To Gap Year Tourist: Mainstreaming Backpacker Travel', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (2006), 1004.

[12] Ibid.

2.2: A Western phenomenon:

In recent years there has been a rise in numbers of non-Western backpackers, especially from China. However, travel along the Overland Hippie Trail of the 1960s and 1970s was a purely Western phenomenon, with the overwhelming majority of travellers along the trail hailing from Europe, Australasia and North America. In order to create a like for like comparison with contemporary backpacking, I have only studied and interviewed contemporary backpackers from Western countries for this project. As I've expanded on in Chapter 3, Section 4.5, I have only interviewed travellers in the contemporary era from the countries of those who travelled the Overland Trail in the 1960s and 1970s. Contemporary backpackers from countries such as China, Israel and Russia have not been interviewed for this project.

2.3: A focus specifically on India and Nepal:

The key questions asked in this project are 'How similar were the travel motivations of the two groups?', 'Were they the same or were they different?', and 'If they were different, how were they different from each other?'. Lastly, and most importantly, I'd like to emphasize that my focus on contemporary backpackers concentrates on those backpacking specifically in India and Nepal. As explained in Section 6.2 of this chapter, the backpacking phenomenon on the Indian Subcontinent is a unique phenomenon. The travel motivations of backpackers backpacking in Europe, Australasia or South East Asia, while relevant and offering clues, are less important to this project. These travellers and their trips differ from those backpacking on the Indian Subcontinent. For example, in Loker-Murphy's (1997) study of backpackers in Australia, the average age of those Loker-Murphy studied was 25 years old.[13] The average age of the contemporary backpackers interviewed for this project was 30, indicating that independent travel to the Indian Subcontinent is something generally undertaken after previous backpacking in 'easier' or more familiar settings to Westerners. This concept is discussed at greater length in Chapter 9, Section 4.2. Answering the question 'Why are travellers travelling to India and Nepal?' is far more important to me than answering the question 'Why are travellers backpacking?'

[13] Laurie Loker-Murphy, 'Backpackers in Australia: A Motivation-Based Segmentation Study', *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (1997), 30.

The idea of a comparison between travellers from both eras specifically travelling in India and Nepal is based on the fact that India and Nepal were the key destinations on the Overland Hippie Trail. A comparison between Overland Trail travellers and contemporary backpackers who have backpacked in South East Asia, Europe or Australasia would not provide an appropriate comparison between the travel motivations from the two eras. Backpacking has diversified greatly since its inception. Backpackers can no longer all be seen as one group. Backpackers travelling to Europe for example, have different experiences and different travel motivations to travellers who travel to India. Like-for-like comparison is the motive of this study.

2.4: An unofficial phenomenon:

Defining a transnational phenomenon such as the Overland Hippie Trail is extremely difficult. It has so many unclear parameters and aspects. As discussed at length in Chapter 4, Sections 1 and 2, neither the route of the trail itself is easily defined, nor are the beginnings and ends of the trail, nor even which countries may or may not be included in the definition. The major obstacle for scholars, as noted by Gemie and Ireland (2017), in their recently published history of the trail, is that the trail had no official existence:

> There is an odd issue that we face when writing a history of the hippie trail and its travellers: the trail had no official existence. No ceremony marked its opening or its collapse; no flag identified its territory; no organisation directed its travellers; no leader wrote its manifesto; no prominent philosophers attempted to make sense of it; no major novelists have written about it; and no archive has been created to preserve its memory. In order to identify it, we need to impose our own parameters…[14]

2.5: Weberian 'ideal types':

As the Overland Hippie Trail was an unofficial phenomenon there are no existing models available from which to begin a study of it. An artificial construct is needed. To examine the travel motivations of travellers, I needed a framework from which to 'sort out' or 'organise' specific travel motivations. Renowned sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920) coined the term 'ideal types' to explain entities constructed hypothetically by an

[14] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail:*, 2.

investigator from existing elements, in order to make comparisons and develop theoretical explanations.[15]

The 'six travel motivations' discussed in this thesis (1. Disillusion with the West, 2. Intrigue with the East, 3. Transit, 4. Adventure, 5. Heightened Status, and 6. Familiarity with India) are ideal types I created to investigate why travellers travelled. Weber explained, "it is convenient for the sociologist from time and to time to employ average types of an empirical statistical character, concepts which do not require methodological discussion."[16] These six ideal types do not require methodological discussion because they are 'typical' motivations of travellers, and as Weber explained, "when reference is made to "typical" cases, the term should always be understood, unless otherwise stated, as meaning *ideal* types … constructed with a view to adequacy on the level of meaning."[17] While Weberian ideal types are artificial constructs, I'm using them because they appear to be the most accurate way of comparing the data collected, and explaining this data.

The six ideal types I created were not given equal attention as some warranted more attention than others. Some of these travel motivations were cited as travel motivations by many interviewees and others by fewer interviewees. They were not always mutually exclusive either. Some (such as the 'Lure of the East') contained more insights into the travellers than others (such as 'Transit') and provided more data for me to analyse. Subsequently, those with more insights have been given more attention in this thesis.

The first two ideal types involve push and pull factors of the West and East respectively. However, I feel that the other four ('Transit', 'Adventure', 'Heightened Status' and 'Familiarity') do not adequately fit into either the push or pull categories. Some interviewees even stated that they felt these push and pull factors had been exaggerated in the narrative of the Overland Hippie Trail. Instead, I felt that these ideal types addressed the question 'Why India?' (as opposed to anywhere else).

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[15] Julius Gould, 'ideal types', in Alan Bullock and Stephen Tombley (eds.), *The New Fontana Dictionary Of Modern Thought* Third Edition (Great Britain: HarperCollins*Publishers*, 1999), 412.
[16] Max Weber, *Economy And Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1978; first published: Germany, Marianne Weber, 1922), 20.
[17] Ibid.

For example, one could conceive *heightened status* only as a pull factor, however it was not pulling travellers to India or pushing them out of the West. I view it as a motivation in itself which warranted its own entity as an ideal type. Similarly, I felt that if *adventure* was a push or pull factor it would have pushed or pulled travellers in all directions rather than just to India.

On the surface, *intrigue with the East* and *familiarity with India* seem closely related. However, they are polar opposites of one another. The lures of the East refer to that which made India different from the West, while familiarity refers to the shared commonalities between India and the West.

'Intrigue with the East' relates to the aspects of Indian or Eastern culture that Westerners had little exposure to or knew little about and which interested them. Examples include spiritual pursuits, meditation and yoga, Eastern religions, Indian cuisine etcetera.

'Familiarity with India' refers to the aspects of India and Indian culture which Westerners understood and were familiar with. These aspects made a journey to India comfortable, reassuring and easier to manage. Examples include English being widely spoken in India, and aspects of British culture left from the British Colonial era including cricket, the railway system and British cuisine.

These six categories of motivation appear to have 'passed the sniff test': Duncan Campbell, wrote in *Ink*, about six types of traveller travelling the trail: 1. *The One Way Trip*, involving sensible and purposeful travellers travelling to Australia (presumably from Britain) to make money. They may smoke cannabis, but will shave their beards off when arriving in Australia. 2. *The Dope Trip*, involving those who travelled to indulge in drugs. 3. *The Wheeler-Dealer Trip*, involving those who travelled to purchase exotic goods (including Afghan jackets, beads, drugs, etcetera) to sell back home, 4. *The Religious Trip* (self explanatory), 5. *The Cultural Trip*, involving those studying sitar or learning Sanskrit etcetera and who looked down on those consuming drugs or obsessed with religion, and 6. *The Other Trip*, involving travellers who wear Indian clothing, eat with their hands, smoke drugs, have learned a few words of Hindi,

take a cursory interest in gurus, have read Hermann Hesse and listen to Ravi Shankar.[18] The motivations of Type 1 (*The One Way Trip*) clearly fall under the Transit category, while the motivations of Campbell's other five types of traveller all fall under the Lure of the East category.

Most of these six travel motivations are still clearly present in contemporary backpackers travelling on the Indian Subcontinent, although the specifics within each motivation have changed between the generations. These shifts and continuities are the subject of this thesis. To understand the motivations of travellers of both the Overland Hippie Trail era and the contemporary backpacking era in India, their respective collective narratives must be examined.

3.1. The collective narrative of the Overland Trail Generation:

While humans have always travelled, some types of journeys shape the societies of those who undertake them. The Overland Trail was one of these. Due to specific external factors in the political and social climate of the West at the time, the Overland Trail became romanticized.

A collective narrative about the Overland Hippie Trail exists among those who undertook the journey during the 1960s and 1970s. Championed by authors such as Rory Maclean and others, this narrative is construed as a countercultural collective of travellers disillusioned with the West and intrigued by the East. In real terms, this narrative, shared by many Overland Trail Generation travellers, suggests that the primary travel motivations for those on the road were an escape not only from the (aggressive) politics and (dull) lifestyles of their home countries in the West, but also from the discrimination they faced within their own societies for not conforming. These disenchantments were coupled with a keen interest in all that India and Nepal had to offer, including spirituality, Eastern religions, drugs and sex.

These stereotypes have been significantly overplayed and even romanticised within this constructed narrative of those who travelled, and particularly from those who have

[18] Duncan Campbell, in Jonathon Green, *All Dressed Up: The Sixties and the Counterculture* (Great Britain: Pimlico, 1999), 225-226.

reported on the Overland Hippie Trail phenomenon in secondary sources. According to author Rory Maclean:

> With rainbow patches on their jeans … the travellers hung out at the first hostels, played guitars together on the steps of the Blue Mosque, smoked hubble-bubbles under cypress trees before driving their battered VW Campers and Morris Minors on to the rusty Bosphorus ferry.[19]

Travel writer Peter Moore offered:

> Ask any ageing hippy – they're the ones wielding extraordinary power in large law firms and banks – and they'll tell you that the greatest trip was the overland journey from London to the East, circa 1967. A guy could grab a chick – hell, he could grab three or four if he wanted to – and head off on a long, laidback odyssey to India and Nepal and Thailand and other places people only ever saw in *National Geographic*. Along the way he'd find enlightenment, a brightly coloured shirt to match the amulet he bought from a gypsy in Camden market, and, if he was really lucky, a kilo of hash for the price of a packet of crisps.[20]

Both statements mislead. The primary source accounts examined throughout this project tell a very different story: not one traveller interviewed by the author mentioned wearing rainbow patches on their jeans. Many travellers did smoke, but not all. Less than half the travellers interviewed drove their own vehicles along the trail, and of those that did, none specifically mentioned driving a VW camper. Not one male interviewee 'grabbed a chick' (let alone three or four) to head off on their journey. Most travelled alone. Most interviewees did not find enlightenment. Not all travellers wore 'hippie clothing'.

While my last paragraph may sound pedantic, it is important to critique the accuracy of contemporary accounts based on the myths stemming from the constructed collective narrative. The paragraphs quoted above portray a stereotypical picture of the travellers along on the trail. Many other primary sources, namely written accounts by those who actually travelled the trail emphasize the diversity of the travellers.

One such account portraying no romance whatsoever, is *The Life and Crimes of Charles Sobhraj* (1979), by Richard Neville and Julie Clarke. This disturbing account describes serial killer Charles Sobhraj's life along the Overland Trail, where he

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[19] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 10.
[20] Peter Moore, *The Wrong Way Home: London to Sydney the Hard Way* (Great Britain: Bantam, 1999), viii.

murdered at least a dozen travellers. As well as describing Sobhraj and his crimes, the authors give accurate descriptions of travellers who came into contact with Sobhraj, describing many as young, middle-class travellers, many of whom had worked for a year or two to make the Overland journey.[21] The diversity of travellers was also touched upon by Neville and Clarke, who explained, "There were clean-cut students on their maiden voyages, agog with breathless innocence, eager to talk politics with the locals, as well as bedraggled taciturn veterans with only a bed roll and a string of Nepalese prayer beads; junkies, executive drop-outs, and buoyantly healthy backpackers, everyone in perpetual motion."[22] This quote portrays a more realistic picture of the travellers along the trail than the romanticised portrayals by authors in later years such as Maclean and Moore.

While disillusionment with the West and intrigue with the East were certainly genuine travel motivations for many travellers from the Overland Trail Generation, this constructed narrative overlooks the other four major travel motivations of those who undertook the journey – Transit, Adventure, Status and Familiarity. *Transit* (discussed in Chapter 7) refers to the travel motivation of those travellers who were simply travelling the trail via India to get from Europe to Australasia or vice versa. *Adventure* (discussed in Chapter 8) is self-explanatory. *Status* (discussed in Chapter 9) refers to those who travelled to India or Nepal with the mindset that doing so would be seen as a badge of honour among their peers, giving them bragging rights and an increased social standing back home and even abroad. *Familiarity* (discussed in Chapter 10) as a travel motivation refers to travelling to India or Nepal due to familiarity with one or more aspects of Indian or Nepalese culture or society.

Disillusionment with the West and intrigue with the East are certainly the most noted travel motivations, however they only reveal part of the story. While 26 of 70 travellers interviewed identified a level of disillusion with the West, and 46 of 70 identified with being intrigued by the East, 32 of 70 were also in transit between Australasia and Europe or Britain. Additionally, 20 listed 'adventure' as their travel motivation, without even being prompted to speak about it. Interviewees were asked about whether they related to any form of disillusionment with the West or lure of the East. These other

[21] Richard Neville and Julie Clarke, *The Life and Crimes of Charles Sobhraj* (London and Sydney: Pan Books, 1979), 76.
[22] Ibid., 171.

major travel motivations mentioned regularly by individuals interviewed for this project have been omitted from the constructed narrative of the Overland Trail Generation.

The narrative that young Western hippies of the 1960s and 1970s were completely jaded by their own societies and travelled en masse to India and Nepal in search of a better life is pervasive nonetheless. Collective narratives even exist *within* the narratives: For example, regarding the lure of the East (discussed in Chapter 6), the constructed narrative suggests that travellers were in search of spiritual experiences, Eastern religion, sex and drugs, yet fails to mention other, less glamorous and less stereotypical lures, such as food, nature, and low costs of living. Similarly, narratives involving disillusion with the West (discussed in Chapter 5) revolved around 'spectacular' or glorified disillusionment with Western politics – particularly the Vietnam War and the suppression of protesters by many Western governments during the late 1960s. However, these narrative constructions underplay the extent of the more 'boring' disillusionment with Western lifestyles revolving around nine-to-five living.

The following sentence, again by Rory Maclean, paints a completely inaccurate picture: "In their search for answers, the original Intrepids took the time to plunge off the beaten track. Their ambition was to be transformed by the journey. Most tried to learn a smattering of Hindi, to live in a Nepalese community, to become a Buddhist."[23]

The data collected from this project does not support Maclean's assertion at all. Of the 70 Overland Trail Generation travellers interviewed by the author for this project, very few travelled off the beaten track. Most stuck to established routes along the trail, visiting places such as Kathmandu, Goa, Delhi, Kabul, Istanbul etcetera. Most were not aiming to be transformed by their journey – although some were transformed. Not one interviewee mentioned learning any Hindi or any other language during their trip. Very few lived with locals in Nepalese communities and only a few began to practice Buddhism.

Maclean's statement about disillusion with the West is more accurate than his views on the lure of the East. His account still falls way short of telling the full story however: "A generation rebelled against institutional authority, espousing communality without

[23] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 150-151.

ideology, confronting spiritual emptiness by pursuing a collective dream for self-knowledge."[24]

Once again, of the interviewees interviewed by the author for this project, very few travelled as a form of rebellion against institutional authority. More confronted what they perceived to be a spiritual emptiness. Their pursuit of self-knowledge was usually of a personal, rather than collective nature.

The less interesting and less spectacular travel motivations, not part of the popular collective narrative, are not usually omitted by travellers in a deceptive or deliberate manner. More often than not, they are simply not discussed, and perceived to be less interesting by the interviewee. While a small snippet of information may make an interviewee think 'what is so interesting about that?', these 'uninteresting' snippets are often of great use to historians examining the everyday nature of how people lived – or in the case of this project, why people travelled.

As discussed in Chapter 8, throughout the interviewing process, numerous examples became apparent, of individuals who simply wanted to travel, without any mention whatsoever of collective narrative stereotypes: Giuseppe Albero explained, "I wanted to explore the world. Live the life of an adventurer. Reach far away exotic countries."[25] Hans Roodenburg stated that he undertook the journey as a "jewel in his crown" as a long-distance hitchhiker after undertaking other long hitchhiking trips previously. He explained that the fact that the trail became a mass movement by the time he left in 1967 was simply a coincidence, and that he would've travelled the trail in any case.[26] Brooks Goddard even explained that he had no idea that the Overland Hippie Trail existed or that thousands of people were on it. He just wanted to take the long way home from Africa to the USA, so flew to India from Africa before travelling overland to Europe.[27] Travelling the trail as a form of transit between different parts of the wider world is discussed in Chapter 7. The travel motivations of these three interviewees are highly personal, and do not correspond with the picture painted by the constructed collective narrative.

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[24] Ibid., 77.
[25] Giuseppe Albero, interview with author, via email, August 16, 2015.
[26] Hans Roodenburg, interview with author, via email, February 21, 2014.
[27] Brooks Goddard, interview with author, via email, February 5, 2016.

When interviewing individuals, and collecting their personal stories, the full extent of their travel motivations becomes clear. For example, if a traveller is asked only about their disillusionment with the Vietnam War, or their search for a guru in India, the interviewee only discusses these topics. However, when asked more open-ended questions, the interviewee reveals more about their true travel motivations. What the interviewee considered uninteresting or irrelevant is often of great interest to the interviewer.

One such case was when American interviewee Judah Rosen mentioned a group of Italian travellers who flew into Goa specifically for two weeks over the Christmas period and lived in tepees amongst the travellers who had remained in Goa for longer periods.[28] While this memory was probably not that significant to the interviewee, it was highly interesting to the author, as it indicated some travellers were flying into India and staying for short periods of time. While it could be argued these travellers were 'holidaymakers' rather than 'travellers', they were not staying in resorts, but staying in tepees on the beach and travelling on a budget as 'short term backpackers'. The modern academic term for such travellers is 'backpacker plus'.[29]

Another major construction of the collective narrative involves the travellers themselves. The tropes portray them as heavily involved and invested in the counterculture. Even the name 'Overland *Hippie* Trail' implies those travelling the trail were all hippies, or at the very least, all countercultural individuals. The data from interviews however, as well as the accounts of many authors, disputes this assertion, demonstrating travellers differed in their degrees of involvement with the hippie movement and countercultural norms. During interviews and written accounts, it was common for interviewees and authors to emphasize that they were not hippies, instead identifying as travellers or sometimes not identifying with any group at all. While some travellers were particularly countercultural in their beliefs and lifestyles – and fitting with the collective narrative, others were very 'straight' or mainstream people, who conformed to most aspects and expectations of their societies. Along with these two

[28] Judah Rosen, interview with author, via Skype, May 6, 2015.
[29] Mark P. Hampton, 'Not Such a Rough or Lonely Planet? Backpacker Tourism: An Academic Journey', in Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann (eds.), *Beyond Backpacker Tourism: Mobilities and Experiences* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010), 18.

extremes, were the vast majority of travellers, who fitted in somewhere between the two bookends.

Deena Atlas explained, "We weren't all hippies who made this journey. I wasn't. I was 32 years old, separated after a 10 year marriage and had worked full time for all those years."[30] Remy Galet-Lalande felt the same way: "…in my mind I was much more square than I was a hippie."[31] Bill (surname withheld) stated, "I think probably less than half the people doing it were hippies. There were a lot of very straight, European tourists who were doing the Overland thing via Africa."[32] Perhaps the most insightful summary came from Adrian (surname withheld), who explained how mainstream the hippie subculture had become: "Well the hippie culture was straight [laughs]. It was normal. Anyone with long hair was a hippie, so I don't think it was really a counterculture as such … Yeah, it's overplayed. And also, there is a mixture. I was called a hippie but I never thought of myself as a hippie. If you have long hair you're a hippie, if you cut your hair short you're not a hippie."[33] Adrian's comments show that the concept of the hippie was far from universally agreed upon.

As mentioned earlier in this section, written accounts also support the assertion that not all travellers were hippies. Once again, Neville and Clarke provided an excellent example with their description of Laurent Carrière, a 26 year old traveller murdered by Charles Sobhraj: They described Carrière as a straight-laced Canadian specifically in Nepal to hike in the mountains, who had his trip planned out thoroughly.[34] Carrière was travelling briefly with Connie Bronzich, a 29 year old American traveller who used drugs, and who was also murdered by Sobhraj. Carrière and Bronzich were seen by other travellers as an 'odd couple'.[35] However this in itself showed that travellers mixed to some degree with each other even when they weren't necessarily similar people or on similar journeys.

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[30] Deena Atlas, interview with author, via email, May 5, 2015.
[31] Remy Galet-Lalande, interview with author, via phone, August 31, 2015.
[32] Bill (surname withheld), interview with author, Apollo Bay, February 16, 2016. Interviewees who elected not to have their surnames disclosed will be referenced by their first name followed by "(surname withheld)".
[33] Adrian (surname withheld), interview with author, Melbourne, February 23, 2016.
[34] Neville and Clarke, *Charles Sobhraj*, 231.
[35] Ibid.

A third key aspect of the collective narrative suggests that Overland Trail journeys differed significantly from those of backpackers travelling in India and Nepal in the present era. However, the following notable comparison from travel writer Peter Moore, who travelled the route of the trail 15 years later in 1994 – which was very uncommon, tells a different story:

> At breakfast the next morning I discovered the Indian backpacker scene. A tribe of tanned Westerners sat on the floor eating yoghurt and lentils. In many ways they weren't very different from the hippies of the sixties and seventies in whose footsteps I was meant to be following. They all wore baggy pants and loose cheesecloth shirts, and decorated themselves with the same assortment of bangles, anklets, necklaces and earrings. All the girls – and most of the guys – had their noses pierced. And they all looked as if they had been in India for months, maybe even years.[36]

Similarities in physical appearance however, were not the only commonalities between travellers from the two eras. While the Overland Trail Generation emphasize specific aspects of their journeys which differ from those of modern travellers (such as not flying to India, but travelling the entire distance over land), after interviewing 80 backpackers travelling in India and Nepal in the past five years, and asking them their motivations for travelling, it appears that they share the vast majority of travel motivations with the Overland Trail Generation. In fact, of the six major travel motivations of the Overland Trail Generation, only 'transit' (discussed in Chapter 7) appears to be missing amongst contemporary backpackers. This is due to technological advancements (cheaper air travel) rather than individual motivations.

As explained in Chapter 2, Section 2.2, the dozens of primary source accounts written by those who travelled the Overland Hippie Trail are extraordinarily diverse. They provide a valuable insight into the identities of the travellers and their adherence to, or distance from, established narratives.

4.1. The collective narrative of contemporary backpackers:

Contemporary backpackers also share a collective narrative, based on their self-perception as independent, conscientious 'travellers', surviving on minimal funds and travelling to undiscovered destinations in their quest for authenticity and the exotic. Their collective narrative portrays them as different from everyday people in their home

[36] Moore, *The Wrong Way Home*, 222.

societies: more adventurous, more curious and more open minded about the wider world.

This collective narrative is a more recent narrative. It has not had 40 years in which to develop, evolve and romanticise its legend as the collective narrative of the Overland Trail Generation has done. Sorenson (2003) explained that the backpacker is a socially constructed identity.[37] Caprioglio O'Reilly (2006) described backpackers as an imagined community, explaining that views commonly expressed in backpacker discourse include the sense of sharing more in common with fellow travellers than fellow nationals, a sense of freedom gained through travel, feelings of common humanity, an urge to see the world, the belief that travel leads to self-development, and the realization that a 'big trip' has not helped to 'get travel out of their system' but rather has planted a seed encouraging them to travel even more.[38] Despite her 'imagined community' label, Caprioglio O'Reilly (2006) also acknowledged that backpackers are loosely recognisable as a group and are not as homogenous as they first appear.[39] Loker-Murphy (1997) also emphasized this point.[40]

Constructing a definition of backpackers or backpacking is not an easy task, and as acknowledged by Hampton and Hamzah (2016), there is no internationally accepted definition of the term 'backpacker'.[41] Loker-Murphy and Pearce's (1995) definition is more accurate than most: "Backpackers are travellers who exhibit a preference for budget accommodation; an emphasis on meeting other people (locals and travellers); an independently organized and flexible travel schedule; longer rather than brief holidays; and an emphasis on informal and participatory recreation activities."[42] As discussed in Chapter 9, Section 3.2, Welk (2004) formulated the five badges of honour recognised as the pillars of [contemporary] backpacker society, describing these traditions as a code of honour rather than a set of rules or obligations.[43] The five pillars

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[37] Anders Sorensen, 'Backpacker Ethnography', *Annals of Tourism Research,* Vol. 30, No. 4 (2003), 852.
[38] Caprioglio O'Reilly, 'From Drifter To Gap Year Tourist', 999.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Loker-Murphy, 'Backpackers in Australia',25.
[41] Mark P. Hampton and Amran Hamzah, 'Change, Choice, and Commercialization: Backpacker Routes in Southeast Asia', *Growth and Change,* Vol. 47, No. 4 (2016), 557.
[42] Loker-Murphy and Pearce, 'Young Budget Travellers', 830-831.
[43] Peter Welk, 'The Beaten Track: Anti-Tourism as an Element of Backpacker Identity Construction', in Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (eds.), *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2004), 79.

are: 1. To travel on a low budget, 2. To meet different people, 3. To be or to feel independent and open minded, 4. To organise one's journey individually and independently, and 5. To travel for as long as possible.[44]

While it is clear that the experiences of the Overland Trail Generation were far more diverse than their collective narrative suggests, the collective narrative of contemporary backpacking is arguably more accurate. The Contemporary Backpacker narrative itself is less romanticised. The extent to which backpackers uphold Welks' code of honour and its pillars is questionable though: Erik Cohen (2003) drew parallels between backpacking and regular tourism, emphasizing the 'backpacker circuit' and the fact that backpackers tend to remain on it.[45] As early as 1973 (long before the term 'backpacker' was used in academic writing), Cohen noted: "The drifters and the other tourists thus frequently flow along parallel geographical lines, though through segregated institutional channels."[46] He went on to explain that a separate infrastructure serving 'drifter-tourism' evolves in parallel with regular tourist infrastructure.[47] Cohen equated backpacker enclaves with tourist resorts, pointing out that backpackers spend much, perhaps even *most* of their time in and around enclaves, in the same way that mass tourists spend most of their holiday in vacationing resorts.[48] He also explained, "Only a minority of backpackers travel off the beaten backpacker tracks, or spend much of their time staying with local people."[49] Cohen also discussed the ideals of the contemporary backpacker: "While the drifter remains the model for the backpacker, few backpackers seek to realise it in practice, or show great concern for profoundly 'authentic' experiences of sites, events or people on their trip."[50] Spreitzhofer (1998) declared that backpacking appeared to be budget mass-tourism, and that the image of the 'anti-tourist' backpacker can no longer be maintained.[51]

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[44] Ibid., 80.
[45] Erik Cohen, 'Backpacking: Diversity and Change', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (2003), 98.
[46] Erik Cohen, 'Nomads from Affluence: Notes on the Phenomenon of Drifter-Tourism', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 14, No. 1-2 (1973), 95.
[47] Ibid., 96.
[48] Cohen, 'Backpacking: Diversity and Change', 98.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Guenter Spreitzhofer, 'Backpacking Tourism in South-East Asia', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (1998), 984.

While Welk (2004) stated that backpacking is a temporary escape from a regular conformist life,[52] this is not true of all backpackers. The notion that backpackers are an homogenous group is inaccurate. Scott Cohen (2011) discussed the specific group within backpacking called 'Lifestyle Travellers', describing them as a distinct subtype within backpacker tourism, and as travellers who make tourism an everyday thing.[53] These travellers travel as a lifestyle for years on end.[54] Cohen (2011) described his interviewees' outlook as follows: "Indeed, the participants did not view their backpacking as casual drifting, but as movements imbued with purpose and meaning. This emic primacy given to the notion of lifestyle in their accounts adds empirical leverage to lifestyle travel as a distinct social identity."[55] The lifestyle travellers interviewed by Cohen for his project in India and Thailand typically spent time in the West working casually to earn money to spend the rest of their time backpacking in the East.[56] Lifestyle travellers blended ideals and values of the backpacker subculture into their identities and value systems.[57] Many of the Contemporary Backpacker interviewees interviewed during this project could be described as Lifestyle Travellers.

Hannam and Diekmann (2010), Jarvis and Peel (2010) and Paris (2012) discussed another specific type of backpacker – the emerging sub-culture within backpacking of 'flashpackers' – backpackers who are generally older, have a higher disposable income and travel as backpackers by choice rather than by necessity, travelling with communication devices.[58] Flashpackers are lifestyle travellers, who blur the boundaries between home and travel.[59] They are hypermobile and embody the culture and ideals of backpacking as well as the ongoing convergence of technology and daily life.[60] Flashpackers often have a higher travel expenditure than regular backpackers and rely

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[52] Welk, 'The Beaten Track', 85.
[53] S. Cohen, 'Lifestyle Travellers', 1536-1537.
[54] Ibid., 1535.
[55] Ibid., 1543.
[56] Ibid., 1540-1542.
[57] Ibid., 1550-1551.
[58] Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann, 'From Backpacking to Flashpacking: Developments in Backpacker Tourism Research', in Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann (eds.), *Beyond Backpacker Tourism: Mobilities and Experiences* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010), 1-2; Jeff Jarvis and Victoria Peel, 'Flashpacking in Fiji: Reframing the 'Global Nomad' in a Developing Destination', in Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann (eds.), *Beyond Backpacker Tourism: Mobilities and Experiences* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010), 21-22; Cody Morris Paris, 'Flashpackers: An Emerging Sub-Culture?', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2012), 1095.
[59] Paris, 'Flashpackers', 1110.
[60] Ibid.

on the use of technology more than regular backpackers.[61] While over 90% of backpackers in Paris' 2008 study carried a digital camera, only 14% of regular backpackers carried a laptop computer, as opposed to 75% of flashpackers in the same study.[62] Although their use of technology sets them apart, flashpackers share the cultural understanding of backpacking with other backpackers.[63] Interestingly, the use of technology amongst regular backpackers appears to have increased enormously since Paris' study ten years ago, and it appears that most backpackers now rely on technological communication devices such as mobile phones and laptop computers. As backpackers increasingly use technology, it could be argued that flashpacking has been swallowed up into the mainstream of backpacking, or even that backpacking has been swallowed up by flashpacking!

5.1. Shared collective narratives of the Overland Trail Generation and contemporary backpackers:

A shared collective narrative, espoused by both the Overland Trail Generation and contemporary backpackers is the simple fancy that they were not, and still are not, tourists. As noted by Gemie and Ireland (2017), almost all travellers of the Overland Trail defined themselves as not being tourists.[64] Author, Jack Parkinson, who undertook a journey along the trail in the 1970s, noted that 'tourist' was the label overland trail travellers rejected above all others.[65] Transnational scholar, Jon Piccini (2016), even explained that the term 'tourist' was the most derogatory label possible to the globally mobile 1960s youth culture.[66] A case in point involved a story told by author and self-confessed 'Goa Freak', Cleo Odzer: After arriving at Anjuna Beach, Goa, Odzer met a traveller she had previously met in Greece who said to her that he had assumed she was just a vacationer (as opposed to a 'traveller', 'hippie' or 'Goa Freak') – an assumption which made Odzer extremely offended. She stated, "A vacationer! He called me a vacationer. I was crushed. That was like calling me a nine-to-fiver, a worker, a peasant."[67] Her need to fit in and not be seen as a tourist was clearly important to her,

[61] Hannam and Diekmann, 'From Backpacking to Flashpacking', 2; Paris, 'Flashpackers', 1095-1096.
[62] Paris, 'Flashpackers', 1101.
[63] Hannam and Diekmann, 'From Backpacking to Flashpacking', 2; Paris, 'Flashpackers', 1109.
[64] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 25.
[65] Jack Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven: Rites of Way on the Overland Route* (Port Melbourne: Government of South Australia through Arts South Australia, 2001), 19.
[66] Jon Piccini, *Transnational Protest, Australia and the 1960s* (Palgrave Macmillan Limited, 2016), 82.
[67] Cleo Odzer, *Goa Freaks: My Hippie Years in India* (New York: Blue Moon Books, 1995), 20-21.

and she explained, "I'd die if I reached the end of the beach without finding a place to sit. That would brand me a tourist, new to the scene. I was NOT a vacationer."[68] Similarly, contemporary backpacker 'Jon' from Britain (interviewed by Muzaini), stated: "No, I am not a tourist. I do not want to be linked with the packaged tourists who go to one country for a few days, cover many attractions to mark off their list to visit in the country, take photographs with them in it, and buy tons of souvenirs as proof that they have been there. I am not like that at all. I don't do those things. I am a local traveler."[69] Backpackers interviewed by Currie et al. (2011) also had a strong animosity towards other tourists.[70]

This part of the narrative, however, is factually incorrect. While neither group travelled as 'mass tourists', both groups were tourists. As explained by Welk (2004), backpackers disassociate with other tourists along ideological lines.[71] Currie et al. (2011) described this disassociation as part of a strive for a fuller tourism experience.[72] Backpackers generally reserve the term 'tourists' to describe package tourists despite the fact that backpacking resembles conventional tourism.[73]

Despite not identifying as tourists, the Overland Trail travellers and contemporary backpackers both travelled for pleasure. Travel for pleasure is a common definition of tourism in much literature.[74] This is consistent with the definition adopted by the International Association of Scientific Experts in Tourism (AIEST), which states three distinctive elements of tourism: Involvement of travel by non-residents, stays of temporary nature in visited areas and stays not connected with activities involving earning money.[75] Based on this definition, the Overland Trail travellers were, and the contemporary backpackers are, tourists.

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[68] Ibid., 24.
[69] 'Jon', in Hamzah Muzaini, 'Backpacking Southeast Asia: Strategies of "Looking Local", *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (2006), 152.
[70] Russell R. Currie, Tamara Campbell-Trant and Sheilagh Seaton, 'Joining the in-crowd: symbols for backpacker identity', *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2011), 52.
[71] Welk, 'The Beaten Track', 78.
[72] Currie et al., 'Joining the in-crowd', 47.
[73] Caprioglio O'Reilly, 'From Drifter To Gap Year Tourist', 999-1000; Welk, 'The Beaten Track', 78-79.
[74] Erik Cohen, 'A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences', *Sociology*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1979), 179 and 198.
[75] R. Balasubramanian and T. J. Sampathkumar, 'Tourism Development in Tamil Nadu', *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 56, No. 1/4 (1995), 58-59.

Even without definitions and theory, a cursory glance at both the Overland Trail Generation travellers and contemporary backpackers suggests that very little (if anything) differentiates them from regular tourists: Gemie and Ireland (2017) told the story of a group of travellers travelling the trail in the early 1970s who recorded their journey with a Super 8 film camera. They noted that when examining the footage, there appeared to be no difference between these travellers and 'regular' tourists.[76] Similarly, as explained by Welk (2004), referencing Cohen (1973), a look at a map of the world shows that backpackers visit the same areas as other types of tourist, visiting the same sites in the same countries, but stay in different hotels, eat at different restaurants and use different forms of transport.[77] Gemie and Ireland (2017) used the Taj Mahal as a case in point to demonstrate this fact.[78] Even campgrounds are sometimes segregated with a distinct 'backpacker corner'.[79] Gemie and Ireland emphasize the important point that even though someone dislikes tourism or tourists, it does not mean that they are not a tourist themselves.[80] This opposition to 'tourism' however, is only one-way. Other tourists have no issue with backpackers – only backpackers have an issue with [other] tourists.[81] Larsen et al (2011) supported this notion, explaining there was very little difference in travel motivations between backpackers and other tourists.[82] In their 2011 study, backpackers and mainstream tourists shared similar travel motivations in four of the six categories examined.[83]

While backpackers frequently disassociate themselves from other tourists, backpacking (like other forms of tourism, and unlike the hippie counter culture of the 1960s and 1970s) is now mainstream.[84] As explained by Welk (2004), the lines between backpackers and other types of tourists have become blurred.[85] For this reason, some backpackers are also disassociating themselves from backpacking too, as it becomes more mainstream, with some disliking other backpackers even more than they dislike

[76] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 99.
[77] Cohen, 'Nomads from Affluence', 95; Welk, 'The Beaten Track', 86.
[78] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 125-126.
[79] Welk, 'The Beaten Track', 86.
[80] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 106.
[81] Welk, 'The Beaten Track', 86.
[82] Svein Larsen, Torvald Ogaard and Wibecke Brun, 'Backpackers And Mainstreamers: Realities and Myths', *Annals of tourism Research*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (2011), 701.
[83] Ibid., 698.
[84] Welk, 'The Beaten Track', 85.
[85] Ibid., 85-86.

'tourists'.[86] Many now refer to themselves as 'travellers' to differentiate themselves from backpackers and to see it as an occupation or a way of life – a sense of permanence rather than something temporary.[87] When discussing the interviews she conducted with 'alternative tourists' in India between 1986 and 1997, Kelly Davidson (2005) explained: "In fact, only four or five [of 18 interviewees] would have been happy to define their form of travel as backpacking; since this term now conjures up images of young, privileged gap-year students it has lost its cachet in budget travel circuits. Some would consider this term an insult to their status as travellers."[88] To describe this phenomenon, Wilson and Richards (2004), coined the term 'backpacker angst'.[89]

Both the Overland Trail Generation and contemporary backpackers subscribe to collective narratives of their respective travelling experiences. Some of the six travel motivations fit in comfortably with these collective narratives, such as a feeling of disillusionment with the West or a feeling of intrigue towards the East. Some of the other travel motivations, such as travelling for status, or travelling due to familiarity with the destination do not fit in well with these collective narratives, and in some ways even hinder them.

6.1. The contribution to the gap in academic knowledge:

As explained in Chapter 2, Section 2.2, in recent years, many primary source accounts have been written by those who undertook the Overland Trail, the most significant of which is David Tomory's (1996) *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu*.[90] Tomory's book is an insightful oral history account of 38 travellers who undertook the trail. A critical, non-romanticised *academic* oral history of the trail was only published in 2017, when Gemie and Ireland wrote *The Hippie Trail: A History, 1957-78*.[91] This general history, however, focuses only on the trail from Europe to India and Nepal. It is British-centric. The account neglects the trail

[86] Welk, 'The Beaten Track', 89; Cohen, 'Reconceptualising Lifestyle Travellers', 77-78.
[87] Welk, 'The Beaten Track', 89-90.
[88] Kelly Davidson, 'Alternative India: Transgressive Spaces', in Adam Jaworski and Annette Pritchard (eds.), *Discourse, Communication and Tourism* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), 35.
[89] Julie Wilson and Greg Richards, 'Backpacker Icons: Influential Literary 'Nomads' in the Formation of Backpacker Identities', in Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (eds.), *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2004), 139.
[90] David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996).
[91] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*.

heading north to India and Nepal from travellers from the Antipodes. Gemie and Ireland also focus only on the 1960s and 1970s, without mentioning contemporary backpacking. A critical, academic oral history comparing the Overland Hippie Trail with contemporary backpacking on the Indian Subcontinent and specifically examining travel motivations is yet to be written.

While travel motivations of backpackers have been studied previously, these studies have focused on backpackers in general. These studies overlook how backpackers are a diverse group. In his (2010) chronology of backpacking, scholar Mark Hampton argued, "there is an overdue need for comparative studies of backpacker tourism across different regions of the world."[92] As explained in Chapter 9, Section 4.2, backpackers travelling in India are rather different to their counterparts in Thailand for example – a country seen as a far 'easier' destination to travel in, and one which does not attract the badge of honour that travelling on the Indian Subcontinent does.[93]

6.2: Travelling in India – a unique phenomenon:

In my view the backpacking phenomenon on the Indian Subcontinent is unique, and quite unlike backpacking elsewhere. Many trends and norms of worldwide backpacking do not apply (at least not to the same extent) to backpacking in India. The exceptionalism seems to stem not from India itself, nor from Indian people or society, but from the perception of India through the eyes of Westerners. Positive and negative perceptions of India have both contributed to the growth and maintenance of this exceptionalism.

To explain this uniqueness, I need to refer to my experiences backpacking regularly over a fifteen-year period on the Indian Subcontinent and elsewhere. My first experience backpacking involved travelling to Europe in 2000, followed by extensive backpacking (mostly in Europe and Asia) for the next decade and a half. I first visited India and Nepal in 2005, and returned to Nepal in 2007. I backpacked again in both countries in 2013 and in 2016, the latter as field research for this project. I have travelled

[92] Hampton, 'Not Such a Rough or Lonely Planet?', 19.
[93] Klaus Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach: An Ethnography of Modern Travellers in Asia* (Bangkok: White Lotus Co, Ltd., 2002), 35.

as a backpacker in approximately fifty different countries on five continents, regularly encountering other backpackers.

Over my trips I noticed backpackers in most locations only differ slightly. ‘Backpacker scenes’ barely differ from location to location. The exception was the Subcontinent. Notable differences set the backpackers on the Indian Subcontinent apart from backpackers elsewhere.

Explaining the difference between these backpackers to the Subcontinent and the others is not possible through studying them in isolation: Studying their travel practices and outlooks only tells part of the story – because their travel practices and outlooks are quite ‘normal’ within the backpacking subculture. The major difference between the backpacking scene on the Indian Subcontinent and elsewhere are the backpackers who are *not* there.

Backpackers all behave differently. It is quite common to observe antisocial behaviour including excessive alcohol consumption, loud noise, vandalism and occasionally even physical confrontations between backpackers in other popular backpacker destinations (such as Europe, South East Asia and Australasia). These types of behaviours are displayed only by a minority of backpackers, and while I have never witnessed them on a daily basis, I have noticed them regularly enough to warrant discussion. Notably, antisocial behaviour is extremely rare amongst backpackers on the Subcontinent. India is not a destination attracting Australian ‘yobs’, British ‘chavs’, American ‘frat boys’ or their equivalents in other Western countries. These types of backpackers do not appear to relate to India. They prefer destinations with noticeable alcohol cultures. This absence of ‘yob tourism’ amongst backpacker circles in India has created a unique Indian backpacker scene unlike other popular backpacker destinations.

The absence of ‘yob tourism’ however is only one element distinguishing backpacking on the Subcontinent. Westerners’ negative attitudes towards, and perceptions of India are also important. Many travellers consider India too daunting to visit. Fear of food poisoning or other illnesses and an aversion to poverty, spicy food, crowds, heat, squat toilets, and cows on city streets (amongst other things) are commonly cited by many Westerners upon hearing that a friend or acquaintance is visiting India. Many Westerners who would willingly travel as backpackers to other

destinations remain averse to visiting India. Common negative reactions to news of a trip to India range from 'Why would you want to go there?' to 'I admire you for going, but I could never go'. One contemporary backpacker interviewee Brian Dorfling described this type of reaction from his friends in Australia: "When I tell them about going to a Vipassana course, they say "Why would you do that? It sounds shit. It's ten days without talking."[94] While many prospective backpackers are willing to 'risk' travelling to South East Asia, they still consider India as daunting.

The result of so many Westerners refusing to travel to the Indian Subcontinent is that those who do travel there are generally those prepared and willing to accept and embrace the differences between their home society and India. Spicy food or a crowded train trip are seen as an experience rather than a nightmare. In my view, this feeling of 'buying into' perceived challenges of India has created a deeper feeling of connection between travellers and their destination than in other destinations. A unique subculture has evolved within backpacker circles on the Indian Subcontinent.

While backpacking has become more mainstream worldwide, attracting a more diverse range of people, backpacking in India and Nepal has not always followed suit. It appears that while other backpacking hotspots throughout the world now attract different types of travellers to those of the 1960s and 1970s, the types of travellers visiting India and Nepal have not changed to the same extent since the Overland Trail days. While backpacking is evolving rapidly elsewhere, it remains rather 'timeless' on the Indian Subcontinent.

In this way, a large gap in the study of backpacking appears. As yet, no thorough study has compared the travel motivations of different generations of independent budget travellers *specifically in India and Nepal* across a period of sixty years.

7.1. The transnational perspective of this project:

The study of modern history has revolved around the nation state, documenting the rise, reform and fall of states within nation-centred narratives.[95] History has

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[94] Brian Dorfling, interview with author, McLeod Ganj, India, May 14, 2016.
[95] David Thelen, 'The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States History', *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 86, No. 3 (Dec., 1999), 965; Marilyn Lake, 'Nationalist Historiography, Feminist Scholarship, and the Promise and Problems of New Transnational Histories: The Australian Case', *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Spring, 2007), 180; Stefan Berger

traditionally involved defining and containing experience within national boundaries, and was vulnerable to and suspicious of ideas, people and institutions which crossed boundaries, as these identities could not easily be corralled.[96] However studying phenomena such as the Overland Hippie Trail and contemporary backpacking involves the study of people from many different nation states, travelling in various other nation states all at once. This project is a study of Australia, of Britain, of the United States, of various European states such as France and West Germany, as well as a study of India, of Nepal, of Afghanistan and many other destination lands those from the West travelled and travel through. Clearly, studying the trail and backpacking cannot be done sufficiently through a restrictive national perspective. Only a *transnational* lens can document and analyse the travellers, their destinations and their paths.

7.2. Defining Transnational History:

As explained by several scholars, *Transnational History* can be defined as the study of the flows and movements of people, commodities and ideas across national borders using the theme of exchange (of these people, commodities and ideas) across these boundaries.[97] Transnational history also involves the way people and events have been shaped by processes and relationships which transcend national boundaries.[98] The term 'transnational' can be traced back to Randolph Bourne's 1916 essay 'Trans-national America'.[99] However, in its current meaning, the term was first used by US historians

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and Holger Nehring, in Jon Piccini, *Transnational Protest, Australia and the 1960s* (Palgrave Macmillan Limited, 2016), viii.

[96] Thelen, 'The Nation and Beyond', 967.

[97] Ian Tyrrell, 'Reflections on the transnational turn in United States history: theory and practice', *Journal of Global History*, Vol. 4 (2009), 464-465; Anne Rees, 'Rebel Handmaidens: Transpacific Histories and the Limits of Transnationalism', in Anna Clark, Anne Rees and Alecia Simmonds (eds.), *Transnationalism, Nationalism and Australian History* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 50; Patricia Grimshaw, 'Transnationalism and the Writing of Australian Women's History', in Anna Clark, Anne Rees and Alecia Simmonds (eds.), *Transnationalism, Nationalism and Australian History* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 69; Stuart Macintyre, 'Reading Post-war Reconstruction Through National and Transnational Lenses', in Anna Clark, Anne Rees and Alecia Simmonds (eds.), *Transnationalism, Nationalism and Australian History* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 134; Patricia Seed, in C. A. Bayley et al., 'AHR Conversation: On Transnational History', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 111, No. 5 (December, 2006), 1443.

[98] Alecia Simmonds, Anne Rees and Anna Clark, 'Testing the Boundaries: Reflections on Transnationalism in Australian History, in Anna Clark, Anne Rees and Alecia Simmonds (eds.), *Transnationalism, Nationalism and Australian History* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 2; Ann Curthoys, 'Australian History Beyond Australia', *History Australia*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2015), 69; Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake, 'Introduction', in Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake (eds.), *Connected Worlds: Australian History in Transnational Perspective* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2006), 5.

[99] Randolph Bourne, 'Trans-national America', *Atlantic Monthly*, 118, July 1916, 86-97; Pierre-Yves Saunier, 'Learning by Doing Notes about the Making of the Palgrave *Dictionary of Transnational*

in the 1990s.[100] When designing a special issue of the *Journal of American History*, transnational historian, David Thelen (1999), wrote:

> We wanted to explore how people and ideas and institutions and cultures moved above, below, through, and around, as well as within, the nation-state, to investigate how well national borders contained or explained how people experienced history. We wanted to observe how people, moving through time and space, according to rhythms and relationships of their own, drew from, ignored, constructed, transformed, and defied claims of the nation-state.[101]

Thelen also explained that the term *transnational* connotes movement through space and time, and that the *trans* in transnationalism refers to the phenomenon moving *over, across and through* the nation state, transforming and being transformed.[102]

7.3. Transnational History and national perspectives:

As emphasized by Piccini (2016), when telling a transnational story, the complexities of the relationship between the local and the global must be understood: including how the local is situated within the global and how the global works locally.[103]

While the Overland Hippie Trail and contemporary backpacking are transnational phenomena, travellers, and those who have studied them are all from *somewhere*. As explained by Australian transnational historian Anne Rees (2017), citing examples from her own work involving transpacific travellers between Australia and the United States, different nationalities approach transnational issues from different (national) perspectives.[104] The nation retains a grip on our workplaces, communities and minds, and even though a subject is transnational in nature, we all still see it from our own

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History', *Journal of Modern European History*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (2008), 165; Thelen, 'The Nation and Beyond', 967; Tyrrell, 'Reflections on the transnational turn in United States history', 456.

[100] Ian Tyrrell, 'A Tale of Two Rivers: The Cooks River and the Los Angles River in Transnational and Comparative Perspective', in Anna Clark, Anne Rees and Alecia Simmonds (eds.), *Transnationalism, Nationalism and Australian History* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 17; Saunier, 'Learning by Doing Notes about the Making of the Palgrave *Dictionary of Transnational History*', 160; Simmonds, Rees and Clark, 'Testing the Boundaries', 2.

[101] Thelen, 'The Nation and Beyond', 967.

[102] Ibid., 968.

[103] Piccini, *Transnational Protest, Australia and the 1960s*, 15.

[104] Rees, 'Rebel Handmaidens', 58. Rees, an Australian, used the example of publishing in US journals and presenting at US conferences forcing her to confront the 'Australianness' of her project as well as the 'American' perspective of transnational US historians. While Rees was focused on the contribution made by transpacific travellers to Australia's reorientation from Britain towards the United States, transnational US historians were mainly interested in US imperialism.

national perspective first and foremost.[105] For example, as noted by Frank Bongiorno (2017) in regards to the 1980s peace movement, the US movement was about freezing the arms race, while the British and European equivalent was about the stationing of weapons, and the Australian version was about uranium mining and indigenous land rights.[106]

The author of this project, and many of those he interviewed, are Australian, hence this transnational project has still been undertaken (to at least some degree) from an Australian perspective. Similarly, Gemie and Ireland's (2017) history of the trail is from a British perspective and comes across as extremely British-centric. Strangely though, this concept is barely noticeable in the vast majority of primary source accounts of those who undertook the trail and wrote books about their trail experiences. This suggests that the trail (or even the notion of travel itself) should be viewed as a particularly transnational (or 'nationless') phenomenon, and that the travellers identified less with their own nations than most other people. Davidson (2005) also touched upon this idea. She explained that travel allows people to participate in activities with like minded others irrespective of nationality.[107]

As noted by transnational historian Ian Tyrrell (2017), national perspectives are also evident in *spaces* of national significance existing in *places* outside the boundaries of a nation state, with Gallipoli in Turkey one such *space* of national significance for Australians.[108] Gallipoli is of major importance to the national identities of both Turkey and Australia, and has hence become a transnational *place* despite being completely within the Turkish state.[109] In this project, India has a similar significance to the British nation, due to the long shared history between Britain and India, as discussed in Chapter 10, Section 2. This theme is important, because it indicates how travellers from different nationalities viewed India and other states along the Overland Trail, and their journeys there.

7.4. Criticisms of the transnational approach:

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[105] Ibid., 61-62.
[106] Frank Bongiorno, 'Australia's 1980s in Transnational Perspective', in Anna Clark, Anne Rees and Alecia Simmonds (eds.), *Transnationalism, Nationalism and Australian History* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 113.
[107] Davidson, 'Alternative India', 36-37.
[108] Tyrrell, 'A Tale of Two Rivers', 21.
[109] Ibid.

As emphasized by Tyrrell (2009) and Bongiorno (2013), critics of transnational history argue that it marginalises the nation state, neglecting the power of nationalism, and the fact that the state holds sovereignty as well as the key to the identities of citizens.[110] These criticisms seem to miss the very point of the transnational approach: As stated by Tyrrell, it is a misconception to measure these relationships off as factors to be weighed against each other.[111] Bongiorno added that the real concern of transnational history is actually with the processes, conjunctures and institutions that cross the borders of nations and states.[112] Putnam (2016) emphasized that transnational history involves examining transfers and connections across borders, highlighting their importance and taking seriously both the borders and the connections simultaneously.[113] As explained by Struck et al., (2011) transnational history does not deemphasize the nation, but rather it adds further perspectives to the nation.[114] National identities do not exist in isolation from other identities,[115] and as stated by Thelen (1999), scholars now share Bourne's (1916) vision that individuals have multiple identities and that the nation-state constrains people from expressing their full humanity.[116] This is important because the travellers defined themselves by far more than their nationalities: some identified as spiritual seekers, some as drug users, others as adventurers, and others still as 'hippies' or 'freaks', or with other subcultures transcending national lines.

7.5. Transnational social movements:

The transnational lens is particularly suitable for studying the activities and history of sub-cultures or social movements which transcend the borders of nation states and are explicitly transnational in their operations.[117] A case in point, as discussed by Tyrrell (2009), involves the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) from 1884 to the 1930s: The WCTU shared a Christian culture beyond their nations, hence a

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[110] Frank Bongiorno, 'Comment: Australia, nationalism and transnationalism', *History Australia*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (2013), 83; Tyrrell, 'Reflections on the transnational turn in United States history', 473.
[111] Tyrrell, 'Reflections on the transnational turn in United States history', 473.
[112] Bongiorno, 'Comment', 83.
[113] Lara Putnam, 'The Transnational and the Text-Searchable: Digitized Sources and the Shadows They Cast', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 121, No. 6 (2016), 384.
[114] Bernhard Struck, Kate Ferris and Jacques Revel, 'Introduction: Space and Scale in Transnational History', *The International History Review*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (2011), 576.
[115] Tyrrell, 'Reflections on the transnational turn in United States history', 474.
[116] Thelen, 'The Nation and Beyond', 968.
[117] Tyrrell, 'Reflections on the transnational turn in United States history', 468.

study of the organisation is not linked to any specific national history.[118] Both the Overland Hippie Trail, and the contemporary backpacking movement similarly cannot be studied adequately through the lens of any specific national history.

As discussed by numerous transnational historians, the transnational lens also gives voice to marginalised groups neglected by history based on the nation-state.[119] Gemie and Ireland (2017) have argued that those who undertook the Overland Hippie Trail were a minority group.[120] When making this assertion, Gemie and Ireland are referring to those in Britain involved heavily in the counterculture of the 1960s.[121] The opposite could also be argued: that those who undertook journeys along the trail were a privileged generation of white Westerners. Despite the travellers' obvious privilege, Gemie and Ireland have noted that the travellers were not those who governed Western society, but lived on its fringe, hence their 'minority' status.[122] There are valid arguments from both opposing points of view regarding whether the travellers should be considered a marginalised or minority group.

As explained by Struck et al (2011), transnationalism is a perspective of study, not a method.[123] For this reason, transnational history will not be discussed in the Methodology of this project. However, transnationalism as a lens works well in conjunction with oral interviewing as a methodology, with both focusing on the untold histories of marginalised groups of people whose history has not frequently been told. Unsurprisingly, the names of many of the transnational historians mentioned here are also mentioned in the 'Oral History' section of the methodology of this project (Chapter 3, Section 3). A common purpose of the transnational approach is to overcome the

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[118] Ibid., 469-470.
[119] Thelen, 'The Nation and Beyond', 970; Lake, 'Nationalist Historiography, Feminist Scholarship, and the Promise and Problems of New Transnational Histories', 182-183; Rees, 'Rebel Handmaidens', 51; Lake, 'Nationalist Historiography, Feminist Scholarship, and the Promise and Problems of New Transnational Histories', 180; Saunier, 'Learning by Doing Notes about the Making of the Palgrave *Dictionary of Transnational History*', 162; Putnam, 'The Transnational and the Text-Searchable', 391; Simmonds, Rees and Clark, 'Testing the Boundaries', 5-6. Marginalised groups discussed by these historians include women, immigrants, African-Americans, unions, workers, ethnic minorities, homosexuals, indigenous peoples, rural people, illiterate people, and 'everyday' mobile people, as opposed to traditionally mobile powerful white men.
[120] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 6.
[121] This in itself can be seen as another example of viewing a transnational phenomenon through a national perspective.
[122] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 6.
[123] Struck et al, 'Introduction', 574.

limitations of the nation state as a framework for history.[124] While the nation state is still important, it has lost its position as *the* most important institution in the globalised world.[125] This point is vital when studying the history of a phenomenon shared between many nations such as the Overland Hippie Trail or the contemporary backpacking movement. By examining flows across borders (of people, goods and ideas), a precise contextualisation of relationships between different groups can be uncovered.[126]

8.1. Conclusion:

Following this introductory chapter are a literature review, a methodology and a chapter identifying the route of the trail. A further six chapters (Chapters 5 to 10) then explore each of the six identified travel motivations of the two generations of travellers studied in this project (the Overland Trail Generation, and the contemporary backpackers), and are followed by a conclusion to finish.

[124] Macintyre, 'Reading Post-war Reconstruction Through National and Transnational Lenses', 133.
[125] Struck et al, 'Introduction', 579.
[126] Saunier, 'Going transnational? News from down under', 122.

CHAPTER 2:
LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1: Introduction:

This literature review begins with the limited academic writing discussing the Overland Hippie Trail and the dozens of primary source accounts of the Trail. A discussion follows assessing the literature on independent budget travel through the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and into the present era. This is the era in which the study of backpacking became more common. A vast array of articles has been published examining Orientalism, backpacker enclaves, authenticity, and different types of backpackers. Following on from that, general tourism literature is examined, as well as tourism relating specifically to the Indian Subcontinent, including works by local and Western scholars. Some of these works discuss backpacking on the Indian Subcontinent. Tourism in other states along the route of the Overland Hippie Trail has also been discussed.

This project relies to a large extent on oral interviewing. The extensive literature about the history, theory and practice of oral history as a suitable method of collecting historical data has also been included in the review of the literature. One key issue to consider is the unreliability of memory. This is the greatest challenge to oral history.

2.1: Overland Hippie Trail literature:

Until recently, critical academic writing about the Overland Hippie Trail has been almost non-existent. Some authors did, however, include small snippets about the trail in their related work: Jonathon Green included a brief (and slightly stereotypical) five-page section on the trail in *All Dressed Up: The Sixties and the Counterculture* (1999).[1]

[1] Jonathon Green, *All Dressed Up: The Sixties and the Counterculture* (Great Britain: Pimlico, 1999), 224-226.

Previously, in their 1975 book about the growth of the worldwide tourist industry, Turner and Ash devoted a chapter to various 'hippie trails' including the Overland Trail to India and Nepal where they discussed the hostility faced by 'hippies' and alternative tourists undertaking these journeys.[2] The first scholar to critically evaluate the trail however, appears to have been Agnieszka Sobocinska (2014 and 2014) in two works, assessing the trail as the result of colonialism and as a new form of tourism.[3] In 2017, Gemie and Ireland, wrote the first general history of the trail, analysing the motivations of those who travelled it, focusing on spirituality, drugs and tourism.[4] Their account, however, is British-centric, and gives almost no comment on the trail from Australasia to the Indian Subcontinent. A truly *transnational* account of the trail has yet to have been published.

2.2: Primary source accounts:

Dozens of primary source accounts written by those who undertook the Overland Hippie Trail have been written. They are as diverse as the experiences of the people who made the journeys. The most significant account to date is David Tomory's 1996 book, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu*, in which the author and thirty seven others interviewed by him who undertook the journey provide first-hand accounts of various aspects of The Overland Trail.[5] It is unclear how much of each interview conducted by the author is included in the book, however some interviewees accounts are longer than others and thus more snippets of their interviews are included. This account definitely adheres to the collective narrative of the Overland Trail, focusing on the more stereotypical and 'interesting' themes associated with it such as the lure of the East, manifested in Eastern religions and spiritual pursuits, disillusionment with the West, drug use and high profile influences such as musicians, writers and spiritual leaders. More mundane or 'boring' snippets which do not adhere to the collective narrative are also included in the book though, but with less of a focus.

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[2] Louis Turner and John Ash, *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (London: Constable, 1975), 256-279.
[3] Agnieszka Sobocinska, 'Following the "Hippie Sahibs": Colonial cultures of travel and the Hippie Trail', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer 2014); Agnieszka Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours: Australians In Asia* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2014), 123-132.
[4] Sharif Gemie and Brian Ireland, *The Hippie Trail: A History, 1957-78* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).
[5] David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996).

Acknowledging the limitations of these interviews, they still provide valuable source material for my purposes.

While Tomory's book tells the stories of multiple travellers, other accounts tend to focus on personal stories of individual travellers, or those travelling as couples or with one other travel companion. These diverse accounts focus on different aspects of the trail, in accordance with the interests of each author. Some accounts adhere to the collective narrative, focusing on spirituality and the spiritual search undertaken by travellers.[6] Others discuss drug use extensively, adhering to that narrative instead.[7]

Some authors were very clearly involved in the counterculture so stereotypically associated with the Overland Trail, and their accounts tell their stories from a countercultural angle.[8] Others however, have portrayed themselves more as 'straight' or conventional people and have not focused on stereotypical aspects of the narrative such as drugs or spirituality.[9] Others still have taken a 'middle ground' between 'straight' and heavily countercultural.[10] The focus of many accounts has been travel

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[6] David Lovejoy, *Between Dark and Dark: A Memoir* (Mullumbimby: Echo Publications, 2005); Peter Matthiessen, *The Snow Leopard* (London: Picador, 1979); Ronald Ritter and Sussan Evermore, *The Hippie Traveler Finding The Little Buddha* (self published on Kindle, 2016); Billy Wells, *Snapshots of the Hippy Trail* (London: Lulu Enterprises, 2008).

[7] Alun Buffry, *All About My Hat: The "Hippy Trail" 1972* (Great Britain: ABeFree Publishing, 2014); Richard Gregory, 'A Brief History of the Hippie Trail', http://www.richardgregory.org.uk/history/hippie-trail.htm, accessed on 1 October 2016; Cleo Odzer, *Goa Freaks: My Hippie Years in India* (New York: Blue Moon Books, 1995); Eight Finger Eddie, *My Rise to Relative Obscurity 1924-1972* (undated, unpublished text, available at: http://www.8fingereddie.com/; PDF format; accessed on 10 February 2017); Ann BeCoy, *Memoirs of A Hippie Girl in India* (Toronto: BeCoy Publishing, 2013); Giuseppe Albero, *Barefoot on the Himalayas* (USA: The Author, 2014); Jack Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven: Rites of Way on the Overland Route* (Port Melbourne: Government of South Australia through Arts South Australia, 2001; Patrick Marnham, *Road To Katmandu* (London: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2005); Gregory David Roberts, *Shantaram* (Great Britain: Abacus, 2004); Wells, *Snapshots of the Hippy Trail*.

[8] Earthman, *Eight Finger Eddie: The Hippie History of Goa and Kathmandu* (Amazon/Kindle: 2015); Eight Finger Eddie, *My Rise to Relative Obscurity*; Albero, *Barefoot on the Himalayas*; Marnham, *Road To Katmandu*; Odzer, *Goa Freaks*; BeCoy, *Memoirs of A Hippie Girl in India*; Lovejoy, *Between Dark and Dark.*

[9] Derek Lewis, *Headlong Into Life* (Pontypridd: DGLP, 2010); Johnny Dolphin, *Journey Around an Extraordinary Planet* (Arizona: Synergetic Press, 1990); Basil Jay, *65 Days To Delhi: An Incredible Journey* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2012); Noela Steinfort, *We've Been There!* (Melbourne: Allure Publishers, 2005); Paul Theroux, *The Great Railway Bazaar: By Train Through Asia* (London: Penguin Books, 1975); Rick Steves, 'Istanbul to India by Bus: Rick's Excellent Asian Adventure', http://www.ricksteves.com/watch-read-listen/read/articles/istanbul-to-india-by-bus, accessed on 2 October 2016; Renee Rogers, *Letters from the Hippie Trail: Overland Travel from Europe through Asia 1977-1982* 2nd ed. (USA: Kindle, 2016).

[10] Dave Barrett, *Christmas in Kathmandu* (Bath: DEVA B Publications, 1992); Michael Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail: travelling across Asia 1976-1978* (Northern Ireland: Island Publications, 2007); Tony Wheeler and Maureen Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story: Once While Travelling* (Great Britain: Crimson, 2008); John Worrall, *Travelling for Beginners: To Kathmandu in '72*

rather than any stereotypical aspect of the collective narrative, with many authors identifying first and foremost as travellers on a journey – with their particular journey the primary focus of their accounts.[11]

All of these primary source accounts have their limitations, however they provide a valuable insight into the minds and identities of those who travelled the trail and their adherence to or distance from the established collective narrative.

3.1: Tourism literature:

Academic writing about travel began in 1972 when Erik Cohen attempted to categorise tourists by dividing them into four groups: Organised Mass Tourists, Independent Mass Tourists, Explorers and Drifters, explaining the behaviour and traits of all four groups.[12] His 1973 article specifically analysed 'drifters' in an attempt to highlight (and even make sense of) what he deemed a rapidly growing form of tourism closely associated with 1960s Counterculture.[13] Cohen's articles prompted discussion, particularly regarding 'explorers' and 'drifters'. Vogt (1976) reflecting on Cohen, viewed wandering as a form of travel, natural to young people which should be encouraged as it equips people with people skills.[14]

The debate about authenticity in travel also began in the 1970s. In 1961 Daniel Boorstin argued that mass tourists had no authentic experiences while making their trips, stating that only through independent 'travel', as done in past eras, would

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(Amazon/Kindle: 2012); Chris Nicholson, *There and Back: cheap travel – overland through Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan* (Essex: Swiftnick, 2001); Wells, *Snapshots of the Hippy Trail*; Ritter and Evermore, *The Hippie Traveler Finding The Little Buddha*; Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*; Matthiessen, *The Snow Leopard*.

[11] Nicholson, *There and Back*; Jay, *65 Days To Delhi*; Worrall, *Travelling for Beginners*; Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail*; Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*; Barrett, *Christmas in Kathmandu*; Steves, 'Istanbul to India by Bus'; Wells, *Snapshots of the Hippy Trail*; Albero, *Barefoot on the Himalayas*; Ritter and Evermore, *The Hippie Traveler Finding The Little Buddha*; Steinfort, *We've Been There!*; Wheeler and Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story*; Theroux, *The Great Railway Bazaar*; Rogers, *Letters from the Hippie Trail*; Dolphin, *Journey Around an Extraordinary Planet*; Marnham, *Road To Katmandu.*

[12] Erik Cohen, 'Toward A Sociology Of International Tourism', *Social Research*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (1972).

[13] Erik Cohen, 'Nomads from Affluence: Notes on the Phenomenon of Drifter-Tourism', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 14, No. 1-2 (1973).

[14] Jay W. Vogt, 'Wandering: Youth And Travel Behaviour', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1976).

travellers experience the authentic.[15] Dean MacCannell (1973) contested this argument, claiming all tourist experiences are to some degree inauthentic, using Goffman's 'front and back' dichotomy to create six spaces of front and back for the tourist, each gradually becoming more 'authentic' as they lead further to the back or further behind the scenes into the host society.[16] In 1979, Cohen analysed the debate between Boorstin and MacCannell, offering a third path, suggesting that not all tourists should be classified en masse. Cohen now suggested five types of tourist: Recreational, Diversionary, Experimental, Existential and Experiential, and that tourists could be any number of these or even alternate between them on the one trip.[17]

4.1: The study of independent budget travel:

In the 1980s, academic writing about long-term budget travellers was still relatively uncommon, however some key works were beginning to appear. On noting the growing popularity of 'Wanderlust' tourism (budget travel involving sightseeing) as opposed to 'Sunlust' tourism (package tourism usually involving beach areas), Gray (1981) raised the issues of infrastructure problems for developing countries visited by budget travellers.[18] Adler (1985) assessed the history of tramping, discussing the idea that long-term budget travellers had begun to be seen in a negative light.[19]

In 1988, two key works addressed the backpacking phenomenon in its modern form – albeit without using the term 'backpacking'. Jane Teas (1988) examined the culture of long-term budget travellers in Kathmandu, Nepal, concluding that a specific hierarchy exists amongst these travellers based on length of time spent travelling, and levels of poverty and discomfort experienced.[20]

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[15] Daniel Boorstin, *The Image or What Happened to the American Dream* (USA: Penguin, 1961), 86-125.
[16] Dean MacCannell, 'Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 79, No. 3 (Nov 1973), 589-603.
[17] Erik Cohen, 'A Phenomenology Of Tourist Experiences', *Sociology*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (May 1979), 179-201.
[18] Peter Gray, 'Wanderlust Tourism: Problems of Infrastructure', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1981).
[19] Judith Adler, 'Youth On The Road: Reflections on the History of Tramping', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (1985).
[20] Jane Teas, 'I'm studying monkeys. What do you do? Youth and travellers in Nepal', *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers*, No. 67-68 (1988), 36.

Teas noted that specific symbols such as ragged clothing and backpacks themselves gained their owner higher status amongst the community.[21] She also noted that higher status was achieved through travelling as inexpensively as possible.[22] In the same year, Pamela Riley (1988) discussed the culture of long-term budget travellers.[23] Riley referenced both Cohen (1972) and Teas (1988), reaffirming Teas' view regarding the status attained from travelling as cheaply as possible.[24] The fact that these travellers did not identify as tourists was also addressed in this article.[25] Comparisons with Cohen's (1972) subjects occur in this article and the author acknowledged that the culture of these travellers had changed much in the 16 years since Cohen's article was written: These travellers no longer adhered to a 'counterculture'. While they travelled under flexible timetables and itineraries, they could no longer be considered 'aimless drifters', instead expecting to re-join their home societies again after travelling.[26]

4.2: The study of backpacking:

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, academic discussion about the backpacking phenomenon began to be discussed more frequently, with the term 'backpacker' first mentioned in academic literature by Pearce (1990).[27] Pearce argued that backpacking should be defined in social, rather than economic or demographic terms.[28] He proposed five criteria to define backpackers, stating first that they have a preference for budget accommodation. Second, they emphasise meeting other travellers. Third, they have independent and flexible travel schedules, plus fourth, longer rather than shorter holidays and fifth, an emphasis on informal and participatory holiday activities.[29] Pearce (2006) proposed five fresh directions in which backpacker studies could develop (travellers' experience, mobility, sustainability, qualitative research and quantitative research),[30] while Cohen (2003) stressed the need for differentiation between

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[21] Ibid., 36-40.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Pamela J. Riley, 'Road Culture of International Long-Term Budget Travelers', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (1988).
[24] Ibid., 320.
[25] Ibid., 322.
[26] Ibid., 326.
[27] Philip L. Pearce, *The Backpacker Phenomenon: Preliminary answers to basic questions* (Australia: James Cook University of North Queensland, 1990).
[28] Ibid., 1.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Philip L. Pearce, 'Backpacking and Backpackers – A Fresh Look', *Tourism Recreation Research*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (2006).

backpackers from different countries and their needs and experiences.[31] He also examined the ideals of backpackers compared to their practices. Spreitzhofer (1998) evaluated backpackers in South East Asia, concluding that backpacking was no longer 'alternative tourism' and had instead become a form of mainstream mass-tourism.[32] Sorensen (2003) also concurred with the changes in backpacking over time, drawing on many of Cohen's articles and on Riley (1988).[33]

Sorensen's study differs from Riley's because Sorensen's subjects were willing to identify as tourists.[34] This is an extremely important juncture in the study of backpacking, as it sheds light on when backpacking evolved from an unusual or alternative practice to a mainstream one. Caprioglio O'Reilly (2006) expanded on this concept, examining how backpacking had become mainstream.[35] Similarly, Larsen et al. (2011), also found that there were no significant differences in travel motivations between backpackers and other tourists.[36] This suggests that it was at the turn of the century, between the 1990s and 2000s that backpacking became mainstream.

As academic literature on backpacking proliferated, three books addressed contemporary issues around backpacking in depth. The first of these books, *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice*, was published in 2004 and edited by Greg Richards and Julie Wilson. It contained a range of articles by numerous academics interested in the emerging study of backpacking.[37] Ateljevic and Doorne provided an excellent review of the literature on backpacking,[38] while Peter Welk discussed the 'anti-tourist' mentality of backpackers.[39] Welk explained that

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[31] Erik Cohen, 'Backpacking: Diversity and Change', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (2003).
[32] Guenter Spreitzhofer, 'Backpacking tourism in South-East Asia', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (1998).
[33] Anders Sorensen, 'Backpacker Ethnography', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (2003).
[34] Ibid., 858.
[35] Camille Caprioglio O'Reilly, 'From Drifter To Gap Year Tourist: Mainstreaming Backpacker Travel', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (2006).
[36] Svein Larsen, Torvald Ogaard and Wibecke Brun, 'Backpackers And Mainstreamers: Realities and Myths', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (2011).
[37] Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (eds.), *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2004).
[38] Irena Ateljevic and Stephen Doorne, 'Theoretical Encounters: A Review of Backpacker Literature', in Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (eds.), *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2004).
[39] Peter Welk, 'The Beaten Track: Anti-Tourism as an Element of Backpacker Identity Construction', in Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (eds.), *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2004).

backpackers have traditionally disassociated themselves from tourists and tourism, but also stated that since backpacking has become mainstream, some backpackers are now disassociating with backpacking itself and are identifying as 'travellers' first and foremost.[40] Following the success of *The Global Nomad*, in 2008 the Backpacker Research Group (BRG), of the Association for Tourism and Leisure Education (ATLAS) released a second book, edited by Kevin Hannam and Irena Ateljevic titled *Backpacker Tourism: Concepts and Profiles*.[41] This volume added to literature from the 2004 work after a BRG Conference in Bangkok in 2005.[42]

The third book in the series, *Beyond Backpacker Tourism: Mobilities and Experiences* (2010), edited by Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann explores the changing face of backpacking and its absorption into mainstream tourism.[43] The notion of 'flashpacking' is a particularly important development discussed in this volume. As explained by the editors, "The so called flashpacker has emerged as a new and key constituent of contemporary travel and exemplifies the changing demographics in western societies where older age at marriage, older age having children, increased affluence and new technological developments, alongside increased holiday and leisure time have all come together."[44] Using Fiji as their case study, Jeff Jarvis and Victoria Peel identified the emerging flashpacker market as a niche sub-segment of backpacker tourism.[45] Another particularly important issue in the volume, as discussed by Cody Paris, is the relationship between backpacking and modern technology.[46] Paris explained that backpackers have embraced technology, fully adapting new communication tools into their travel practices, thus creating a new virtual mobility.[47] Paris noted, "Information is powerful, and is central to backpacking. In backpacker

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[40] Ibid., 89-90.
[41] Kevin Hannam and Irena Ateljevic (eds.), *Backpacker Tourism: Concepts and Profiles* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2008).
[42] Ibid., vii.
[43] Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann (eds.), *Beyond Backpacker Tourism: Mobilities and Experiences* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010).
[44] Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann, 'From Backpacking to Flashpacking: Developments in Backpacker Tourism Research', in Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann (eds.), *Beyond Backpacker Tourism: Mobilities and Experiences* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010), 1-2.
[45] Jeff Jarvis and Victoria Peel, 'Flashpacking in Fiji: Reframing the 'Global Nomad' in a Developing Destination', in Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann (eds.), *Beyond Backpacker Tourism: Mobilities and Experiences* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010).
[46] Cody Paris, 'The Virtualization of Backpacker Culture: Virtual Mooring, Sustained Interactions and Enhanced Mobilities', in Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann (eds.), *Beyond Backpacker Tourism: Mobilities and Experiences* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010).
[47] Ibid., 43.

culture, the possession and ability to pass on insider information is a status builder among other backpackers."[48] Finally, the blurring of boundaries between 'backpackers' and general young tourists has been examined by Mark Hampton as well as Cody Paris, with Hampton explaining that this merging began in the mid-2000s.[49]

4.3: The viability of backpacking to the tourist industry:

Using backpackers in India as her case study, Regina Scheyvens (2002) looked at the viability of backpacking as part of the tourism industry in the developing world. Scheyvens questioned the assumption that it was not as viable economically as mass tourism.[50] She explained backpackers stay longer in a location and spend more money there.[51] Hampton (1998) came to the same conclusions using a case study conducted on the Gili Islands, off Lombok, Indonesia.[52] Julio Aramberri (2004) however, was highly critical of Scheyvens' view stating that for backpacking to be economically viable, it relies on host societies remaining underdeveloped:

> If arbitraging is the main rationale for backpacking, this group of tourists will be better off the longer the host community remains in a state of underdevelopment as compared to their own. Whether they like it or not, and many would be sincerely appalled about it if they knew, they have an objective stake in the economic backwardness of their hosts. When the price differential between the affluent countries where they come from and their destination of choice softens, they respond by either shortening their stays or by booking alternate destinations where arbitrage may still have some legs.[53]

Aramberri was also critical of backpacker guidebooks. He thought the guidebooks reinforce a tourist gaze whereby an Orientalist image of India as a poor nation in poverty prevails, without mentioning the realities of modern and modernising India: "backpacker bibles seem to tell about their preference for everlasting India, a country

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[48] Ibid., 60.
[49] Mark P. Hampton, 'Not Such a Rough or Lonely Planet? Backpacker Tourism: An Academic Journey', in Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann (eds.), *Beyond Backpacker Tourism: Mobilities and Experiences* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010), 17; Paris, 'The Virtualization of Backpacker Culture', 40.
[50] Regina Scheyvens, 'Backpacker Tourism and Third World Development', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (2002).
[51] Ibid., 150-154.
[52] Mark P. Hampton, 'Backpacker Tourism And Economic Development', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (1998).
[53] Julio Aramberri, 'Reading the Tourist Mind: Indian Tourism The Next Decade', *Tourism Recreation Research*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (2004).

that remains unchanged, among other things in the poverty that usually is the companion of low prices."[54] Aramberri argued that it would be more economically viable for India to focus on domestic tourism, rather than backpackers, as this sustainable form of tourism would remain even as India's prices increase.[55]

This view however, is not shared by others: Westerhausen (2002), argued strongly that long-term travel in Asia has now become a distinct lifestyle choice and that it should be recognised as a distinct part of the international tourism market by authorities.[56] Westerhausen advocated that this section of the tourism industry is highly sustainable and is in need of permanent niches in order to generate profits.[57]

Aramberri's argument is flawed: Australia, New Zealand and Fiji, for example, are expensive travel destinations, yet they have all remained popular with backpackers – many of whom stay for long periods. His argument about India needing to remain poor to be popular with backpackers overlooks how Westerners do not generally travel to experience modern India, but rather to experience traditional India.

4.4: Backpacker enclaves:

An area beginning to be discussed in more depth is that of 'backpacker enclaves'. Wilson and Richards (2008) analysed enclaves in general and their role as a suspended place between 'home' and 'the Other' in backpacker society.[58] Hottola (2005) discussed the emotional need for backpackers in India to have access to enclaves, dividing enclaves into different types of spaces serving different purposes.[59] Case studies of specific enclaves were analysed by Cohen (2006) regarding Pai – a small town in Northern Thailand,[60] and Ateljevic and Doorne (2005) about Dali, a similarly small town in Western China.[61] Both towns are popular backpacker enclaves. Cohen (2008)

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[54] Ibid., 10.
[55] Ibid., 12.
[56] Klaus Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach: An Ethnography of Modern Travellers in Asia* (Bangkok: White Lotus Co, Ltd., 2002).
[57] Ibid.
[58] Julie Wilson and Greg Richards, 'Suspending Reality: An Exploration of Enclaves and the Backpacker Experience', *Current Issues in Tourism*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (2008).
[59] Petri Hottola, 'The Metaspatialities of Contol Management in Tourism: Backpacking in India', *Tourism Geographies*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2005).
[60] Erik Cohen, 'Pai – A Backpacker Enclave in Transition', *Tourism Recreation Research*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (2006).
[61] Irena Ateljevic and Stephen Doorne, 'Dialectics of Authenication: Performing 'Exotic Otherness' in a Backpacker Enclave of Dali, China', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (2005).

also wrote about conflict between backpackers and local authorities in his case study of the death of a backpacker in Pai killed by a Thai policeman.[62] Hottola (2014) examined how travellers spend their time in the town of Munnar, in Kerala, India, concluding that these travellers spend the majority of their time in the enclave alone, with local service providers and other travellers, and spend very little time with locals who are not part of the service industry.[63] Howard (2007) compared various aspects of five different enclaves in four countries (Thailand, Indonesia, Cambodia and Australia).[64] More importantly however, he posed the question as to what criteria make an area a backpacker enclave, noting that researchers need a consistent definition with clear criteria to delineate areas worthy of study as enclaves.[65] Discussion about enclaves is significant and important to this project, because the very existence of enclaves challenges the collective narratives that travellers are adventurous, want to travel 'off the beaten track' and that they are not tourists. Enclaves are discussed in depth in Chapter 4, Section 8.

4.5: Different types of backpackers:

Erik Cohen's (2003) notion that backpackers differ and should not be clustered together has been expanded on by Scott Cohen (2011). The latter discussed the choices as values of 'lifestyle travellers' as a subculture within the larger backpacking subculture, arguing that it has now become a viable lifestyle, rather than seen in a negative light as it once was.[66] Uriely et al. (2002) examined Erik Cohen's (1979) typology of backpackers, expanding his categories and examining the idea that backpackers can be part of more than one category, as suggested by Erik Cohen in his original work.[67] Paris (2012) analysed the modern, emerging sub-culture of 'flashpackers' as part of the backpacking sub-culture, concluding that while they are more technologically minded lifestyle travellers, they identify with and share the ideals

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[62] Erik Cohen, 'Death of a Backpacker: Incidental but Not Random', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (2008).
[63] Petri Hottola, 'Somewhat empty meeting grounds: Travelers in South India', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 44 (2014).
[64] Robert W. Howard, 'Five Backpacker Tourist Enclaves', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2007).
[65] Ibid., 74.
[66] Scott Cohen, 'Lifestyle Travellers: Backpacking as a Way of Life', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (2011), 1535-1555.
[67] Natan Uriely, Yuval Yonay and Dalit Simchai, 'Backpacking Experiences: A Type and Form Analysis', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (2002).

of the wider backpacking subculture.[68] Davidson (2005) emphasized the diversity of budget travellers in India, using a selection of specific case studies to demonstrate her point. These case studies however, highlighted particularly 'alternative' subcultures within the wider backpacking fraternity, such as that of the Goan Trance music scene, as opposed to 'regular' backpackers.[69] Maoz (2007), advocated that backpackers from different nations differed from each other and should be studied independently from one another.[70] A rare example of this was Noy's (2006) overview of the history of Israeli backpacking, concluding that it has transitioned over time to become a mainstream 'rite of passage' in Israeli society.[71] It is my view that backpackers are a heterogenous group, and that backpackers' travel motivations change depending on the country or region they are backpacking in. This project attempts to fill this knowledge gap. This theme is elaborated on in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 10.

4.6: Authenticity:

Tourists in general, and particularly backpackers, emphasise having an authentic experience. Discussion about authenticity within tourism has been present since tourism was first discussed in academic literature, beginning with the debate between Boorstin (1961) and MacCannell (1973). It began with MacCannell's (1973) claim that tourism is a quest for authenticity.[72] Cohen (1988) discussed commoditization and 'staged authenticity' in tourism, suggesting that different levels of authenticity satisfy different tourists.[73] Wang (1999) examined Boorstin and MacCannell's *Objective Authenticity* (the authenticity of toured objects) as well as Cohen's *Constructivist Authenticity* (authenticity as an ever changing social construction which cannot be objectively determined). He also added and advocated *Existential Authenticity* – authenticity involving personal feelings activated by tourist activities.[74] These concepts can be

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[68] Cody Morris Paris, 'Flashpackers: An Emerging Sub-Culture?', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2012).
[69] Kelly Davidson, 'Alternative India: Transgressive Spaces', in Adam Jaworski and Annette Pritchard (eds.), *Discourse, Communication and Tourism* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), 28-52.
[70] Darya Maoz, 'Backpackers' Motivations: The Role of Culture and Nationality', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (2007).
[71] Chaim Noy, 'Israeli Backpacking Since the 1960s: Institutionalization and its Effects', *Tourism Recreation Research*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (2006).
[72] Mari Korpela, 'A Postcolonial Imagination? Westerners Searching for Authenticity in India', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 8 (2010), 1302.
[73] Erik Cohen, 'Authenticity And Commoditization In Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 15 (1988).
[74] Ning Wang, 'Rethinking Authenticity In Tourism Experience', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (1999).

demonstrated using a hypothetical century old ashram in India: Objective Authenticity refers to the authentic experience of visiting the ashram as a tourist or traveller. While the ashram may have been little known in 1970, by 1975 it may have become famous in the West. Those that visited the ashram in 1970 may have considered a 1975 visit less authentic due to the 'touristy' nature of the ashram by that time. This is an example of Constructivist Authenticity. Existential Authenticity could mean a prolonged stay in the ashram being deemed a more authentic experience than a short visit. Scott Cohen (2010) examined how important authenticity is to long-term travellers in Thailand and India.[75] Chhabra (2010) also discussed the types of authenticity important to a group of American university students in a small case study.[76] Cohen and Cohen (2012) divided the process of authentication into two sections: *Cool* Authentication, whereby an object or event is formally declared authentic by a governing entity, and *Hot* Authentication, whereby an object or event becomes authentic organically through mass popular support.[77] The Taj Mahal for example, has long been used to symbolise India in tourism campaigns, while Kathmandu or Goa, became authentic through their shear popularity with travellers. Therefore, the authenticity of the Taj Mahal is Cool Authenticity while that of Kathmandu and Goa is Hot Authenticity.

4.7: Seeking authenticity in India:

Seeking 'authentic' experiences through specific 'Indian' activities whilst in India has been examined by some authors. Korpela (2010) discussed how Western students of Indian classical music in Varanasi construct a form of authenticity through Orientalist discourse idealising and romanticising the music of ancient India, whilst ignoring modern India, thus rendering modern Indian people voiceless and unable to take charge of their own future.[78] Similarly, Batts Maddox (2014), assessing yoga tourism in Mysore, India, made the same observations about Westerners studying yoga there.[79] Others examining the quest for authenticity using specific case studies include

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[75] Scott Cohen, 'Searching for escape, authenticity and identity: Experiences of 'lifestyle travellers', in M. Morgan, P. Lugosi and J.R.B. Ritchie (Eds.), *The Tourism and Leisure Experience: Consumer and Managerial Perspectives* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010).
[76] Deepak Chhabra, 'Back to the past: a sub-segment of Generation Y's perceptions of authenticity', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 18, No. 6 (2010).
[77] Erik Cohen and Scott A. Cohen, 'Authentication: Hot And Cool', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (2012).
[78] Korpela (2010), 1299-1312.
[79] Callie Batts Maddox, 'Studying at the source: Ashtanga yoga tourism and the search for authenticity in Mysore, India', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol, 13, No. 4 (2015).

Lehto et al. (2006), and Stephenson Shaffer (2004).[80] Travelling to India in search of authenticity is discussed in Chapter 6, Section 6 and Chapter 9, Section 4; the music and yoga examples analysed at length.

4.8: Travellers' self perception:

Desforges (2000) examined the role travel plays in the formation of peoples' identities, concluding that undertaking international travel makes one feel like a more cultured and worldly individual.[81] Munt (1994) argued that the middle classes now use travel as a way of differentiating themselves from lower classes, whom they perceive to practice 'crass tourism', as opposed to the authentic and conscientious 'travel' (often involving long trips to Third World destinations).[82] Desforges (1998) expanded on this theme, explaining how young Western travellers use their travel experience as cultural capital to attain social status when returning home.[83] He also explained, however, that cultural capital depends on the audience. Cultural capital will not be attained when speaking about travel to an audience who do not value travel.[84] This topic is discussed extensively in Chapter 9, Section 2.

4.9: Travel writing and guidebooks:

Travel literature is discussed by Richards and Wilson (2004) who examine the influence of iconic writers loved by backpackers, such as Kerouac, Theroux and Bryson.[85] Kenny (2002) examined the history and identity of the *Lonely Planet* guidebook phenomenon and the company's transition from producing a product for travellers seeking authenticity, to one creating its own style of travel with its own mass

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[80] Xinran Lehto et. al., 'Yoga tourism as a Niche Within the Wellness Tourism Market', *Tourism Recreation Research*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (2006); Tracey Stephenson Shaffer, 'Performing Backpacking: Constructing "Authenticity" Every Step of the Way, *Text and Performance Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (2004). Lehto et al. (2006), used yoga tourism to examine attitudes of those travelling for yoga in the USA. Stephenson Shaffer (2004), focused specifically on the quest for authenticity amongst American backpackers travelling in Europe.
[81] Luke Desforges, 'Traveling The World: Identity and Travel Biography', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (2000).
[82] Ian Munt, 'The 'Other' Postmodern Tourism: Culture, Travel and the New Middle Classes', *Theory, Culture & Society*, Vol. 11 (1994).
[83] Luke Desforges, 'Checking Out The Planet': global representations / local identities and youth travel', in Tracey Skelon and Gill Valentine (eds.), *Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures* (London: Routledge, 1998), 175-192.
[84] Ibid., 189.
[85] Greg Richards and Julie Wilson, 'Travel Writers and Writers who Travel: Nomadic Icons for the Backpacker Subculture?' *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2004).

following.[86] Bhattacharyya (1997) was highly critical of the *Lonely Planet* guidebook to India, describing it as portraying India only in an Orientalist manner as a backward and traditional place, with no mention of modern India or modern Indians.[87] This article however appears to 'miss the point' that the predominantly Western readership of Lonely Planet guidebooks travel to India specifically to see traditional India and that modern India does not hold much interest to most Western travellers. Currie et al. (2011) examined the role of guidebooks as symbols within the backpacking community, concluding that the guidebook is indeed a noticeable symbol portraying its owner as a backpacker or independent budget traveller, rather than a 'regular tourist'.[88]

5: Tourism on the Indian Subcontinent:

5.1: India's relationship with tourism:

As stated concisely by Hannam and Diekmann (2011), "India as a tourist destination has not yet attracted broad attention from the international tourism scholarly community."[89] Few articles have been published in international tourism journals about India.[90] For these reasons, Hannam and Diekmann (2011) published the first major book about Indian tourism in the modern era: *Tourism And India: A Critical Approach*.[91] The main arguments of the authors of this important publication are that India has traditionally had an ambivalent relationship with tourism,[92] that India has been viewed primarily as a backpacker destination (as opposed to a destination for a wider variety of tourists),[93] and that an Orientalist discourse has traditionally dominated Western tourists perceptions of India.[94] The authors argued however, that India's ambivalence to tourism has changed since the 1990s, with the Indian government now more interested in tourism than ever before.

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[86] Gillian Kenny, 'Our travellers out there on the road: Lonely planet and its readers, 1973-1981, *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 72 (2002).
[87] Deborah P. Bhattacharyya, 'Mediating India: An Analysis of a Guidebook', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (1997).
[88] Russell R. Currie, Tamara Campbell-Trant and Sheilagh Seaton, 'Joining the in-crowd: symbols for backpacker identity', *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2011).
[89] Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann, *Tourism And India: A Critical Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 135.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid., 1.
[93] Ibid., 83.
[94] Ibid., 85; 135-136.

Previously, Roy and Tisdell (eds.) and their authors in *Tourism In India And India's Economic Development* (1998) focused on the development of tourism in India with an emphasis on economic development.[95] Case studies from around India were used in these essays including examples from Goa, Orissa, the North East States and the Sundarbans.[96] Jauhari (2010), Agrawal, Choudhary and Tripathi (2010) and Tripathi, Choudhary and Agrawal (2010), all discussed how India could market its sites better and cater better for tourists.[97] Ichaporia (1983) examined the erotic carvings at Khajuraho and the struggle conservative India faces publicising an historically significant, yet highly sexualised, tourist attraction.[98]

5.2: India's relationship with budget travel and backpacking:

It is noteworthy, moreover, that books about tourism in India published in India tend to neglect the backpacker market. Lajipathi Rai (1993) in *Development Of Tourism In India*, never once mentioned backpackers, the backpacker market or the 'hippies' of the 1960s and 1970s in his entire book![99] The failure to mention the backpacker sector of tourism in India or the 'hippies' from the 1970s indicates a lack of understanding by the author of tourism in India from a Western point of view. What makes this omission even stranger is that the author provided clear statistics in the book as to when those who travelled the Overland Trail to India made their journeys: "It can be seen that while for the period from 1969 to 1978, the index of tourist arrivals in India rose much more rapidly than that of world tourist arrivals, after 1980, the position is different, there was indeed stagnation in world tourism in the years 1981, 1982, 1983."[100] This particular quote shows the growing popularity of India during the years of the Overland Hippie Trail as well as showing that when the Trail closed in 1979, owing to revolution in Iran,

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[95] Kartik C. Roy and Clement A. Tisdell (Eds.), *Tourism In India And India's Economic Development* (Commack, New York: Nova Science Publishers Inc., 1998).
[96] Ibid.
[97] Vinnie Jauhari, 'How can the visitor experience be enhanced for spiritual and cultural tourism in India?', *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (2010); Madhu Agrawal, Himanshu Choudhary and Gaurav Tripathi, 'Enhancing Buddhist tourism in India: an exploratory study', *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (2010); Gaurav Tripathi, Himanshu Choudhary and Madhu Agrawal, 'What do the tourists want? The case of the Golden Temple, Amritsar', *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (2010).
[98] Niloufer Ichaporia, 'Tourism at Khajuraho: An Indian Enigma?', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 10 (1983).
[99] Hanumanthu Lajipathi Rai, *Development Of Tourism In India* (Jaipur: Printwell, 1993).
[100] Ibid., 33.

numbers dropped off. The author, however did not make this connection, stating that the stagnation from 1980 onwards was simply part of a stagnation in world tourism. By contrast, Khan (2001) acknowledged the value of backpackers, arguing that the Indian tourist industry must differentiate between different types of tourists, and specifically identifying young tourists as a particularly sustainable market for India.[101] Instead of using the term 'backpackers', Khan used the term 'youth tourists' throughout the book.[102]

5.3: Nepal's relationship with tourism:

Satyal (1988), in *Tourism In Nepal – A Profile*, did not mention backpackers (or 'hippies') specifically, although he did advocate the encouragement of budget tourism in Nepal.[103] This book is the first comprehensive study of tourism in Nepal and can be compared with Hannam and Diekmann (2011). Clearly more significant, however, is the thorough and critical history of tourism in Nepal by Liechty (2005).[104] This article examines Nepal's history of foreigners entering the country since the early 1950s, through the era of the Overland Hippie Trail and beyond, and focuses on objective facts rather than a romanticised account of Western travel to Nepal portrayed in other sources.

5.4: Tourism case studies in India:

Articles about tourism in India tend rather to be case studies about particular cities or regions.[105] Shalini Singh (2002) however, discussed the practical problems with

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[101] Nafees A. Khan, *Development of Tourism in India* (New Delhi: Anmol Publications PVT. LTD., 2001).
[102] Ibid.
[103] Yajna Raj Satyal, *Tourism In Nepal – A Profile* (Varanasi: North Publishing House, 1988).
[104] Mark Liechty, 'Building the Road to Kathmandu: Notes on the History of Tourism in Nepal', *Himalaya, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2005).
[105] R. Balasubramanian and T.J. Sampathkumar, 'Tourism Development In Tamil Nadu', *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 56, No. 1/4 (1995); Supriya Dam, 'Growth of Tourism Industry in North East India with Special Reference to Sikkim', *Tourism Recreation Research*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (2013); Christopher Serenari, et al., 'Understanding environmentally significant behaviour among whitewater rafting and trekking guides in the Garhwal Himalaya, India', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 20, No. 5 (2012); Jithendran Kokkranikal and Alison Morrison, 'Entrepreneurship and sustainable tourism: The Houseboats of Kerala', *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2002); Rajinder S. Jutla, 'Visual image of the city: Tourists' versus residents' perception of Simla, a hill station in northern India', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (2000); Mohinder Chand, 'A Cross-National Study of Motivational Determinants among Non-Resident Indian Visitors to Religious Centers in India', *International*

India's tourism policy, namely the lack of consultancy with and inclusion of everyday people within the policy.[106] In a study centred around Delhi, Agra and Jaipur, Reena Singh (2004) concluded that while the satisfaction level of international tourists in India varied, the major problem with tourism in India was weak marketing of India as a tourist destination.[107]

5.5: Goa's relationship with tourism:

A number of articles have been written specifically about tourism in Goa: Routledge (2000) concluded tourism increased the gap between the rich and the poor.[108] Wilson (1997) differentiated types of tourism in Goa, stating that Goa is incompatible with luxury tourism and charter tourism due to its long standing tourist infrastructure, instead advocating for low-impact budget tourism (backpackers, 'hippies' etc.).[109] Saldanha (2002) focused specifically on the dance parties common in Goa, explaining that divisions and conflicts between different types of tourists are quite noticeable during these events.[110] Goa is discussed at length in Chapter 4, Section 6.4.

5.6: National park tourism in India and Nepal:

Specific issues relating to national park tourism in India have been discussed by Sinha et al. (2012), Hannam (2005 and 2004), and Banerjee (2012), focusing on the relationships between all stakeholders in the parks including local communities, national park management, domestic tourists, international tourists, government ministries, environmental groups, and the wildlife itself.[111] Articles about tourism in

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Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Administration, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2010); Leena Mary Sebastian and Prema Rajagopalan, 'Socio-cultural transformations through tourism: a comparison of residents' perspectives at two destinations in Kerala, India', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2009)..

[106] Shalini Singh, 'Tourism in India: Policy pitfalls', *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2002).

[107] Reena Singh, *Satisfaction Level of Foreign Tourist Visiting India* (New Delhi: Mohit Publications, 2004).

[108] Paul Routledge, 'Consuming Goa: Tourist Site as Dispensable Space', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 35, No. 30 (2000).

[109] David Wilson, 'Paradoxes Of Tourism In Goa', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (1997).

[110] Arun Saldanha, 'Music tourism and factions of bodies in Goa', *Tourist Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2002).

[111] Bitapi C. Sinha et al., 'Economics of wildlife tourism – contribution to livelihoods of communities around Kanha tiger reserve, India', *Journal of Ecotourism*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (2012); Kevin Hannam, 'Tourism Management Issues in India's National Parks: An Analysis of the Rajiv Gandhi (Nagarahole) National Park, *Current Issues in Tourism*, Vol. 8, No. 2-3 (2005); Kevin Hannam, 'Tourism and Forest Management in India: The Role of the State in Limiting Tourism Development', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (2004), 331-351;

Nepal also tend to focus on specific national parks and heritage sites, with Nyaupane (2009), Lim (2007), Musa et al. (2004), Baral et al. (2012), Curry et al. (2001), Nepal (2005, 2007, 2002, 2000) discussing the consequences of tourism on the parks and sites themselves and the various stakeholders involved, including local communities, tourists, religious groups, etcetera.[112]

5.7: Marketing Nepal as a tourist destination:

A few articles discuss Nepal as a whole. Bhandari (2010) focused on the central role of the monarchy in the tourist imagination of Nepal as an exotic, mystical destination, and the challenges of Nepal's tourism industry in the new, post-monarchy era, discussing how Nepal can rebrand itself in this new political era as a tourist destination.[113] Bhandari and Bhandari (2012) explained how the 'Nepali nation' has been portrayed through tourism, emphasizing that while the Himalayan heritage is celebrated, the peoples of the Terai (lowland) region are ignored and not accounted for in this portrayal.[114] Meeting Nepalese (or Indian) people was not cited by the interviewees as a travel motivation, and interviewees from neither era discussed their preconceptions of the Nepalese people, instead focusing only on the landscape and the exotic and mystical 'feel' of the country itself.

5.8: Miscellaneous tourism case studies from Nepal:

Abhijit Banerjee, 'Is wildlife tourism benefiting Indian protected areas? A survey', *Current Issues in Tourism*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (2012).

[112] Gyan P. Nyaupane, 'Heritage complexity and tourism: the case of Lumbini, Nepal', *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2009); Francis Khek Gee Lim, 'Hotels as Sites of Power: Tourism, Status, and Politics in Nepal Himalaya', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (2007); Ghazali Musa, C.M. Hall and J.E.S. Higham, 'Tourism Sustainability and Health Impacts in High Altitude Adventure, Cultural and Ecotourism Destinations: A Case Study of Nepal's Sagarmatha National Park', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (2004); Nabin Baral et al., 'Developing a scale for evaluating ecotourism by visitors: a study in the Annapurna Conservation Area, Nepal', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 20, No. 7 (2012); Brad Curry et al., 'Modelling Impacts of Wildlife Tourism on Animal Communities: A Case Study from Royal Chitwan National Park, Nepal, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 9, No. 6 (2001); Sanjay Nepal, 'Tourism and Remote Mountain Settlements: Spatial and Temporal Developments of Tourist Infrastructure in the Mt Everest Region, Nepal', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2005); Sanjay K. Nepal, 'Tourism And Rural Settlements: Nepal's Annapurna Region', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (2007); Sanjay K. Nepal, 'Linking parks and people: Nepal's experience in resolving conflicts in parks and protected areas', *International Journal of Sustainable Development & World Ecology*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (2002); Sanjay K. Nepal, 'Tourism In Protected Areas: The Nepalese Himalaya', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (2000).

[113] Kalyan Bhandari, 'Tourism in Nepal: post-monarchy challenges', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 8, No. 1-2 (2010).

[114] Kalyan Bhandari and Taptika Bhandari, 'Imagining the Nepali 'nation' through tourism', *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (2012).

Thapa (2004) discussed how instability and conflict in the South Asian region has resulted in a substantial decline in tourist numbers in Nepal,[115] and Hepburn (2002) explained the relationship the Nepalese have with 'tourists', explaining that Westerners use the term to define one conducting a trip for leisure purposes, whereas the Nepalese use the term to describe a white Westerner, travelling or not.[116] Erb (2000) explained the same phenomenon, finding the same conclusions, when examining the relationship between Indonesians from Flores and Western tourists.[117] Smith (1981) investigated and compared the uncontrolled, liberal tourism of Nepal with the strictly controlled and regulated tourism of Bhutan.[118] Brunet et al (2001) also analysed Bhutan's regulated tourism, finding Bhutan's 'middle path' sustainable only if tourism from India (rather than from the West) is regulated.[119] These articles together provide an overview of tourism in Nepal, but only from a local perspective and through a business angle. None discuss the motivations of Westerners visiting Nepal.

5.9: 'Paradise' – a case study from Sri Lanka:

Finally, Kravanja (2012) discussed the concept of paradise, in particular of the 'beach paradise', using southern Sri Lanka as a case study, concluding that while tourists often consider a destination to be 'paradise' before visiting, they change their perception whilst at the destination and begin to think of 'paradise' as somewhere else they have yet to visit.[120] In the case of the Overland Trail, as discussed in Chapter 4, Section 6.3, Kathmandu was often given the paradise label by those who had yet to visit.

5.10: Overview of literature discussing tourism on the Indian Subcontinent:

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[115] Brijesh Thapa, 'Tourism in Nepal', *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, Vol. 15, No. 2-3 (2004).
[116] Sharon J. Hepburn, 'Touristic Forms Of Life In Nepal', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (2002).
[117] Maribeth Erb, 'Understanding Tourists: Interpretations from Indonesia', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (2000).
[118] Valene L. Smith, 'Uncontrolled Tourism: Bhutan and Nepal', *RAIN*, No. 46 (Oct., 1981).
[119] Sandra Brunet et al., 'Tourism Development in Bhutan: Tensions between Tradition and Modernity', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (2001).
[120] Bostjan Kravanja, 'On Conceptions of Paradise and the Tourist Spaces of Southern Sri Lanka', *Asian Ethnology*, Vol. 71, No. 2 (2012).

These articles regarding tourism on the Indian Subcontinent generally revealed that tourism there is studied and analysed in an ad hoc manner. A consistent policy or 'school of thought' towards tourism in India appears to be developing slowly, but is still very much in its infancy. The lead here appears to have been taken mostly by Western scholars as opposed to scholars from the Indian Subcontinent.

6.1: Tourism in other states on the Overland Hippie Trail:

Hampton and Hamzah (2016) have attempted to map the ever-changing routes of backpacker circuits through South East Asia from the Overland Trail era to the present.[121] Many of the Contemporary Backpacker interviewees from the current study travelled these trails before or after I interviewed them in either India or Nepal. Unsurprisingly, many of the Overland Trail Generation interviewees had also travelled them before or after their trips to the Indian Subcontinent in the 1960s and 1970s. The route of the trail is the subject of Chapter 4.

As a major destination for backpackers, numerous relevant articles have been written about tourism in Thailand. Cohen (1982) discussed bungalow tourism on Thailand's southern island beaches, concluding that independent budget travellers see these destinations as places of relaxation, like mass tourists would, as opposed to places to seek an authentic experience.[122] The same author (in 1989) also analysed the staged authenticity present in jungle trekking (or 'Hill Tribe') tourism in Northern Thailand – a region where independent budget travellers seek authenticity.[123] Lacher and Nepal (2010) discussed the villages visited in this type of tourism, explaining that as periphery villages, much of the income they generate leaks to the gateway cities at the core of the region.[124] These types of issues, involving local people were rarely cited by interviewees during this project when discussing their travel motivations, and they don't appear to have factored into the mindsets of the vast majority. Practices and trends existing in budget travel to India and Nepal also existed in other sections of the

[121] Mark P. Hampton and Amran Hamzah, 'Change, Choice, and Commercialization: Backpacker Routes in Southeast Asia', *Growth and Change*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (2016).
[122] Erik Cohen, 'Marginal Paradises: Bungalow Tourism on the Islands of Southern Thailand', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 9 (1982).
[123] Erik Cohen, "Primitive And Remote": Hill Tribe Trekking in Thailand', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 16 (1989).
[124] R. Geoffrey Lacher and Sanjay K. Nepal, 'Dependency And Development In Northern Thailand', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (2010).

Overland Hippie Trail. Nikolakakis (2015) discussed alternative tourism (including 'hippies' undertaking the Overland Trail) travelling in Greece during the years of the Greek military Junta (1967-1974) and the conflict in the pro-tourism ideals of a regime trying to prove its legitimacy and its conservative social agenda which opposed the hippie lifestyle.[125]

7.1: Conclusion:

While critical academic writing about the Overland Hippie Trail has been non-existent until very recently, a growing body of academic literature on the study of independent budget travel (backpacking) has produced some notable trends: A general (but loose) consensus between scholars appears to have been reached regarding the definition of backpacking and backpackers. From this foundation, scholars have attempted to establish and define the ideals of backpackers, and to understand their search for authenticity, reluctance to identify as 'tourists' and habit of congregating in 'enclaves'. A second branch of literature focuses on the recognition of backpacking as a legitimate and viable form of tourism to be taken seriously by authorities.

Alongside this growing body of literature, exists a smaller body of literature about tourism on the Indian Subcontinent, generally approaching the subject from an economic angle, and focusing mostly on India's traditional ambivalence about tourism. A major gap exists in the academic literature linking up the study of backpacking with the study of tourism on the Indian Subcontinent. Comparatively little academic literature exists *specifically* about backpacking on the Indian Subcontinent. Exceptions include Scheyvans (2002), Davidson (2005), Maoz (2008), Korpela (2010), S. Cohen (2011), and Hottolla (2014).[126] This gap is particularly significant as scholars have acknowledged that backpackers are not all the same, and that backpacking and backpackers should be studied less homogenously.[127] This project aims to begin a new

[125] Michalis Nikolakakis, 'Representations and social practices of alternative tourists in post-war Greece to the end of the Greek military Junta', *Journal of Tourism History*, Vol. 7, No. 1-2 (2015).
[126] Darya Maoz, 'The Backpacking Journey of Israeli Women in Mid-life', in Kevin Hannam and Irena Ateljevic (eds.), *Backpacker Tourism: Concepts and Profiles* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2008); S. Cohen, 'Lifestyle Travellers'; Davidson, 'Alternative India'; Hottola, 'Somewhat empty meeting grounds'; Korpela, 'A Postcolonial Imagination'; Scheyvans, 'Backpacker Tourism and Third World Development'.
[127] E. Cohen, 'Backpacking: Diversity and Change', 106; S. Cohen, 'Lifestyle Travellers', 1535-1555.

branch in the study of backpacking, focusing on backpackers *specifically travelling on the Indian Subcontinent* and their motivations for doing so.

CHAPTER 3:
METHODOLOGY

1.1: Introduction:

This chapter contains three sections. In the first section, the parameters of analysis of the Overland Trail and its travellers are discussed, as well as those of contemporary backpackers travelling in India and Nepal. The second section discusses Oral History – the method used to collect data from travellers. The third section focuses on how interviewees were found, how interviews were conducted and on the analysis of interview material.

2: Parameters of analysis of the Overland Trail and its travellers:

2.1: Determining numbers of travellers on the Overland Hippie Trail:

As explained in Chapter 1, Section 2.4, defining the Overland Hippie Trail is extremely difficult because it had no *official* existence.[1] As the Trail was unofficial, it is not surprising that determining how many people travelled the trail is impossible. This view is shared by other authors such as Gemie and Ireland (2017), Maclean (2006) and Sobocinska (2014).[2] Estimates range from the 'conservative' hundreds of thousands as suggested by Sobocinska,[3] up to two million, suggested by Gemie and Ireland.[4] This estimate appears quite realistic, considering that during the 1970s, 90,000 tourists visited Afghanistan per year.[5] Over a decade, this equates to close to one million

[1] Sharif Gemie and Brian Ireland, *The Hippie Trail: A History, 1957-78* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 2.
[2] Rory Maclean, *Magic Bus: On the Hippie Trail From Istanbul To India* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 206; Agnieszka Sobocinska, 'Following the "Hippie Sahibs": Colonial cultures of travel and the Hippie Trail', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 15, No.2 (Summer 2014), 2; Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 6.
[3] Sobocinska, 'Following the "Hippie Sahibs", 2.
[4] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 6.
[5] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 151-152.

visitors. These figures also do not include those who skipped Afghanistan in favour of the Iran – Pakistan border crossing when travelling from Europe, those who travelled to India from the East through South East Asia, and those who flew directly into India or Nepal. A French diplomat told journalist Gita Mehta in the 1970s,

> Then you will be surprised to learn that by our calculations on the Indian subcontinent, which includes of course Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Nepal, our figures show the presence of about two hundred and thirty thousand French citizens. For these we have a record. But we calculate that there are perhaps another twenty thousand who are here without papers. Naturally we have no record of the children who may have been born to French citizens unless the parents inform us, and many do not. A lot of people contact us only when they are ill or dying.[6]

Despite a total number of travellers being impossible to determine, Gemie and Ireland (2017), have suggested that between 1967 and 1978 there were probably tens of thousands of travellers on the trail at any one time.[7]

2.2: Analysing the data:

Statistics provided by the Indian Ministry of Tourism show a slight but steady increase in tourist numbers to India between 1960 and 1968. However, in 1969 the percentage of tourists entering India jumped sharply by 29.6%.[8] The percentage continued to increase substantially over the next decade, from under 250,000 in 1969 to over 740,000 in 1978.[9] What is especially interesting however, are the numbers between 1979 and 1985, where the increases were extremely low, until 1986 saw another large increase of 29.62%.[10] The fact that an increase in tourist numbers between 1979 and 1985 was minimal corresponds with the fact that Iran closed its borders to Western land traffic in 1979, effectively ending the Overland Trail. The growth in tourist numbers to India in the 1970s and the reduced growth between 1979 and 1985 suggests that a substantial number of the tourists visiting India were entering by land through the Overland route.

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[6] Gita Mehta, *Karma Cola: Marketing The Mystic East* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 21.
[7] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 211.
[8] Hanumanthu Lajipathi Rai, *Development Of Tourism In India* (Jaipur: Printwell, 1993) 37.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid., 38.

Table 1: Tourist Arrivals in India 1960-1986.[11]

Year	Number of Tourist Arrivals in India	Percentage Increase Over Previous Year
1960	123,095	12.5
1961	139,805	13.6
1962	134,360	-3.9
1963	140,821	4.8
1964	156,673	11.3
1965	147,900	-5.6
1966	159,603	7.9
1967	179,565	12.5
1968 (Beatles visit India)	188,820	5.2
1969	244,724	29.6 (the percentage jumps)
1970	280,281	14.5
1971	300,995	7.2
1972	342,950	13.94
1973	409,895	19.52
1974	423,161	3.24
1975	465,275	9.95
1976	533,951	14.76
1977	640,422	19.94
1978	747,995	16.80
1979 (Iran closes border)	764,781	2.24 (the increase halts)
1980	800,150	4.61
1981	853,000	6.63
1982	860,000	0.82
1983	884,700	2.87
1984	852,500	-3.64
1985	836,908	-1.94
1986	1080,050	29.62 (a new increase)

Analysing the number of tourists to visit Nepal also leads to no specific conclusions as to how many people undertook the Overland Hippie Trail. As explained by academic Sanjay Nepal (2000), Nepal has been open to Western tourists since the 1950s, and attracted 4000 tourists in 1961.[12] Nepalese Department of Tourism statistics indicate that between 1962 and 1979 tourist numbers in Nepal increased rapidly from 6179 arrivals in 1962 to over 160,000 in 1979.[13] It is notable that the percentage increase virtually ceased from 1979, (like that of Indian tourist arrival numbers) until 1986, which saw a substantial increase of 23.4%.[14]

[11] Ibid., 37-38.
[12] Sanjay K. Nepal, 'Tourism In Protected Areas: The Nepalese Himalaya', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (2000), 663.
[13] Yajna Raj Satyal, *Tourism In Nepal – A Profile* (Varanasi: Nath Publishing House, 1988), 40.
[14] Ibid.

Table 2: Tourist Arrivals in Nepal 1962-1986.[15]

Year	Number of Tourist Arrivals in Nepal	Percentage Increase Over Previous Count
1962*	6,179	…
1966*	12,567	103.4 (the percentage jumps)
1970*	45,970	265.8
1974*	89,838	95.4
1975	92,440	2.9
1976	105,108	13.7
1977	129,329	23.0
1978	156,123	20.7
1979 (Iran closes border)	162,276	3.9 (the increase halts)
1980	162,897	0.4
1981	161,669	-0.8
1982	175,448	8.5
1983	179,405	2.3
1984	176,634	-1.5
1985	180,989	2.5
1986	223,331	23.4 (a new increase)

*From 1974 data was released annually, whereas between 1962 and 1974 data was released every fifth year.

Between 1974 and 1987, between 82% and 88% of tourists to Nepal arrived by air, with between 12% and 18% arriving by land.[16] Due to the inaccessibility of China to tourists during the 1970s, Nepal's only accessible land border was the border with India.

The closing of the Overland Trail through Iran did not affect the percentage of arrivals entering Nepal (from India) via land, with tourist numbers themselves, percentage increases and the breakdown of air and land arrivals all remaining relatively stable through the 1980s. What was noticeable however, was that the percentage increases slowed down significantly from 1979. While these figures do appear to confirm the hypothesis that Iran's closed borders slowed tourism in India and Nepal, they still fail to shed light on the numbers of Westerners undertaking the Overland Hippie Trail for the simple reason that not every individual who undertook the trail visited Nepal. Many chose specific places in India as their final destination. This is supported by the fact that twenty out of my sample group of seventy interviewees did not enter Nepal on their journeys during the 1960s and 1970s.

[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.

To make matters even 'worse', as explained by Sobocinska, tourism statistics were only haphazardly collected in many of the countries along the route of the trail.[17] While official records stating the number of Westerners entering India and the other countries along the route by land give some idea as to the numbers, these records do not differentiate between travellers 'undertaking the Overland Hippie Trail' and other travellers.

2.3: The Overland Trail vs the Overland *Hippie* Trail:

The question is further confused by the use of the term 'Hippie' within the title of the project. The Overland Trail as a transport route was used long before the 1960s, with travel between Europe and the Indian Subcontinent relatively common before the hippie movement began. An individual travelling from Europe to India along the route in the 1950s was certainly travelling the Overland Trail. However, it cannot be argued that they were travelling the 'Overland Hippie Trail', even if they travelled in the same manner as those who travelled the same route in the 1960s and 1970s and participated in similar activities, as the term 'hippie' hadn't come into use until the mid 1960s.[18]

A simplistic solution to this problem may be to adopt the collective narrative and divide travellers into two groups: those who identified as 'hippies' and those that didn't. This solution however is far too simplistic, as the 'Hippie Movement' was also not a clearly defined movement. The term 'hippie' appears to have first been employed by the *San Francisco Chronicle*, warning its readers of the neo-beatnik drift into the Haight-Ashbury neighbourhood in 1965. The term was nurtured by the magazine *Provo*, which adopted the name of a Dutch underground movement based on the word 'provoke' and aimed at revolting against the status quo.[19] The Hippie Movement can be seen as one element of a larger movement known as 'Counterculture' or 'The Underground' which Neville (1971) explained, "embraces hippies, beats, mystics, madmen, freaks, yippies, crazies, crackpots, communards and anyone who rejects rigid political ideology."[20] More importantly, the movement differs from *political*

[17] Sobocinska, 'Following the "Hippie Sahibs", 2.
[18] Richard Neville, *Playpower* (London: Paladin, 1971), 25.
[19] Ibid., 21-25.
[20] Ibid., 14.

movements. The aims of Counterculture and the Underground were of a *cultural* nature.[21] A more thorough discussion about the differences between the (apolitical) hippies and the (politicised) New Left can be found in Chapter 5, Section 2.9. As noted by Gemie and Ireland (2017), however, the origins of the term 'hippie' and the time period when it came into use do not help scholars to understand what the term meant to overland travellers in the 1960s and 1970s.[22]

2.4: How travellers saw themselves:

The problem with dividing travellers into 'hippies' and 'others' lies in the fact that travellers did not always identify either with or against the hippie movement or the counterculture in general, and thus did not generally adhere to the collective narrative of the typical Overland Hippie Trail traveller. Instead, travellers identified to varying degrees with the counterculture or particular (stereotypical) aspects of it. For example, some travellers identified with the search for spirituality, spending long periods of time in ashrams and practicing meditation, yet did not participate in drug use. Other travellers participated extensively in drug use, yet never set foot in an ashram or a temple. Other travellers experimented with both drugs and the spiritual search. Others still participated in neither. Gemie and Ireland (2017) support this suggestion, noting that amongst the interviewees in their study, approximately one quarter of their sample group travelled specifically to experience drugs and another quarter travelled specifically for spiritual purposes.[23] More importantly though, they have also suggested that spirituality and drug use were often seen as opposing poles along the trail.[24] No two travellers had the same feelings of identity.

To add to the confusion, even though the trail was popularised by the 'hippies', and became a mass movement through the popularity of the counterculture, this does not mean that someone who did not identify with the hippie movement was not travelling the 'Hippie Trail'. For example, a 'straight' person with no identification with the hippie movement can still visit a 'hippie market' and eat a vegetarian meal of lentils, drink chai, purchase incense and follow the narrative by participating in stereotypical

[21] Ibid.
[22] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 19.
[23] Ibid., 4.
[24] Ibid., 42.

behaviours considered 'hippie' by society in general. Just because they do not identify as hippies, or adhere to what the narrative states that Overland Hippie Trail travellers should be, does not mean that they can't travel the Hippie Trail.

A quick look at the primary source accounts of those who undertook the trail and wrote about their trips supports this argument: Many authors identified as rather 'straight' people, many as 'hippies', 'freaks' or countercultural types, and numerous others anywhere between these extremes. Gemie and Ireland (2017) also noted that while very few of their interviewees identified as hippies, not one challenged the validity of the term 'hippie trail'.[25] Therefore, in my view, any Westerner travelling as an independent budget traveller along the Overland Trail in the 1960s and 1970s was participating in the Overland Hippie Trail, regardless how much or how little they identified with the hippie subculture or with the collective narrative of the trail.

2.5: Use of the term *Overland*:

Along with the word 'hippie' blurring the lines of the trail, the word 'overland' also blurs. As explained in Chapter 4, Sections 5 and 7, the Overland Hippie Trail did not have to be completed over land – and, if travelling from Australasia, couldn't be completed entirely over land. Travellers could fly into India and conduct an Overland Hippie Trail through India alone without crossing into any other country.

2.6: Setting the parameters of this project:

As stated in Chapter 4, Section 3.1, despite the unclear parameters of the trail itself, the general consensus is that the trail consisted primarily of six countries: India, Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey; other countries held varying levels of relevance to the trail. Similarly, despite the unclear nature of who may or may not be classified as having undertaken the Overland Hippie Trail, parameters must be set in order for the project to succeed. The parameters I have used for this project are subjective and certainly not set in stone. They are based on my own interpretation of the trail and its travellers. Future scholars may contest or alter these parameters.

[25] Ibid., 25-26.

2.7: Defining the Overland Hippie Trail travellers:

Using the parameters I have imposed, all those who can legitimately be considered to have travelled the Overland Hippie Trail in the 1960s and/or 1970s must have shared each of the following six commonalities:

One: The Overland Trail Travellers were Westerners. The aspects of Eastern cultures being searched for (and idealised) by travelling Westerners were everyday aspects of life for citizens of India, Nepal and the other countries of the Trail. Cohen (1973) described 'drifting' as a thoroughly Western phenomenon,[26] and travellers of the Overland Trail clearly fit into the parameters of Cohen's 'drifters'.[27]

The one exception to this rule were Japanese travellers, the only non-Western group to make the journey in significant numbers.[28] This 'Japanese Question' poses a problem for the idea that Overland Trail travellers needed to be Westerners, as the Japanese travelled the trail in significant enough numbers to make their presence felt, and many actively participated in the hippie movement. However being from a Buddhist society, the Eastern philosophies of India and Nepal were not exotic, making the 'lure of the East' redundant to them. Japanese travelling to India and Nepal might be an approximate equivalent to Australasians or North Americans travelling in Europe (ie., as Westerners travelling in another part of the West).

Two: The Overland Trail travellers were tourists. Despite not identifying as tourists, the Overlanders were travelling for pleasure. Travel for pleasure is a common definition of tourism.[29] This is consistent with the definition adopted by the International Association of Scientific Experts in Tourism (AIEST), which states three distinctive elements of tourism: Involvement of travel by non-residents, stays of temporary nature in visited areas and stays not connected with activities involving earning money.[30]

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[26] Erik Cohen, 'Nomads from Affluence: Notes on the Phenomenon of Drifter-Tourism', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 14, No. 1-2 (1973), 92.
[27] Ibid., 89-103.
[28] Sobocinska, 'Following the "Hippie Sahibs", 2.
[29] Erik Cohen, 'A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences', *Sociology*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (May 1979), 179 and 198.
[30] R. Balasubramanian and T. J. Sampathkumar, 'Tourism Development in Tamil Nadu', *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 56, No. 1/4 (1995), 58-59.

Westerners studying or working in India had different experiences to Overland travellers and it is inaccurate to describe their sedentary stays as 'travelling the Trail'.

While Overland Trail travellers were tourists first and foremost, this did not mean that they completely abstained from earning money while travelling. It was quite common for travellers to top up their funds by working temporarily in one place as part of a larger trip. This is still the case with modern day backpackers.

Three: Trail travellers were independent travellers, or in today's terminology, 'backpackers', as opposed to package tourists. A definition of the term 'backpacker' has not been universally agreed upon by academics, however in *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice*, editors Grey Richards and Julie Wilson explain that backpackers can be characterised by their "…use of budget accommodation, flexibility, independently arranged itineraries, an emphasis on social contact with fellow-travellers and relatively long travel duration."[31] Travellers on the Trail did not stay in luxurious accommodation, and while some travelled on organised buses, the nature of these buses, their routes and their journeys were far from well organised. Passengers on these buses still organised the other aspects of their trips independently, qualifying them as independent travellers. To have flown to India, stayed in a luxury hotel and had all activities organised by the travel industry was not to have travelled the Trail.

Four: Trail travellers were budget conscious. They did not stay in expensive accommodation or eat in expensive restaurants. Saving money was an important consideration to most Trail travellers.[32] This is consistent with modern backpacking, even something which attains status for the traveller amongst their peers. For example Kain and King state that a backpacker may sleep on an airport bench rather than at a hotel because doing so adds status.[33] Jane Teas went into more detail in her 1988 study of backpackers in Kathmandu, explaining the travelling third class has more status than

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[31] Greg Richards and Julie Wilson, 'The Global Nomad: Motivations and Behaviour of Independent Travellers Worldwide', in Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (eds.), *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2004), 16.
[32] Jack Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven: Rites of Way on the Overland Route* (Port Melbourne: Government of South Australia through Arts South Australia, 2001), 14.
[33] Denise Kain and Brian King, 'Destination-Based Product Selections by International Backpackers in Australia', in Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (eds.) *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2004), 201.

first class, travelling on top of the bus had more status than in the bus etcetera.[34] "Anything that is cheap and uncomfortable is better than anything that is expensive and comfortable."[35]

Five: To be considered to have travelled the Trail, travellers must have travelled to either India or Nepal. While travellers who fit the other four criteria would undisputedly be considered budget travellers or backpackers (as opposed to 'mass tourists'), and their experiences no less authentic, romantic or important, their trips do not constitute the Trail, as they have not reached the key destinations of that particular journey. The Trail centred on India and Nepal and to not reach one of these countries makes a Trail journey incomplete.

Six: To be considered to have travelled the Overland Hippie Trail, the traveller must have travelled part (or all) of their trip between 1960 and 1980. As stated in the introduction, the Overland Hippie Trail phenomenon ended in 1979 with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Iranian Revolution, which closed the trail to land traffic. However the starting date of the trail is extremely unclear, but is widely acknowledged to be within the 1960s. Therefore the beginning of the decade is an appropriate place to set the boundary, as these parameters give a clear period of two consecutive decades from which no trip along the Overland Hippie Trail can legitimately be excluded.

3.1: Oral History:

When exploring the myths and legends of the Overland Hippie Trail constructed collective narrative, many individual recollections are needed to test the accuracy of that narrative. To create these individual narratives, the technique of oral interviewing was used.

3.2: Why Oral History?

[34] Jane Teas, 'I'm studying monkeys. What do you do? Youth and travellers in Nepal', *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers*, No. 67-68 (1988), 36.
[35] Ibid.

After a contentious beginning, over the past fifty years, oral history has become an accepted form of recording history, and the pitfalls, difficulties and strengths have been established with historians having learnt how to deal with the problems.

Oral history brings the individual to the fore. Independent travel (both during the 1960s/1970s and now) is primarily an individual pursuit. No two journeys are the same even though 'the trail' may be well worn. The Overland Hippie Trail was not one journey, but thousands, maybe even millions, of journeys, all with their own highlights, lowlights, significant events, interpretations and realisations. While it is impossible for any form of history to tell the full story of every single journey along the trail, oral history has a far greater chance than any other method of exploring limited snapshots of *some* of the many journeys undertaken by an abundance of *individuals* to India and Nepal in the 1960s and 1970s.

Oral history tells a story like no other form of history can. As explained by Reimer (1984), the most important feature of oral history is its ability to create source material when none exists.[36] The Overland Trail Generation are now elderly, and if their stories are not told soon they will be lost forever. The stories they offer are not stories which can be found through the analysis of data, such as records of border crossings, stamps in old passports, hotel receipts, train tickets, or even souvenirs. When the Overland Trail Generation tell their travel stories to their grandchildren about to embark on their first backpacking adventures, the date that they crossed the border from Iran into Afghanistan in 1972, the name of the bus they used to do so, and the price of the hotel they stayed in that night are completely irrelevant – to both the story teller and their audience. What really matters, is how they felt, what they saw, their interpretations, their experiences, their relationships, their hardships, their highlights, their heroes and the knowledge they attained through travelling and how it influenced their lives moving forward. A stamp in an old passport is simply dried ink, and cannot possibly be compared to a story from someone who experienced a time and place first hand fifty years earlier. Oral interviewing can uncover what is *not* in a document and why it has been left out, as the interviewer has the potential to uncover additional documentary

[36] Derek Reimer (ed.), *Voices: A Guide to Oral History* (British Colombia: Provincial Archives of British Colombia Sound And Moving Image Division, 1984), 1.

evidence through the interview.[37] In the case of this particular project, oral interviewing allows Overland Trail Generation travellers to explain the everyday realities of their journeys to and within India, and provide an insight into the realities of being searched for drugs while crossing borders, travelling on dangerous public transport, becoming ill from contaminated water or food, and even of dealing with tiresome bureaucracy while purchasing train tickets in India. Numerous interviewees told tales relating to these hindrances.

Oral history also gives a perspective of history from the bottom up, rather than from the top down: Thomson (1999), emphasized that oral history reveals the hidden histories of people on the margins of society.[38] Several scholars, including Thompson (1982-1983, 2000), Lynd (1993), Bornat (1993), Reimer (1984), Portelli (1991), and Frisch (1990) have explained that while the focus of history has traditionally been political, emphasizing the histories of 'Great white men', oral history allows ordinary people to speak for themselves rather than being spoken for by what Reimer (1984), refers to as a 'detached unsympathetic elite'.[39] The 'stars of this show' were (and still are) ordinary people. They are not famous. They are not in the public eye. Even those who have written books about the trail and their experiences on it many years later have not attained anything like celebrity status. As emphasized by Seldon and Pappworth (1983), and Stoddart (1978-1979), oral history is particularly useful for demonstrating how ordinary people lived and worked.[40] In this project, oral history demonstrates how and why they travelled.

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[37] Anthony Seldon and Joanna Pappworth, *By Word Of Mouth: 'Elite' oral history* (London and New York: Methuen, 1983), 46; Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, Third Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 9; Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral Hisotry: A Practical Guide*, Second Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 27.

[38] Alistair Thomson, 'Fifty Years on: An International Perspective on Oral History', *Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, Vol. 21 (1999), 83.

[39] Staughton Lynd, 'Oral History From Below', *The Oral History Review*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Spring, 1993), 1; Joanna Bornat, 'Two Oral Histories: Valuing Our Differences', *The Oral History Review*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Spring, 1993), 75; Paul Thompson, 'Oral History and the Historian', *Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, Vol. 5 (1982-1983), 43-44; Alessandro Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different?', in Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), 40; Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 22. Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, 3 and 77; Reimer, *Voices*, 1.

[40] Brian Stoddart, 'Oral History and Popular Culture', *Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, Vol. 1 (1978-1979), 78; Seldon and Pappworth, *By Word Of Mouth*, 38-39. Seldon and Pappworth (1983), noted that oral history can provide a rich contribution to documenting individual personalities, including their likes, dislikes, ideas and peculiar traits and pastimes. Stoddart (1978-1979), explained

Finally, oral history allows for a thorough *interpretation* of events and personalities, and can uncover new information about a subject, person or event which may have been everyday knowledge at the time, but had not been recorded elsewhere.[41] For example, it is well known that Iran closed its borders to Westerners in 1979,[42] however interviewee David Edwards recollected his bus journey where the bus driver sped through the night at high speed to reach the border before the unfolding revolution would force its closure.[43] This particular story offered a personal snapshot into experiencing first hand an historical event generally known only for its date.

The advantages of using oral interviews are numerous and particularly suitable for this project where limited documentary evidence is available, while the alleged drawbacks of oral interviewing do not appear to pose problems for this particular project.

3.3: Potential drawbacks of Oral History and the unreliability of memory:

As noted by Thompson (1994), Seldon and Pappworth (1983) and Ritchie (2003), the major criticism of oral history from documentary historians regards the unreliability of memory.[44] When examining the accounts of travellers who travelled the Overland

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that oral history can also show how everyday leisure activities mould attitudes about society and behaviour in general.

[41] Ann Curthoys and Ann McGrath, *How to write History that people want to read* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2009), 92; Reimer, *Voices*, 2. Reimer (1984), explained, "The strength of oral history is … in the expression of attitudes, feelings, impressions, (and) the anecdotes that bring history to life." [Reimer, *Voices*, 2.] Curthoys and McGrath (2009), explained, "Many stories can only be learnt via oral histories: of a soldier fighting in a war, of a family escaping over a forbidden border at peril of violent death, of the near-fatal boat-trips of refugees on their journey toward a new life." [Curthoys and McGrath, *How to write History that people want to read*, 92.]

[42] Melanie Ball, 'The overlanders', *Escape, The Sunday Age*, 1 July, 2001, 14; Richard Gregory, 'A Brief History of the Hippie Trail', http://www.richardgregory.org.uk/history/hippie-trail.htm, accessed on 1 October 2016; Agnieszka Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours: Australians In Asia* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2014), 159; Klaus Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach: An Ethnography of Modern Travellers in Asia* (Bangkok: White Lotus Co, Ltd., 2002), 24; Sobocinska, 'Following the "Hippie Sahibs", 2; Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 59; Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 18. Gemie and Ireland (2017), stated that the Iranian Revolution occurred in 1978 and 1979. This appears to be factually incorrect however. All other authors mentioned in this footnote stated that the revolution occurred in 1979.

[43] David Edwards, interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, May 4, 2015.

[44] Alistair Thomson, in Alistair Thomson, Michael Frisch and Paula Hamilton, 'The Memory and History Debates: Some Internationsl Perspectives', *Oral History*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 25th Anniversary Issue (Autumn 1994), 33; Seldon and Pappworth, *By Word Of Mouth*, 17; Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 20. Thompson (1994), noted that documentary historians have also considered memory to be distorted by physical deterioration and nostalgia from old age, as well as the collective and retrospective interpretations of the past. Ritchie (2003), even specified that the unreliability of memory has been a criticism of oral history originally held by Thucydides in ancient times.

Trail in the 1960s and 1970s (over forty years ago), the vividness (or lack thereof) of their memories must be taken into account. Caunce (1994), and Mitchell (2009) examined scenarios where participants and witnesses of events only partially saw or heard what had happened.[45] However, as explained by Thompson (1972), (1982-1983) and (2000), and Neuenschwander (1978), *long term memory* remains remarkably accurate over time and does not deteriorate.[46] While the exact details of small events are not important to this study, the long term memory of interviewees is highly important.

Brockmeier (2010) explained that the *social and cultural* field of memory research is the one relevant to oral history.[47] The two most relevant aspects of memory to this project are *pure memory*, or the memories of individuals and *collective memory*, or the memories shared by a large group.

Pure Memory is the ability to retrieve the remembered past in any given present and relies on the recollection of images, with the memory image drawn from personal past experiences – meaning that memory refers to the representations of past experiences in the sphere of personal identity.[48] *Pure Memory* however, is not of vital importance to this project, as demonstrated in the following scenario: Two travellers who travelled together from Delhi to Goa explain to the interviewer how they met, with one traveller convinced that they met on the train between Delhi and Bombay in October 1971. The

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[45] Stephen Caunce, *Oral History and the Local Historian* (London and New York: Longman, 1994), 21; Bob Mitchell, 'Fact or Fiction: Who Am I to Judge?', *The Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, No. 31 (2009), 38. Caunce (1994), expressed this point using the example that witnesses can contradict each other on virtually all details of a robbery shortly after the event. Mitchell (2009), a privately commissioned interviewer, stated that he was convinced that often told memories belonging to others eventually became one's own after they had been constantly repeated over time.

[46] Paul Thompson, 'Problem of Method in Oral History', *Oral History*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1972), 6: John A. Neuenschwander, 'Remembrance of Things Past: Oral Historians and Long-Term Memory', *The Oral History Review*, Vol. 6 (1978), 47-48; Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, 130; Thompson, 'Oral History and the Historian', 43. Thompson (1972), (1982-1983) and (2000), explained that memory remains remarkably accurate after most facts are forgotten in the first five days after an event, so that recollections six years and twenty years later remain similar, both in regards to what has been forgotten and what has been retained. Neuenschwander (1978), supported this, emphasizing Bartlett's first study of long term memory involving North Americans who recounted a story several times, whereby the story didn't change much over time, and the basic facts remained consistent.

[47] Jens Brockmeier, 'After the Archive: Remapping Memory', *Culture & Psychology*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (2010), 11. Brockmeier (2010) explained that the study of memory can be divided into four fields of memory research: 1. Social and cultural, 2. Technological, 3. Literary and artistic, and 4. Biological and cognitive, with the social and cultural field relevant to history – especially to oral history.

[48] Jeffrey Andrew Barash, *Collective Memory and the Historical Past* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 8.

other traveller agrees that they met around October 1971 but is convinced that they met on the boat from Bombay to Goa after having caught the train from Delhi to Bombay. Although the two travellers remember the event from 40 years earlier differently, the exact location of their first encounter is not of interest to the author. The author is far more interested in why they were travelling in the first place, and how they travelled. During interviews, interviewees occasionally mixed up their experiences from Pakistan and Afghanistan, or national parks they visited in Nepal and India. These mistakes however were of a trivial nature, and interviewees were certain of the details of events they considered significant, many of which can be verified in written sources.

Collective Memory is also of importance when discussing the Overland Trail Generation, and refers to a memory, narrative or consciousness shared between members of a large collective of people.[49] Large collectives may refer to ethnic groups, national groups, religious groups, or for the purposes of this study, travellers from the Overland Trail Generation travelling to India and Nepal. The memories of such vast collectives are referred to as 'collective imagination'.[50] This collective imagination dictates the collective narrative mentioned earlier. As explained in Chapter 1, Section 3.1, some interviewees from this project subscribe to the established collective narrative of the Overland Trail Generation, while others challenge it.

Studies of Collective Memory originated with the work of Maurice Halbwachs, who coined the term in 1925.[51] Halbwachs argued that while not every individual within a group would remember the exact same events with the same intensity, they would remember those memories which were in harmony with others – thus creating the collective memory as the memories of each individual become merged and submerged.[52]

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[49] Jeffrey Andrew Barash, 'Articulations of Memory: Reflections on Imagination and the Scope of Collective Memory in the Public Sphere', *Journal of Literature and the History of Ideas*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2012), 183

[50] Barash, 'Articulations of Memory', 187.

[51] Anna Green, 'Individual Remembering and 'Collective Memory': Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates', *Oral History*, Vol. 32, No. 2, (Autumn 2004), 37; Bethan Coupland, 'Remembering Blaenavon: What Can group Interviews Tell Us About "Collective Memory"?', *The Oral History Review*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Summer-Fall, 2015), 279; Barry Godfrey and Jane Richardson, 'In Deep Water: The Ethical Use of Transcripted Oral Material', *Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, Vol. 23 (2001), 75.

[52] Green, 'Individual Remembering and 'Collective Memory', 38.

The history of any large collective is not always positive, so the collective imagination is formed by remembering elements of the past which retain a healthy vitality for the collective while forgetting what is bothersome in this collective past.[53] For example, in the current study, interviewees often glorify and celebrate what their collective would like to be remembered for while ignoring uncomfortable facts. Interviewees often glorified the fact that they travelled independently, did not conform to the norms of their societies and triggered the independent travel movement on a mass scale. Bothersome facts which challenge this idyllic myth of the Overland Trail Generation include: theft between travellers, travellers dealing drugs, travellers being 'bailed out' by their parents or embassies when they ran out of money, and even the idea that the trail was well trodden and not as ground breaking or adventurous as what the collective would like to believe. These are not celebrated by the collective because they do not fit in with the image the collective would like to remember itself by. In this way, through their collective imagination or collective consciousness, a community creates its own history.

For this very reason, Pierre Nora (1989), and Michael Fritsch (1990), have both emphasized the problematic relationship between history and collective memory, explaining that memory is ever evolving through collective narrative and only accommodating facts which suit it, and making it difficult for historians to confront, while history is critical and objective, and hence suspicious of memory.[54] This problematic relationship doesn't appear to have affected this project though. While many interviewees subscribe to and celebrate the collective narrative of the Overland Trail Generation, many challenge the narrative (or certain aspects of it), strongly emphasizing that it does not represent them accurately.

3.4: Limitations of Oral History:

[53] Barash, 'Articulations of Memory', 188.
[54] Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Memoire, Representations*, No. 26 (1989), 8-9; Fritsch, *A Shared Authority*, 21-22. Nora (1989), stated dramatically, "History is perpetually suspicious of memory, and its true mission is to suppress and destroy it." [p. 9.], while Fritsch (1990), stated, "Memory has always proven difficult for historians to confront, committed as they are to notions of objectivity beyond the definite subjectivity of individual and collective recall." [p. 21.] Fritsch (1990), also explained that in English, there is no very for the noun 'history' – explaining that we can study history, whereas for the noun memory, we can remember.

Other criticisms of oral history revolve around limitations of the interviewer, including selectivity of narrators, and dependence on survivors and those who agree to be interviewed distorting studies, though both of these problems can be avoided through the due diligence of the author.[55] In the present project, the author addressed the first of these concerns by providing interviewees with the option of an interview undertaken via email, where the introverted interviewee could complete the interview questions in his or her own time and at his or her own pace. The search for a representative sample group, through snowball sampling (see Section 4.3 of this chapter), also helped mitigate against this problem. Dependence on survivors was not a major issue for this project. Only two interviewees have died between the time they were interviewed and the submission of this thesis. The relatively recent nature of events has meant that the author has had a healthy number of survivors to choose from when sourcing interviewees.

Limitations in the inherent nature of interviewing also exist. Examples include the neglect of important macro historical issues in favour of personal stories, as discussed by Raleigh Yow (1994), and contamination of interviews through re-interviewing, examined by Hay (1986).[56] In the present project, the author has endeavoured to address the first of these issues by describing the historical context of the Overland Hippie Trail and the era it fell in.[57] The second issue was addressed through an intentionally designed

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[55] Anna Ambrosy, *Immigrant Stories* (Melbourne: Victorian Multicultural Commission, 2004), v; Valerie Raleigh Yow, *Recording Oral History: A Practical Guide for Social Scientists* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1994), 17; Seldon and Pappworth, *By Word Of Mouth*, 27 and 34-35; Raleigh Yow (1994), explained that selectivity of narrators provides a potential problem, as the articulate, witty, or sociable (as opposed to the shy, inarticulate, or more private) tend to speak, and speak out for other members of their collective. Ambrosy (2004), in her study of a community of Hungarian immigrants residing in Melbourne, Australia, discussed the dependence on survivors, as some of those she interviewed had passed away in the intervening years between her conducting of interviews and publishing or work.

[56] Roy Hay, *The Use and Abuse of Oral Evidence* (Victoria: Deakin University Press, 1986), 4 and 15; Raleigh Yow, *Recording Oral History*, 16. Raleigh Yow (1994), noted that oral history, in its inherent nature, neglects important macro historical issues involving institutional decisions regarding financial or economic matters. For example, the failures of government to look after citizens during the Great Depression were ignored by Terkel in *Hard Times*, with the focus being on personal stories of interviewees instead. Hay (1986), explained that the freshness of the initial telling of a story cannot be recaptured in a subsequent interview and that an interviewee may reconsider how they tell a particular story if given the opportunity to tell it again.

[57] While macro history is undoubtedly important in understanding the era of the Overland Hippie Trail, the nature of this particular project focuses on the personal stories of individuals without great wealth or status and undoubtedly focuses almost entirely on micro history. This project is about uncovering a hidden history of the trail that macro history fails to reveal, hence making this particular 'limitation' superfluous. As explained in Section 3.2 of this chapter, the personal stories of an elderly person from

interview structure, whereby questions were specifically not repeated in subsequent interviews.[58]

3.5: Interpersonal considerations when interviewing:

An array of important issues arising from the interpersonal nature of oral interviewing should be taken into consideration:

As explained by Thomson (2011), the interviewees' perceptions of the interviewer affect both questions and answers.[59] Developing a rapport between interviewer and interviewee is of the utmost importance to the interviewer. Thomson (2011) and (1999), and Richardson (1978-1979) both emphasized that ensuring that an interviewee feels comfortable in the presence of the interviewer assists with building such rapport.[60] The importance of understanding the interview topic has also been stressed by Norrick (2005), Dunaway (1987), Caplan (1985), Roberts (2013), and Cornwall and Gearing (1989).[61] All steps possible were taken by the author to make all interviewees feel

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the Overland Trail Generation tell their grandchildren what a stamp in their long-expired passport can't.

[58] In this project, some interviewees were interviewed twice: Firstly in 2014 for the preceding Honours Thesis on the same topic, and again during 2015-2017 for the current project. However, when this was the case, the original questions from the 2014 project were not asked a second time. Only additional questions were asked.

[59] Alistair Thomson, 'Moving stories, women's lives: Sharing authority in oral history', *Oral History*, Vol. 39, No. 2, (Autumn 2011), 74.

[60] Alan Richardson, 'Oral History and the Focused Interview', *Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, Vol. 1 (1978-1979), 79; Thomson, 'Moving stories, women's lives', 74; Thomson, 'Fifty Years on', 83. Richardson (1978-1979), explained that people generally like others who are similar to them, and that appearing similar to the interviewee, by wearing informal attire during the interview was beneficial. He used the example of Dutch immigrants to Australia being more open to Dutch interviewers than to Australian interviewers because of their affinity with the former. Thomson (1999), also examined the strengths and weaknesses of an 'insider' conducting interviews.

[61] David King Dunaway, 'Field Recording Oral History', *The Oral History Review*, Vol. 15, No. 1, Fieldwork in Oral History (Spring, 1987), 28; Sofie Caplan, 'Oral History as history of the powerless, the weak, the victim', *Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, Vol. 7 (1985), 50; Jocelyn Cornwall and Brian Gearing, 'Biographical Interviews with Older People', *Oral History*, Vol. 17, No. 1, (Spring 1989), 38; Neal R. Norrick, 'Talking about Remembering and Forgetfulness in Oral History Interviews', *The Oral History Review*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Summer-Autumn, 2005), 10; Carol Roberts, 'And you're still speaking to each other?' Drawing the line between friendship and oral history', *The Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, No. 35 (2013), 12. Norrick (2005), explained a shared background knowledge between interviewee and interviewer builds rapport. Dunaway (1987), explained that interviewees often reveal more once the interviewer has demonstrated some 'insider knowledge' of the topic. Caplan (1985) argued that preparing oneself with atlases, chronicles of events, and a basic understanding of relevant areas, times and processes are of vital importance, and that an interviewer should not approach an interview armed only with a tape-recorder and cassettes. Roberts (2013), explained that before interviewing artist Grey Hansell, she learned a bit about art in preparation for the interview. However, she also noted that not being an artist herself was actually helpful in some ways as the narrator explained more about his art in more detail as there was no assumed knowledge.

comfortable during interviews, and extensive background research on the trail and those who travelled along it was undertaken before interviews were conducted. This research included reading primary source accounts of the trail, some of which were written by interviewees.

The topic of interviewing friends, acquaintances or family members has been discussed by several scholars, including Roberts (2013), Thomson (2011), Yow (1995), Zembrzycki (2013), K'Meyer and Crothers (2007).[62] This was particularly relevant to this project, as some of the interviewees were known to the author before the project. The author did not find interviewing friends or acquaintances difficult during this project, challenging them no less than he challenged other interviewees. However, this was not difficult due to the depoliticized nature of the topics being discussed. No family members of the author were interviewed.

A major discussion point for this particular project, as discussed by Thomson (2011), Chandler (2005), Bornat (2010), Norrick (2006), and Mitchell (2009), involves the age gaps between the author and interviewees.[63] The author, born in 1976, when

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Cornwall and Gearing (1989), stated that when the interviewer has the least amount of insight into the life of the interviewee, they have the least amount of rapport with the interviewee.

[62] Stacey Zembrzycki, 'Bringing stories to life: using new media to disseminate and critically engage with oral history interviews', *Oral History*, Vol. 41, No. 1, (Spring 2013), 101; Valerie Yow, 'Ethics and Interpersonal Relationships in Oral History Research', *The Oral History Review*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Summer, 1995), 57-58; Tracey E. K'Meyer and Glenn Crothers, "If I See Some of This in Writing, I'm Going to Shoot You!": Reluctant Narrators, Taboo Topics, and the Ethical Dilemmas of the Oral Historian', *The Oral History Review*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Winter-Spring, 2007), 83; Roberts, 'And you're still speaking to each other?', 15; Thomson, 'Moving stories, women's lives', 79. Roberts (2013), noted that a good friendship isn't enough to guarantee a good interview. Thomson (2011), also stated that Yow worries that interviewers may like their interviewees too much to write vigorous histories about them. Zembrzycki (2013), originally found interviewing a family member a hinderance to her project, but eventually she realised that her family members presence was a strength due to the opportunities it made available. Yow (1995), discussed the differences between professional relationships (between interviewer and interviewee) and friendships, and the occasions when interviewees don't understand the concept of professional relationship. K'Meyer and Crothers (2007), examined 'how personal is too personal?' when the professional relationship between interviewer and interviewee becomes blurred, using the example of an interviewee 'milking' them for company and assistance around her house.

[63] Sally Chandler, 'Oral History across Generations: Age, Generational Identity and Oral Testimony', *Oral History*, Vol. 33, No. 2, (Autumn 2005), 52-53; Joanna Bornat, 'Remembering and Reworking Emotions: The Reanalysis of Emotion in an Interview', *Oral History*, Vol. 38, No. 2, (Autumn 2010), 49; Ned Norrick, 'Humour in Oral History Interviews', *Oral History*, Vol. 34, No. 2, (Autumn 2006), 86-87; Thomson, 'Moving stories, women's lives', 75; Mitchell, 'Fact or Fiction', 38. Thomson (2011), explained that age difference between interviewer and interviewees can sometimes make some topics of conversation, such as sex, awkward. Of greater importance however, is that the interviewer must be mindful not to make assumptions about the views of people of other generations. Chandler (2005), noted that young people often view old people as incompetent, inflexible, slow, in decline, old fashioned, and close to death, but that they also make more positive assumptions, such as equating age with wisdom. Various oral historians have discussed issues specifically relating to interviewing elderly

interviewing Overland Trail Generation interviewees was often interviewing those who had travelled to India and Nepal before he (the author) was born. Additionally, when interviewing contemporary backpackers in India and Nepal in 2016, the author was sometimes interviewing people nearly twenty years younger than him. When conducting all interviews, the author was mindful of the issues raised by the aforementioned scholars, and no issues of concern resulted from age differentials.

Numerous scholars, including Yow (1995), Hamilton (1996), Thomson (1999), Brehaut (1999), Hamilton (1996 and 2008), and Boyd (2015) have discussed the confronting difficulties faced by interviewers when interviewing individuals whose political views or ideologies are different or even opposed to their own.[64] The topic of this project is not of a particularly politicised nature, hence the fear of political clashes between interviewer and interviewees was extremely minimal. No problems occurred.

4: The interviewing process: Finding interviewees, conducting interviews and analysis of interview material:

4.1: Finding interviewees:

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interviewees: Bornat (2010), noted that late in life, feelings continue to play a part in remembering, while Norrick (2006), emphasized the switches made by older narrators between their past and present identities during an interview. Mitchell (2009), discussed problems synonymous with old age including problems with concentration and confusion, often resulting in interviewees contradicting themselves and not being able to decide which version of a story is true, due to events occurring many years earlier.

[64] Jodie Boyd, 'His narrative, my history: problematising subjectivity and the uses of oral history interviews, *Oral History*, Vol. 43, No. 2, (Autumn 2015), 64-66; Loreen Brehaut, 'A Terrible Responsibility: Editing the Spoken Word for Print', *Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, Vol. 21 (1999), 29-30; Carrie Hamilton, 'On Being a 'Good' Interviewer: Empathy, Ethics and the Politics of Oral History', *Oral History*, Vol. 36, No. 2, (Autumn 2008), 36-37; Paula Hamilton, 'Are oral historians losing the plot?', *Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, Vol. 18 (1996), 44; Thomson, 'Fifty Years on', 87; Yow, 'Ethics and Interpersonal Relationships in Oral History Research', 63. Boyd (2015), found this confronting and struggled with not challenging her interviewee about his views. Similarly, Brehaut (1999), in her interviews with indigenous Australians, mentioned many statements made by those she interviewed which did not sit well with her own world view, and reflected that oral historians may collect information which goes against their expectations – as she did. Hamilton (2008), examined Kathleen Blee's article about interviewing Ku Klux Klan members and how easy they were to interview and develop rapport with (See Kathleen M. Blee, 'Women in the 1920s' Ku Klux Klan Movement', *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Spring 1991), 57-77.), suggesting that the reason for this ease in interviewing may have been that cultural and social connections between interviewer and interviewee are stronger than political views. She also discussed the pros and cons of arguing with the narrator (taken from her own interview with an ETA member). Hamilton (1996), posed the important question: "How do you represent unpalatable viewpoints in democratic societies by democratic means without depoliticising them, yet still remaining 'true' to your sources, the voices of people, who believe their viewpoint, however distasteful, is legitimate." [p. 44]

A major aspect of this project involves the interviewing of seventy travellers who travelled the Overland Hippie Trail in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as a group of eighty contemporary backpackers who had travelled in India or Nepal since the beginning of 2014. Interviews with both groups of travellers were conducted using a Qualitative Research Methodology, whereby potential interviewees are selected from a population because (in this case due to their travels) they are deemed appropriate to be interviewed, as opposed to a Quantitative Methodology whereby participants are randomly selected from a population.[65]

4.2: Finding 'Overland Trail Generation' interviewees:

To obtain a representative sample of travellers which reflected the norms of the 1960s and 1970s era, interviewees from the first group needed to meet the following strict yet minimal criteria: To be Westerners travelling on a budget in India and/or Nepal between 1960 and 1980. If a potential interviewee could meet this criteria, they would qualify to be interviewed for the project. No issues of identity were taken into account when determining whether or not a potential interviewee qualified for the project or not. For example, it made no difference whether the interviewee identified as a 'hippie' or not. In order to obtain an objective sample of interviewees, interviews were conducted on a 'first come, first served' basis, with a strict limit of seventy interviewees. This method is known as Convenience Sampling, whereby participants are selected for a study based on their proximity to the researcher and the ease with which they can be accessed by the researcher.[66] In line with this method, the author interviewed the first seventy travellers with whom he could arrange an interview. No interviewees were excluded for their trips being uninteresting or irrelevant; no extra interviewees would be included, regardless how interesting their trips sounded.

In 2014, the author wrote an Honours Thesis about a related topic and also conducted interviews using this same method, with exactly the same criteria, and with a limit of forty interviewees. Thirty eight interviews were conducted for that project and the thirty eight participants from that project were the first thirty eight people the author intended

[65] Gayle Jennings, *Tourism Research: Second Edition* (Queensland: John Wiley & Sons Australia Ltd, 2010), 127-131.
[66] Ibid., 139.

to interview for this project, keeping consistency with the Convenience Sampling Method. Of the thirty eight 2014 interviewees, one had died since the 2014 project was finished, and another could not be contacted, despite numerous attempts. Of the remaining thirty six interviewees, all thirty six agreed to be interviewed again for the new project. Therefore, all thirty six were reinterviewed with additional questions which were then added to their original 2014 interviews. While they were not asked the same questions asked to them in 2014 their answers from those original questions were still used for this project. The other thirty four, or 'new interviewees' who did not participate in the 2014 project were asked exactly the same questions as those who participated in 2014, as well as extra questions formulated at the beginning of this project. Therefore, all seventy participants in this project were asked the same questions, however the 'old interviewees' had answered half of these questions in 2014 and the second half of the questions in 2015 and 2016 (depending when their interview was conducted). The 'new interviewees' were asked all questions in 2015 or 2016 (once again, depending when their interview was conducted).

'New interviewees' were sourced in exactly the same manner in which 'old interviewees' were sourced: through Convenience Sampling. Some were people known to the author before the project began. Others were people known to others who heard about the project. On hearing about the project, numerous people stated that one of their family members, friends or workmates had undertaken the Overland Hippie Trail and might fit into the interview criteria. This method of sampling is known as Snowball Sampling.[67] All of these leads were followed up, and any individuals who met the criteria were offered interviews. The vast majority of those who were offered interviews accepted them and were interviewed. The Overland Hippie Trail was a large, transnational movement spanning two decades, and subsequently, a number of interviewees had friends and contacts who had also undertaken the journey. These personal ties were used to facilitate contact, and those who could be contacted were also offered interviews, and once again, the vast majority accepted. As emphasized by Uriely and Belhassen (2006), Snowball Sampling is an effective method for

[67] Ibid., 140.

overcoming the difficulties of collecting interviewees from concealed populations,[68] and this method of data collection proved extremely effective in this project.

Since a number of people had written books about their experiences on the Overland Trail, the author, in what is known as Expert Sampling,[69] endeavoured to contact as many of these authors as possible, and then to conduct interviews with them. A number of these authors, such as Tony Wheeler (founder of Lonely Planet Guidebooks), David Tomory and Dave Barrett accepted and were subsequently interviewed. Other high profile people were also contacted such as spiritual teacher Swami Shankarananda. As expected, not all high profile people agreed to be interviewed.

4.3: Maintaining a transnational approach to the project:

The hippie movement was an international movement and the Overland Hippie Trail was a transnational phenomenon. Therefore, the author was concerned with the possibility that the project could become dominated by Australian interviewees and thus skew the sample group towards a parochially Australian perspective. Therefore, the project was advertised on various Facebook pages dedicated to the Overland Hippie Trail, with a call out for interviewees. The members of these Facebook groups were generally from North America, Britain and Western Europe. This call out was extremely successful and many of the non-Australian interviewees were found through this medium. However, this was also where the author had more interview offers declined than anywhere else. Some former travellers seemed suspicious of the project and others seemed suspicious of the university paperwork – in particular, signing the consent form. One declined because he felt that sharing his story in an interview would not be in his financial interests, as he intended to write a book about his experiences and make money through it.

As the project gained momentum, and became more well known internationally, the author was contacted not only by former travellers offering to participate in interviews, but also by others working on similar projects in other parts of the world. In another case of Snowball Sampling, contacts were shared with these other researchers, as were

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[68] Natan Uriely and Yaniv Belhassen, 'Drugs And Risk-Taking In Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (2006), 346-347.
[69] Jennings, *Tourism Research*, 140.

sources of information. Some of the interviewees from this project were found through these researchers overseas. These contacts were valuable in ensuring that the project had an internationally representative group of participants. Naturally however, the Australian contingent is probably overrepresented slightly in the project. For this reason, I have viewed the project as a 'Transnational study from a largely Australian perspective'.

4.4: Conducting 'Overland Trail Generation' interviews:

Interviews were conducted primarily with one of two methods: a written interview via email or face to face using a Dictaphone. Most of the face to face interviews were conducted live, in most cases in the home of the interviewee, however some were conducted via Skype due to the interviewees living in Britain, the United States and Sweden. Phone interviews were also used in some cases.

The interviewees were asked questions primarily about the Overland Hippie Trail's role in the creation of the contemporary backpacking phenomenon (the focus of the 2014 Honours Thesis project) and their motivations as travellers (the focus for this project). Interviewees were asked how the Overland Hippie Trail phenomenon changed the countries and cities along its route and the lives of the people who lived in these places and were also asked how the phenomenon changed the West as well as a number of other questions. On average, recorded interviews with the Overland Trail Generation interviewees lasted for around one hour.

4.5: Finding 'Contemporary Backpacker' interviewees:

In order to establish key similarities and differences between the motivations of those who undertook the Overland Trail in the 1960s and 1970s and contemporary backpackers travelling in India and Nepal recently, eighty contemporary backpackers were also interviewed using a qualitative methodology. As was the case with the interviewees of the former group, to be interviewed as part of the latter group, a strict yet minimal criteria was also needed. In order to qualify as an interviewee in the 'contemporary backpacker' group, the prospective interviewee needed to have travelled as a backpacker in India and/or Nepal any time since January 1st 2014. To undertake

my research, I travelled to India and Nepal in April 2016 specifically to interview a snapshot of backpackers travelling there. 76 of the 80 interviews conducted with the Contemporary Backpacker interviewees were recorded interviews conducted in India and Nepal during this trip. The other four interviews were written interviews conducted via email.

In order to ensure that the comparison between travellers from the Overland Trail era and the contemporary era was 'like for like', only travellers from countries whose citizens had travelled the trail in the 1960s and 1970s were interviewed, even though many travellers from other countries are now travelling regularly in India and Nepal. Travellers eligible to be interviewed were from Australia, New Zealand, Britain, the USA, Canada, Norway, Iceland, Switzerland and most European Union states. Travellers from EU states which were part of the Soviet Bloc during the 1960s and 1970s, such as Romania for example, were not interviewed, as their fellow countrymen in the 1960s and 1970s were not travelling the trail in significant numbers. Slovenians and Croatians however, were eligible to be interviewed, as Yugoslavs of the 1960s and 1970s did travel the trail, albeit in smaller numbers than their counterparts from the Western European democracies such as Britain, France, Italy, etcetera. Naturally, travellers from all other EU states were eligible to be interviewed, as their fellow countrymen had the option to travel the trail in the 1960s and 1970s. In the contemporary era, Russians and Israelis regularly travel in India and Nepal, and in some locations appear to be the dominant nationalities. However, citizens of Russia and Israel were not interviewed, as their fellow countrymen in the 1960s and 1970s were not travelling the trail in significant numbers.

Convenience Sampling was used in selecting potential interviewees in the 'contemporary backpacker' group. Purposive Sampling, also known as Judgemental Sampling, techniques were also practiced in order to obtain an appropriate sample group: "Purposive sampling … involves the researcher making a decision about who or what study units will be involved in the study. The researcher uses their knowledge to determine who or what study units are the most appropriate for inclusion in the study based on the potential study units' knowledge base or closeness of fit to criteria associated with the study's focus."[70]

[70] Ibid., 149.

4.6: Targeting potential interviewees:

In practice, potential interviewees in India and Nepal were targeted using this technique when the author had reasonable grounds for concluding that they were independent budget travellers, or 'backpackers'. In order to identify someone as a possible independent budget traveller, the author undertook a quick mental checklist: If the potential interviewee was a Westerner, appeared not to be travelling as part of an organised tour, and appeared to display signs of independent budget travel, the individual would be approached and asked further questions. Other signs that an individual may be an independent budget traveller included the individual in question carrying a copy of the *Lonely Planet* guidebook to either India or Nepal, or a similar travel guidebook written for the independent budget traveller audience, and the way the individual was dressed. Independent budget travellers (or backpackers) have a tendency to dress in a stereotypical manner. Many wear practical clothing such as cargo pants, or trousers with numerous pockets, fast drying attire sold at camping outlets aimed at outdoor travel enthusiasts, hiking boots, or bootleg copies of expensive, designer brands of outdoor hiking clothes. Many also wear fashion items which attain status amongst the backpacker subculture, including jewellery from the countries they have travelled through, local, or indigenous clothing from these countries, or t-shirts and caps with the names of places they had been through printed on them.[71] This fashion statement is used by backpackers to attain status by showing others that they are an experienced traveller and have experienced other cultures.[72] To summarise, if a potential interviewee was a Westerner, appeared not to be part of an organised tour and was wearing 'backpacker fashion' or was carrying a guidebook with a target audience of independent budget travellers, such as *Lonely Planet*, the person would be approached and asked if they were interested in being interviewed for the project. If the person was agreeable to being interviewed, the author sought to attain extra information to confirm their status as a suitable interviewee.

[71] For a more detailed analysis of 'backpacker fashion' and the status attained by wearing it, see Chapter 9.
[72] Torun Elsrud, 'Risk Creation in Traveling: Backpacker Adventure Narration', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (2001), 611-612.

Firstly, the author would ask the potential interviewee which country they were from and if they were travelling independently as a budget traveller. If the potential interviewee stated that they were from Australia, New Zealand, Britain, The United States, Canada, Switzerland, Norway, Iceland or a European Union state, and confirmed that they were not travelling as part of a tour, they were asked for an interview. Using these questions, the author also made the judgement as to whether the individual's English was at a suitable level for them to be able to answer the interview questions sufficiently.

The approaching of potential interviewees occurred anywhere the author could find them, including eateries, budget hotels, on the street, at tourist attractions and on public transport within India and Nepal (including on aeroplanes and in airports). Naturally, most of these approaches were made within backpacker enclaves, where there were numerous independent budget travellers around. Using the Convenience Sampling technique, the author endeavoured to approach the first potential interviewee that he was aware of, irrespective of age, gender, or whether they were alone or with a group of other travellers. Even when a group of travellers were sitting together in an eatery, and a single traveller was alone at the next table, if the single traveller was the first to be spotted by the author, that traveller would be interviewed, despite the fact that the author may potentially 'miss out' on interviewing more travellers together by not approaching the group first. This approach was carefully thought out, to ensure that a truly representative sample of people was used. If I had favoured interviews with groups of travellers, solo travellers, or introverted travellers would have been underrepresented in the sample group. In backpacker enclaves, it is quite normal to see the same faces regularly, and there would be a very realistic chance of seeing some or all of the members of the group sitting together at a later stage during the day.

4.7: Avoiding exceptional circumstances which could unbalance data:

If an exceptional circumstance arose, where an unexpectedly large number of backpackers were in the same enclave at the same time for a specific event not unique to the Indian Subcontinent, the author would limit the number of interviews in that particular enclave for those participating in the exceptional event. For example, if there was a cricket match being held in Dharamsala between India and England while the

author was there, and the author discovered that most of the people he was interviewing were British males, all members of the Balmy Army (the English Cricket Team's fanatical supporter group which follows the team around the world), and there specifically for the cricket, this would be deemed an exceptional circumstance, because cricket is not unique to India and it appears highly doubtful that these interviewees would have travelled to Dharamsala, or even to India itself, had it not been for this particular event, even though they were travelling independently as budget travellers. Similarly, if a beach volleyball competition was being held in Goa while the author was there, and the author discovered through the course of the interviews, that most of the interviewees were Australian females, there specifically for the competition, the same would apply and the interviews of this particular demographic would be limited also. To continually interview more of the cricket fans or beach volleyball participants, would not only skew the interview results, but also reach a point of theoretical saturation, also known as a qualitative isomorph.[73] Despite this pre-planned solution, no exceptional circumstances (such as the hypothetical examples I've mentioned) occurred during the interviewing process for this project.

In the case of a large number of interviewees being 'in town' for an experience unique to the Indian Subcontinent, then this would not be viewed as an exceptional circumstance and therefore would not produce disproportionate results. For example, if the Dalai Lama, the exiled leader of Tibet, who resides in McLeod Ganj, was meeting visitors when the author was in McLeod Ganj, it would be reasonable to expect that many independent budget travellers would be there to visit him, because McLeod Ganj is the only place in the world where this is possible. Similarly, if interviewees in Kathmandu all appeared to be going to or coming from nearby Royal Chitwan National Park, then this would also not be considered an exceptional circumstance, since Royal Chitwan National Park, as well as being one of Nepal's major tourist destinations, is one of only three national parks in the world where it is possible to see Asian elephants, Indian rhinoceros and tigers in the same park. Since the other two parks are Royal Bardia National Park in Nepal and Kaziranga National Park in India, visiting national parks to see these particular animals and the ecosystems they inhabit, is considered an experience unique to the Indian Subcontinent.

[73] Jennings, *Tourism Research*, 148-149.

If at any point during the course of the fieldwork, it became clear that any one group of people, based on age, gender, nationality or activity was disproportionately highly represented in the interviews, in another case of Purposive sampling, the author sought to passively limit the numbers from this group where possible. For example, if after twenty interviews were conducted, fifteen of the interview subjects were British women aged under twenty five and all particularly interested in trekking in the Nepalese Himalayas, potential interviewees who appeared to fit this group would be passively, although not actively excluded. To explain how this would work in practice, I will use a hypothetical scenario involving two potential interviewees looking in a shop window. In the case that young British women interested in trekking were overrepresented in the sample group, the author would bare this in mind when approaching the two potential interviews, and act accordingly, by approaching the male potential interview first, even though the female was closer in physical proximity to the author, or if both were female and the author had heard them speak, approaching the one with the American accent first as opposed to the one with the English accent. If both women however, were English, young, interested in trekking and fitted the disproportionately highly represented demographic, then the one closest in proximity to the author would be approached first (as usual), and they would not be excluded from being interviewed, as this would be a case of actively excluding this particular demographic, rather than passively excluding them. In the case that this trend continued through the entire period of the fieldwork, despite the authors measures to 'even up' the numbers of interviewees based on gender, age and nationality, further study may be needed as to why this demographic was so prevalent in India and Nepal at the time of the fieldwork. Once again, despite the author's 'plan of attack' should one group dominate the sample group of interviewees, no one group of travellers did, hence the issue never manifested itself.

4.8: Conducting 'Contemporary Backpacker' interviews:

The contemporary backpackers were asked similar (but not the same) questions as the 1960s and 1970s travellers. The questions asked of the contemporary backpackers focused primarily on their motivations for travelling to India and Nepal. The six main motivations established from the 1960s/1970s group as findings from the 2014 project (Disillusionment with the West, the Lure of the East, Transit, Status, Adventure and Familiarity) served as a guide to the questions asked of the contemporary backpackers,

with those questions based on these six categories of motivation. On average, recorded interviews with the Contemporary Backpacker interviewees lasted only for ten minutes (as opposed to the typically hour-long interviews of the Overland Trail Generation sample group). The interviews with the contemporary backpackers were shorter as they were conducted 'in the field' rather than from the comfort of home or of a setting familiar to the interviewee where the interviewee may have been more inclined to speak for longer. Since the contemporary backpackers were interviewed as a comparative snapshot from the modern era of contemporary backpacking, the questions they were asked did not require long responses or as much story telling. The questions asked of the Contemporary Backpacker sample group were more conducive to 'yes and no' answers.

4.9: Analysis of interview material:

4.9A: Interviewee 'cards':

After interviews had been conducted and transcribed, interview material was analysed from multiple angles in search of trends based on demographics such as age, nationality, gender etcetera. In order to obtain this data, I created a physical card for each interviewee. On each card, the interviewee's nationality, gender and age were recorded, as well as the year or years they began their trips, the places they had visited and their stated travel motivations. I specifically used cards because as physical items they could easily be moved around and sorted into different piles depending on which angle I was using at any given time to analyse the data. For example, when I wanted to search for trends based on nationality, the cards would be divided into separate piles based on different nationalities, and trends would then be searched for in each pile. The basic data needed on each card made the search for trends easy as it simplified the material from the interview transcripts.

4.9B: Interviewee 'tables':

In addition to using cards, I created tables for both sets of interviewees which also recorded the basic data written on the cards (age, nationality, gender, year/years of travel, places visited, travel motivations etcetera). I created different tables based on the different angles from which I analysed the data. While I found the cards far more useful

for analysing the data, the tables provided a second option which was easier to read and easier for presenting the data.

4.9C: Interview transcripts:

Since the study was a qualitative study based on a snapshot of travellers rather than a quantitative study based only on 'data' in the form of facts and figures, I read each interview transcript numerous times searching for words, emotions, expressions, comments, fond memories, not so fond memories and stories of interest which might allow me to read between the facts and figures. The information and ideas I attained from the interviews clearly demonstrated the benefits of oral interviewing over a quantitative survey where subjects would answer basic 'yes or no' questions for instance. Allowing interviewees to tell me their story added substantially to the hard facts and figures recorded on the cards and tables.

5.1: Conclusion:

After setting distinct parameters to ascertain who I considered to have travelled the Overland Hippie Trail in the 1960s and 1970s, and who their 'Contemporary Backpacker' counterparts are, I undertook this project from a transnational lens with a methodology based on oral interviewing. During this process, I interviewed seventy 'Overland Trail Generation' travellers and eighty 'Contemporary Backpackers' *travelling specifically in India and Nepal*, to form a two samples groups of a combined 150 travellers. These travellers were interviewed with the specific aim of understanding, categorising, comparing and contrasting their travel motivations in order to understand whether or not travel motivations of Western travellers travelling in India and Nepal have changed over the past fifty to sixty years.

Table 3: Basic data of Overland Trail Generation interviewee sample group; including nationality, age (when interviewed) and gender:

Country of origin	Males	Females
Australia	76, 76, 74, 73, 72, 70, 69, 69, 69, 68, 66, 66, 64, 63, 61, 61, and one age unknown.	79, 70, 69, 68, 68, 68, 65, 64, 63, 63, 62, 62
U.K.	74, 72, 69, 68, 66, 66, 65, 64, 64	70, 63, 61
U.S.A.	74, 73, 70, 68, 68, 66	72, 72, 69, 68, 68, 66, 65, 64
France	67	70, 58
Italy	68, 65	59
New Zealand	66, 63	
Canada	70, 69	
Netherlands	72, 71	
West Germany		62
Ireland	65	
Total	42 interviewees	28 interviewees

Table 4: Basic data of Contemporary Backpacker interviewee sample group; including nationality, age and gender:

Country of origin	Males	Females
U.K.	49, 35, 32, 27, 25, 25, 23	39, 32, 26, 26, 23, 23, 22, 22
Australia	36, 34, 34, 24, 23	35, 35, 33, 31, 27, 25, 24
Canada	35, 35, 34, 26	29, 24, 21, 20, 18
U.S.A.	44, 33, 32, 27, 27, 27	41, 28, 27
France	64, 31, 30, 22	33, 32, 31, 25
Germany	60, 26, 26, 20	30, 24, 20
Ireland	35, 31, 24	28
Spain	35	39, 39, 31
Austria		34, 31, 31
Italy	40, 28	
Denmark	19	37
Belgium		29
Netherlands		42
Portugal		26
Slovenia		30
Switzerland		28
Total	37 interviewees	43 interviewees

CHAPTER 4:
THE ROUTE

1.1: Introduction:

To understand the Overland Trail of the 1960s and 1970s, we must analyse the route. The route itself was never a specific road from A to B, but rather a fluid series of trails. This chapter describes the route of the trail during the 1960s and 1970s; only interviewees from the Overland Trail Generation are quoted in this chapter.

Unlike journeys such as the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in Spain, or Route 66 in the United States, the Overland Trail had no particular start or finish. Author Jack Parkinson emphasized this point: "Far from being simply a method of getting from one point to another, it is a whole planet, *the* whole planet, of new experience."[1] The Trail could be travelled by several alternative forms of transport and seemed limitless to Parkinson, opening up possibilities. He explained, "No two journeys need ever be the same: even those starting and finishing at the same places."[2]

While Parkinson's last statement is accurate, it fails to mention an even more interesting facet of the trail: two travellers could both undertake the Trail yet never once set foot in the same places. The first traveller could travel from Europe, across Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and North West India to Delhi or Kashmir. The second traveller could travel from Australia, north through Southeast Asia, fly to Nepal or Calcutta and travel South through India to Sri Lanka, bypassing North West India. Both travellers would have legitimately 'completed' the Trail, yet their paths would never cross, or even come within 500 kilometres of each other!

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[1] Jack Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven: Rites of Way on the Overland Route* (Port Melbourne: Government of South Australia through Arts South Australia, 2001), 13.
[2] Ibid., 17-22.

As a transnational phenomenon, beginnings and ends of different travellers' overland trails depended on where they lived and from where they were travelling. London was a popular destination for Australians; it was humdrum to British travellers. As Australian interviewee Alexandra Copeland saw it: "I had grown up in a time when, for Australians, London was the centre of the Universe."[3] Another Australian, Phil (surname withheld), agreed: "London's the epicentre of English culture. Everyone seemed to want to go there, because of historical and language easiness [sic]."[4] Interviewee Michael Mayers, a working class Londoner, stated: "I was escaping, running away from boring, underpaid work."[5] This is a useful example of the differing national perspectives of a transnational phenomenon. Similarly, Americans often joined the trail in Europe, particularly in Paris, Amsterdam or London.[6] These European cities however, were the very places that many Europeans wanted to escape.

2.1: External boundaries of the Trail:

Parkinson described the route expansively as "a convoluted and overlapping series of overland connections between Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia, with branches in both Americas. The trail doesn't stop at the edge of any continent."[7] Only Antarctica and the Soviet Bloc seemed to be excluded. He continued: "The trail then effectively encircles the entire globe with a series of … pathways familiar to generations of backpackers."[8] Parkinson's description of the route however, is excessive and far too broad: For example, his claims that Quito in Ecuador, and the Great Barrier Reef in Australia are part of the trail[9] are echoed by no one else.

The consensus amongst those who have travelled or written about the Overland Trail is that the trail had clearly defined external boundaries. The Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans form the Western, Eastern and Southern boundaries. The communist world, with the exceptions of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, formed the Northern boundary, with the vast majority of communist states being difficult to access during the 1960s and

[3] Alexandra Copeland, interview with author, via email, July 7, 2014.
[4] Phil (surname withheld), interview with author, Apollo Bay, Victoria, July 9, 2014.
[5] Michael Mayers, interview with author, via email, July 4, 2014.
[6] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*, 22.
[7] Ibid., 18.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid., 17.

1970s. The Middle East and Africa provided access to the Trail by land, however the vast majority of travellers did not venture into these regions. The one possible exception in these regions was Morocco, due to its proximity to Europe and widespread popularity with travellers – discussed in Section 5.3 of this chapter. All other states fitting within these limits, it could be argued, can be considered part of the Trail, but with varying degrees of significance.

3.1: The Core Countries of the Trail:

The backbone of the Overland Trail consisted of six core countries: Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and Nepal. The Lonely Planet guidebook *Istanbul to Kathmandu: A Classic Overland Route*, first published in 2001, supports this definition with the very name of the title suggesting that Istanbul was the gateway to the trail and Kathmandu the finishing point. The tone of the book's blurb focuses on the exotic and the romantic:

> Istanbul to Kathmandu: The names alone inspire images of an exotic overland adventure. There's something undeniably irresistible about starting a journey at the gateway to Asia, among the minarets, bazaars and Turkish teahouses, and ending up surrounded by the snowy peaks of the Nepal Himalaya, picking your way through the cobbled back-streets and Durbar squares of Kathmandu.[10]

All other countries take on a status of 'significance' to the Trail. In the sample group of 70 Overland Trail Generation travellers interviewed for this project, all 70 travelled to India during their trip. Turkey, Iran and Pakistan featured in the trips of 60 of these travellers, while Afghanistan attracted 58, and Nepal, 50.

The only other countries to attract more than half of the sample group, were Greece and Yugoslavia, attracting only 37 each.[11] Both Greece and Yugoslavia undoubtedly attracted large numbers of tourists.[12] In 1970, both countries earned over $100 million

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[10] Paul Harding and Simon Richmond, *Istanbul to Kathmandu: A Classic Overland Route* (Footscray: Lonely Planet Publications Pty Ltd, 2001), 11.

[11] An additional 7 interviewees stated that they travelled between Turkey and 'Europe' without specifying which European countries they travelled through. It can be assumed that these interviewees travelled through a combination of Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Italy in order to travel between Turkey and 'Europe', however since none specified the exact countries, I have only included those who specifically stated that they had been to either Greece or Yugoslavia in this data.

[12] Louis Turner and John Ash, *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (London: Constable, 1975), 98-100.

from tourism.[13] However neither were part of the 'backbone' of the Trail. Greece and Yugoslavia attracted significantly less of the sample group than the primary six countries. Both were European and less 'exotic' to Westerners than the six 'backbone' countries. Greece and Yugoslavia were 'transit lands' on the road to Istanbul. Derek Lewis stated that while he enjoyed his travels in Yugoslavia and Greece, Istanbul was, in his eyes, the real start of the adventure.[14] Other authors also state the trail essentially began at Istanbul, where all roads from Europe converged.[15] It marked the beginning of the first great exotic 'Other': the Muslim world.

3.2: India and Nepal:

The six backbone countries did not all play the same role. While the route contained numerous 'destinations', there were two which stood out above all others: India and Nepal. To reach India or Nepal was the reason most travellers travelled the Overland Trail. One could even fly to the Indian Subcontinent and travel extensively overland across India or Nepal by road or rail, and still claim legitimately to have travelled at least part of the Overland Trail.

The overwhelming majority of travelogues about the Overland Trail focus on India and Nepal. For example, in his oral history account, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales From The Road To Kathmandu*, David Tomory dedicated only three of seventeen chapters to Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan, the remaining fourteen concentrating on India and Nepal.[16]

As Tomory explained, some people took as little as two weeks to get to India, while others took several months, but the common thread running through the stories of travellers was that they felt a sense of homecoming.[17] This feeling of homecoming has

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[13] Ibid., 114.
[14] Derek Lewis, *Headlong Into Life* (Pontypridd: DGLP, 2010), 40.
[15] Peter Moore, *The Wrong Way Home: London to Sydney the Hard Way* (Great Britain: Bantam, 1999), 37; Richard Gregory, 'A Brief History of the Hippie Trail', http://www.richardgregory.org.uk/history/hippie-trail.htm, accessed on 1 October 2016.
[16] Similarly, Parkinson dedicated seven of his seventeen chapters to India and Nepal, despite travelling from Australia to Britain through 18 countries. Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*, 10-11.
[17] David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 57; Sharif Gemie and Brian Ireland, *The Hippie Trail: A History, 1957-78* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 127.

been mentioned by several authors and interviewees alike.[18] Rory Maclean concurred, explaining that after travelling the long, narrow overland trail, travellers fanned out across India to find a place which suited them.[19]

3.3: Turkey, Iran and Pakistan:

While India and Nepal were clearly destinations for those on the Overland Trail, Iran, Pakistan, and to a lesser extent, Turkey, were part of the route through necessity. Since the Soviet Bloc to the North was practically closed to independent travellers, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan was the only viable overland crossing from Europe to India.

3.4: Turkey:

Turkey was considered the gateway to the trail as well as a transit land. It was considered 'exotic' when compared with its European neighbours to the West, yet this exoticism paled in comparison with that of India and Nepal. In *Across ASIA on the cheap: a complete guide to making the overland trip with minimum cost and hassle*, the first ever Lonely Planet guidebook, authors Tony and Maureen Wheeler described Turkey as a 'go either way country', explaining that some travellers love it while others hate it.[20] Gemie and Ireland (2017), mentioned the pitfalls of Eastern Turkey, namely the aggressive stone throwing at vehicles and sexual harassment of women.[21] John Worrall spoke negatively of his time in Turkey, explaining, "That Turkish experience, the stone throwing, the truck drivers, the crowds in the streets, it was all a bit of a surprise, not least because it wasn't one or two isolated incidents, but a pattern."[22] Others however, such as author Michael Hall, spoke highly of the country.[23]

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[18] For example: Rick Steves, 'Istanbul to India by Bus: Rick's Excellent Asian Adventure', http://www.ricksteves.com/watch-read-listen/read/articles/istanbul-to-india-by-bus, accessed on 2 October 2016, 8; Swami Shankarananda, interview with author, Mount Eliza, Victoria, February 12, 2014.
[19] Rory Maclean, *Magic Bus: On The Hippie Trail From Istanbul To India* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 204.
[20] Tony Wheeler and Maureen Wheeler, *Across ASIA on the cheap: a complete guide to making the overland trip with minimum cost and hassle* (Sydney: Lonely Planet, 1973), 87.
[21] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 5.
[22] John Worrall, 'Chapter 7: Good Roads', in *Travelling for Beginners: To Kathmandu in '72* (Amazon/Kindle, 2012), [no page numbers].
[23] Michael Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail: travelling across Asia 1976-1978* (Northern Ireland: Island Publications, 2007), 26.

3.5: Iran:

Iran was also often disliked by travellers. Maclean explained:

> During the sixties, Iran was the 'in-between' country: drugs were illegal, torture was common and Islam was a religion too practical and grounded to appeal to most mystic-seeking hippies. No one came to Tehran to get high. 'Iran is a repressive police state,' wrote one early intrepid. 'Get through it fast.'[24]

Like many other travellers, Michael Hall found Tehran to be extremely unfriendly,[25] while interviewee Bruce Hamilton also disliked Iran, stating that he found the people nasty.[26] These sentiments were far from shared by all travellers though. Dorothea Polonyi emphasised positive experiences of dealings with locals in Iran.[27] The Iranian border with Turkey also was not pleasant for some travellers, as explained by author David Lovejoy, who described how an Iranian border guard was trying to obtain sex from one of the Western women in a travelling bus in exchange for Iranian visas.[28]

3.6: Pakistan:

While Iran was generally not liked, Pakistan was particularly hated by numerous travellers. As explained by Andy Weber (interviewed by Tomory), "Most freaks tended to see Pakistan as a hellhole and went straight through it in twenty-four hours."[29] The sample interviewees often supported this view. Both Kevin Platts and Dorothea Polonyi stated that they hated their time in Pakistan,[30] with Polonyi citing the sexual harassment she received as a woman from local men as the reason for her abhorrence of the country.[31] In *Across Asia on the Cheap*, Wheeler and Wheeler also described Pakistan as the worst country along the Overland Trail in terms of sexual harassment of Western women.[32] Author John Worrall shared this view, explaining how fellow traveller Beryl was being touched constantly by men in Pakistan. He explained, "It was being done

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[24] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 65-66.
[25] Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail*, 42-43.
[26] Bruce Hamilton, interview with author, Bega, New South Wales, August 11, 2015.
[27] Dorothea Polonyi, interview with author, Bega, New South Wales, August 11, 2015.
[28] David Lovejoy, *Between Dark and Dark: A Memoir* (Mullumbimby: Echo Publications, 2005), 59.
[29] Andy Weber, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 52.
[30] Kevin Platts, interview with author, Mornington, Victoria, June 23, 2015; Polonyi, interview with author.
[31] Polonyi, interview with author.
[32] Wheeler and Wheeler, *across ASIA on the cheap*, 21.

from behind and she couldn't see who was doing it. It was a case of touch and go. 'Joe-oe' she said, 'They're sticking their fingers up me bum.' 'Tell them to fuck off' said Joe. Trouble was, there must have been over two hundred of them now."[33] Pakistan was also not seen as an interesting destination. Wheeler and Wheeler, and Gemie and Ireland, explained that many travellers saw Pakistan as a less interesting version of India and travelled through very quickly.[34] Interviewee Phil (surname withheld) stated, "Pakistan was very like India only more crowded and noisier, so we just zipped across."[35]

3.7: Afghanistan:

The role of Afghanistan on the Trail is the most unclear and contested of the six core countries. Afghanistan was 'The joker in the pack' because of the vast array of reactions it provoked from travellers. Some saw Afghanistan as a destination in itself, whereas others saw it as a mere transit land alongside Iran and Pakistan. One such traveller who did not see anything special about Afghanistan was Kate Powley, who recalled:

> Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan weren't conducive to staying for extended periods. Despite some travellers extolling the hospitality of Afghanis at the time, I knew of no travellers who were tempted to just hang out there for a few months! The popular hippie hangouts were in India and Nepal and SE Asia.[36]

Despite the aforementioned example, numerous travellers thought extremely highly of Afghanistan. When these travellers discussed Afghanistan, they generally alluded to the medieval feel of the country and the legendary hospitality of its people who had a proud indifference to modernity. Afghanistan exuded the exotic, the authentic, and the oriental – all of which many travellers craved. Lotte Rose (interviewed by Tomory) said, "When you arrive in Afghanistan you arrived in the East. It had *soul*. There were cars, but only just. For the first time, the twentieth century lost its grip, it did not rule, it had an uncertain presence. Afghanistan was ruled by something much, much older."[37]

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[33] John Worrall, 'Chapter 11: Touch And Go', in *Travelling for Beginners: To Kathmandu in '72* (Amazon/Kindle, 2012), [no page numbers].
[34] Wheeler and Wheeler, *across ASIA on the cheap*, 71; Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 5.
[35] Phil (surname withheld), interview with author.
[36] Kate Powley, interview with author, via email, June 16, 2014.
[37] Lotte Rose, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 35.

David Tomory most graphically described why the Afghani people made the country so popular on the trail: "The Afghans … were an example to us all, proving that you could be smart, tough, proud, broke, stoned and magnificently dressed, all at once."[38] Interviewee Remy Galet-Lalande respected the hardness of the Afghan men, and was determined to earn their respect back:

> In Afghanistan, you always made sure not to look too soft in front of Afghans ... Many travellers behaved like children and they had no respect for this kind of softness. When I travelled there, exploring, I would carry a gun when necessary. An Afghan boy gets his first gun with puberty: He is a man now. So, I didn't want to be treated as a child … Eventually they got used to this mad crowd of hippies … they just started to ignore this crowd of infidels who couldn't ride a horse or use a gun properly. Who cared if you could smoke a water pipe with the best of them?[39]

Author and interviewee Giuseppe Albero was attracted to Afghanistan by what he had heard about the country from others who had travelled there – namely that Afghanistan was supposed to be like a world out of Arabian Knights, with magicians, robbers and veiled women, as well as cheap lodgings and drugs.[40] Author Michael Hall was enchanted by the exotic feel of Afghanistan, manifesting itself through the people and the setting: "The Afghan men looked wonderfully exotic in their turbans and baggy trousers, though not nearly as exotic as the manner in which lorries and buses had been painstakingly and extravagantly decorated."[41]

Although Afghanistan could be avoided altogether due to the land border between Iran and Pakistan, most travellers still entered the country. Of the sample group, 60 entered Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, and 58 entered Afghanistan, with very few avoiding it. After entering Pakistan from Iran, author and interviewee John Worrall and his companions detoured into Afghanistan before continuing towards India via Pakistan again.[42] Alex Kaplan even flew to Afghanistan specifically after travelling in India and Nepal and before further travels in Europe.[43]

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[38] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 36.
[39] Remy Galet-Lalande, interview with author, via phone, August 31, 2015.
[40] Giuseppe Albero, *Barefoot on the Himalayas* (USA: The Author, 2014), 102.
[41] Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail*, 46.
[42] John Worrall, 'Chapter 10: More Turbans', in *Travelling for Beginners: To Kathmandu in '72* (Amazon/Kindle, 2012), [no page numbers].
[43] Alex Kaplan, interview with author, via email, September 11, 2016.

Afghanistan was also famous for its hashish. After travelling through Turkey and Iran – countries with harsh penalties for drug use, many travellers enjoyed the hash available in Afghanistan. Parkinson wrote: "Its legendary status on the trail is largely due to the availability and quality of drugs and the cheapness of food and lodgings."[44] Richard Gregory described Afghanistan as "…the first major destination of the hippie trail, a land where foreigners were made very welcome and where a large proportion of the population used hashish themselves."[45] As discussed in Chapter 6, Section 5.8, numerous stories have been told about customs officers and border guards giving travellers blocks of hash as 'welcome presents' as they entered Afghanistan.

Whether travellers loved or hated Afghanistan, it was an unforgettable place to visit. As Tomory explained, two great 'achievements' occurred for those travelling on the trail: one was upon reaching Istanbul and the other was crossing the border from Iran into Afghanistan.[46]

4.1: Splinter routes:

The Overland Trail had numerous splinter routes. Anybody travelling between Europe and the Indian Subcontinent was not restricted to one route the whole time. Even the trail from Istanbul to Kathmandu did not follow one particular path. For example, it was possible to travel the trail excluding Nepal, Afghanistan or both: Nepal could be avoided altogether if the primary destination was Southern India. Afghanistan could also be avoided by using the Iran-Pakistan border crossing. American interviewee, Robert Friedman, travelled from Europe to India avoiding both Nepal and Afghanistan in favour of Southern India, and a more Southerly route through Iran and Pakistan due to the colder winter in the North.[47]

Sri Lanka was also sometimes included in the journey, either as a detour, a break from India or as the final destination. Only eleven of the 70 interviewees visited Sri Lanka however. It is unclear why more travellers did not visit Sri Lanka, given its

[44] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*, 267.
[45] Gregory, 'A Brief History of the Hippie Trail'.
[46] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 30-31.
[47] Robert Friedman, interview with author, via Skype, July 1, 2014.

proximity to Southern India. Anna Kemp explained, "I haven't been to Sri Lanka, and I don't know why, because it was right next door, but it just never entered my head."[48]

The route from Europe could also be altered according to preference. Interviewee Irene Milburn, from Britain travelled the road to Kathmandu three times, and reached Turkey via Yugoslavia and Bulgaria on her first trip, via Italy and Greece on her second trip and via Yugoslavia and Greece on her third trip.[49] The route through India itself depended entirely on each traveller's interests and aims. Once crossing the border from Pakistan to India, routes diverged significantly, spreading like a delta encompassing the whole of India, Nepal and Sri Lanka.[50] As explained by Tomory, the most popular route south was to Bombay and then on to Goa by boat.[51] The alternative was to travel via Pune, which became a destination in itself in 1974 when high profile guru, Bhagwan Rajneesh moved there, and then by train to Goa.[52]

4.2: Seasonal routes:

Also emphasized by Tomory, the journey to India from Europe was a seasonal one, with many people aiming to reach Northern India in autumn, spend winter in the south and spring in the north.[53] He went on to state that as it got cold in the North, it became 'time for Goa' in the South.[54] The general consensus agreed by most interviewees and authors, and as explained by Susie Gardner-Brown, was that when the weather became cold in Nepal, travellers would travel to Goa and then return when Goa became too hot.[55] Authors Captain F. D. Colaabavala and Richard Gregory both described Kathmandu as the summer resort and Goa the winter resort.[56]

4.3: Bottlenecks:

While splinter routes and divergences were common along the trail, certain bottlenecks also existed – the main one being Istanbul. To join the trail from Europe,

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[48] Anna Kemp, interview with author, Narooma, New South Wales, August 10, 2015.
[49] Milburn, interview with author, via Skype, July 14, 2014.
[50] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 279.
[51] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 116.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, xv.
[54] Ibid., 113.
[55] Susie Gardner-Brown, interview with author, via email, May 17, 2015.
[56] Captain F.D. Colaabavala, *Hippie Dharma* (Delhi: Hind Pocket Books, 1974), 46; Gregory, 'A Brief History of the Hippie Trail'.

travellers almost invariably passed through Istanbul. While Irene Milburn avoided Istanbul in favour of Southern Turkey on one of her three trips,[57] and Bruce Hamilton missed it as he entered Turkey via the Greek Islands,[58] these were the only instances of any of the 60 interviewees from the sample group who travelled through Turkey having not passed through Istanbul. Tony and Maureen Wheeler described the concept of bottlenecks accurately, using Istanbul as an example: "The Pudding Shop, a restaurant in the Sultanahmet area of Istanbul, was the first Asian 'bottleneck' we encountered – those places on the overland route where everybody and anybody was bound to pass through, if you waited long enough."[59] Authors Basil Jay and Renee Rogers both described Istanbul as the place where final arrangements are made before heading East.[60]

The second major bottleneck on the Trail was Kabul, described by Moore as one of the great haunts of the hippie trail.[61] The route through Afghanistan followed one major trunk road, with only three major towns: Herat, Kandahar and Kabul along this stretch of the route.[62] Wheeler and Wheeler explained the Kabul bottleneck: "Like Istanbul, Kabul was another of the Asian 'bottlenecks', one of those places every traveller seemed to pass through. Kabul was the first of the three Ks (Kathmandu in Nepal and Kuta Beach in Bali were yet to come), places that serious Asian travellers felt compelled to visit."[63]

5.1: The Outer Shell; European and South East Asian sections of the Trail:

To reach the core six countries of the trail, most travellers had to travel through at least part of Europe if travelling East, or through South East Asia if travelling West.

5.2: European routes: Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria and Italy:

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[57] Milburn, interview with author.
[58] Hamilton, interview with author.
[59] Tony Wheeler and Maureen Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story: Once While Travelling* (Great Britain: Crimson, 2008), 11.
[60] Basil Jay, *65 Days To Delhi: An Incredible Journey* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2012), 207; Renee Rogers, 'Prelude to the Journey', in *Letters from the Hippie Trail: Overland Travel from Europe through Asia 1977-1982* 2nd Ed. (USA: Kindle, 2016), [no page numbers].
[61] Moore, *The Wrong Way Home*, 194.
[62] Jay, *65 Days To Delhi*, 444.
[63] Wheeler and Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story*, 18.

While the European section of the trail towards Turkey involved the possibilities of Italy, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece, most travellers travelled through Yugoslavia and Greece. Of the 60 interviewees to have travelled to or from Europe, 37 travelled through Greece and 37 through Yugoslavia. Bulgaria and Italy attracted only 14 and 10 travellers respectively, indicating they were far less popular transit routes.[64] The only known case amongst the interviewees of travellers using a different route through Europe (other than the three listed above) was that of Tom Grunfeld and Alice Shechter (travelling as husband and wife), who travelled from Germany through Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria, before reaching Istanbul.[65] This however was extremely rare, with independent travel within Communist Europe difficult at the very least. Travellers did occasionally travel to Communist states, but out of personal interest, rather than in transit to Istanbul. Two such examples were Tony Wheeler visiting Czechoslovakia[66] and interviewees Bill (surname withheld) and Jane (surname withheld) also travelling as husband and wife visiting Hungary.[67] On their return journey from East to West, Grunfeld and Shechter travelled 'traditionally' through Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to Western Europe.[68]

Unlike Soviet Bloc states, Greece and Yugoslavia were popular holiday destinations in their own right, with Yugoslavia the prime Western tourist destination in the communist world.[69] Nikolakakis (2015), considered Greece an integral part of the trail,[70] but clarified its position: "For some travellers, Greece acted as 'the India of the poor', for others it was an intermediate station en route to the East."[71]

The Greek military junta was conflicted in its attitude towards independent budget travellers. The junta performed a delicate balancing act: On one hand, travellers were seen as 'hippies' and thus equated with radical Greek youths who were considered

[64] The figure of travellers who travelled through Italy does not include interviewees from Italy.
[65] Tom Grunfeld, interview with author, via email, February 3, 2017; Alice Shechter, interview with author, via email January 29, 2017.
[66] Wheeler and Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story*, 6.
[67] Bill Gross, interview with author, Apollo Bay, Victoria, July 9, 2014; Jane (surname withheld), interview with author, Apollo Bay, Victoria, July 9, 2014.
[68] Grunfeld, interview with author; Shechter, interview with author.
[69] Turner and Ash, *The Golden Hordes*, 224.
[70] Michalis Nikolakakis, 'Representations and social practices of alternative tourists in post-war Greece to the end of the Greek military Junta', *Journal of Tourism History*, Vol. 7, No. 1-2 (2015), 11.
[71] Ibid., 12.

potential threats to the regime.[72] On the other hand, the junta needed tourism both as an income source, and to demonstrate its international legitimacy.[73]

The original Lonely Planet guidebook advised travellers, if possible, to avoid the dull central route through Yugoslavia in favour of spectacular coastal route which included Dubrovnik and other places of interest.[74] "If you pass through in summer then pause to get an overall sun tan at one of Yugoslavia's many nudist beaches."[75] This advice indicates that the trail could be 'sexy' and 'adventurous' in places, and combined with a package tourist style beach holiday. Co-author of the guidebook, Tony Wheeler, attested to this, explaining when interviewed, that package tourists and Overland Trail travellers mingled with each other in Greece and Yugoslavia.[76]

While certainly not as exotic to Western eyes as Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia (and Bulgaria) were seen in a different light to the liberal democracies of Western Europe – possibly because of their authoritarian governments of the time, and possibly because of Orthodox Christianity in Greece, Bulgaria and much of Yugoslavia. As dictatorships with different forms of Christianity, these countries were seen as exotic.

5.3: Morocco:

Special mention must also be made of Morocco – the only country on the African continent to have any significance to the Overland Trail. Morocco's relevance to the Trail can be argued due to its close proximity to Europe through Spain – also an 'exotic' dictatorship until 1978. Morocco was popular amongst travellers – many of whom enjoyed Morocco's famous hash. While a sojourn through Spain to Morocco would quite likely have been taken in the same spirit as a journey along the Overland Trail, it was a diversion or an 'add on'. Travelling to Morocco took the traveller further away from India and Nepal. Gemie and Ireland (2017), noted that while Morocco was popular with travellers in the 1950s and early 1960s, the 'centre of gravity' had moved

[72] Ibid., 10-15.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Wheeler and Wheeler, *across ASIA on the cheap*, 94.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Tony Wheeler, interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, January 27, 2014.

eastwards to India and Nepal by the late 1960s.[77] Of the 70 Overland Trail Generation interviewees, only six visited Morocco, two of whom made mention of the hash.

5.4: South-East Asian routes: Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand:

The most usual route to India and Nepal from Australia consisted of Portuguese Timor (optional), Indonesia (with an important bottleneck in Bali), Singapore (optional), Malaysia and Thailand, followed by a flight to either Kathmandu or Calcutta.

On the Australasian or South East Asian route to India, Thailand (29), Malaysia (28), Singapore (22), Australia (21) and Indonesia (21) attracted the most travellers from the sample group.[78] No other countries located between Australia and the Indian Subcontinent attracted anywhere near the same number of travellers as the five listed. The next most travelled was Burma, attracting only nine interviewees from the sample group.

While India is geographically closer to Europe than to Australasia, it also felt further psychologically too. As explained by Tomory, travelling to India from Australasia seemed much further due to crossing seas and islands with flights and ships, rather than driving to India from Europe which felt closer.[79] As Leigh Copeland explained, "The route via Portuguese Timor was standard for overseas travellers at that time – the shortest flight out of Australia."[80] There was no possibility of crossing Burma by land, with travellers required to fly in and out of the country.[81] Despite this fact, nine travellers from the sample group visited Burma even though it did not hasten their journey to or from the Indian Subcontinent.

The requirement to fly over or out of Burma put Calcutta on the map as a significant bottleneck if making the journey from Australasia. Calvin Teale (interviewed by Tomory) explained: "In 1971 Calcutta was not a holiday destination. Flights from the

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[77] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 4.
[78] Australian interviewees who travelled within Australia as part of their journey have been included in these figures due to Australia's large size. Interviewees who flew in and out of their home city in Australia have not been included.
[79] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 155.
[80] Leigh Copeland, interview with author, via email, July 7, 2014.
[81] Wheeler and Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story*, 23.

East terminated there: Americans, Australasians and Japanese landed at Dum Dum Airport, took a look and left for somewhere else."[82] Author Renee Rogers commented, "Calcutta probably is the most filthy city in the world"[83] while author Noela Steinfort also stated that some travellers were so disgusted by Calcutta that they left almost as soon as they'd arrived.[84] Alby Mangels, who would later become a high profile documentary film maker and adventurer, agreed with these sentiments, finding the poverty and stark difference between rich and poor in Calcutta in the early 1970s particularly disturbing.[85] Noela Steinfort arrived in Calcutta in 1973 having never seen such extensive and obvious poverty before.[86] "The smell – how can I describe it? Rubbish rotting in the sun combined with petrol and diesel fumes and humidity to produce a nauseating smell peculiar to this city and distinct from that we were to find elsewhere in India."

The position of Singapore on the trail is also rather intriguing. Singapore attracted more travellers in the sample group than any other South East Asian countries, except for Thailand and Malaysia, yet most accounts and interviewees had negative attitudes towards Singapore. As discussed by numerous authors, the main cause of angst for travellers towards Singapore was the Singaporean requirement that men with long hair would not be accepted into the country without having their hair cut first.[87] Throughout all the written accounts and interviews conducted by the author however, there appears to be no real consensus as to how strictly this rule was enforced. Peter Moore, in his secondary account of the trail described the phenomenon as follows:

> In the seventies, squadrons of barbers waited – at the airport, the causeway to Malaysia and the ports serving Indonesia – to give anyone with hair over their collar a complimentary short back and sides. A hippie was given the

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[82] Calvin Teale, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 159.
[83] Renee Rogers, Letter to parents, Jalpaiguri, India, November 27, 1977, in 'Calcutta & the Tea Plantation', in *Letters from the Hippie Trail: Overland Travel from Europe through Asia 1977-1982* 2nd Ed. (USA: Kindle, 2016), [no page numbers].
[84] Noela Steinfort, *We've Been There!* (Melbourne: Allure Publishers, 2005), 137.
[85] Alby Mangels, *World Safari* (Adelaide: Savvas Publishing, 1986), 14; Lynn Santer, *Alby Mangels Beyond World Safari* (Melbourne: JoJo Publishing, 2008), 36-37.
[86] Steinfort, *We've Been There!*, 97.
[87] Ronald Ritter and Sussan Evermore, 'Singapore welcomes The Hippie Traveler', in *The Hippie Traveler Finding The Little Buddha* (self published on Kindle, 2016), [no page numbers]; Dave Barrett, *Christmas in Kathmandu* (Bath: DEVA B Publications, 1992), 190; Paul Theroux, *The Great Railway Bazaar: By Train Through Asia* (London: Penguin Books, 1975), 264-265; Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail*, 135; Steinfort, *We've Been There!*, 10; Wheeler and Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story*, 25-26.

> choice of losing his hair or not entering Singapore at all. Not surprisingly, most decided to give Singapore a miss.[88]

It appears the Singaporean government did not have any issue with the actual length of a man's hair, but rather the amount of money he brought into the country. There appears to have been more leniency (and less requirements for haircuts) towards 'travellers' who were passing through the country, and less leniency shown to 'hippies' who, it was feared would reside in the country without spending any money. High profile travel writer Paul Theroux's interaction with Singaporean immigration officers supports this view. After being hassled by the immigration officers about the length of his hair, Theroux was allowed into the country without a haircut when the officers established that he was carrying 600 American dollars.[89]

Another necessary country to pass through if travelling 'overland' through South East Asia, Malaysia also appears to have differentiated between regular travellers and 'hippies'. While regular travellers were tolerated, 'hippies' were thoroughly discouraged from being in Malaysia. Peter Moore explained:

> To put it bluntly, they weren't welcome. An official government regulation at the time banned hippies from staying in the country. It read: 'If you are found dressed in shabby, dirty or indecent clothes, living in temporary or makeshift shelters, you will be deemed a hippie. On being deemed a hippie, your visit pass will be cancelled and you will be ordered to leave Malaysia within 24 hours, failing which you will be prosecuted under immigration laws. Furthermore, you will not be permitted to enter Malaysia again.' In the mid seventies this regulation was used as a pretext to round up and deport Westerners living in the popular hippie communes in the kampong at Batu Ferringhi and Bahang Beach on Penang and from the Tanjung Kling Beach centre near Melaka.[90]

The most heavily visited South East Asian country amongst the sample group was Thailand. Bangkok was both a bottleneck and a transport hub, with flights leaving for Kathmandu and Calcutta, as well as further afield. Since there was no possibility to cross Burma by land, Thai Airways was the backpackers' choice of flight over Burma into or out of Thailand.[91] Visas could also be obtained in Bangkok for other South East Asian countries such as Burma and Laos.

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[88] Moore, *The Wrong Way Home*, 333.
[89] Theroux, *The Great Railway Bazaar*, 264-265.
[90] More, *The Wrong Way Home*, 332.
[91] Wheeler and Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story*, 23.

6.1: The End of the Road:

It is impossible to give the Overland Trail a definitive starting point, due to travellers beginning their journeys throughout the Western world, however a select few destinations could be considered 'the end of the road' – including Kathmandu, Kashmir and Darjeeling, due to the closed Northern border with communist China, and Goa, Kerala and Sri Lanka in the South where the Indian Subcontinent meets the Indian Ocean.

6.2: Nepal and Himalayan India:

With the closed Chinese border, and Burma inaccessible by land, Nepal and North East India were universally considered to be the 'end of the road'. Nepal was particularly renowned for its position, as this snippet from *Istanbul to Kathmandu: A Classic Overland Route* suggests: "The chaos of India is replaced by the positively laid-back demeanour of the Nepalis and the dry, dusty plains give way to green hills, deep valleys and, eventually, a stunning unbroken chain of the world's highest peaks."[92] As emphasized by award winning author Peter Matthiessen in *The Snow Leopard*, "There are no roads west of Pokhara, [Nepal's second largest city] which is the last outpost of the modern world; in one day's walk we are a century away."[93]

While some roads ended due to physical considerations, others ended due to political roadblocks, such as those in North East India. Parkinson explained: "Darjeeling is a small town and although the locals could hop on to a Landrover transport and drive without fuss to nearby Gangtok, frustratingly, this route was closed to foreigners. Assam, Sikkim, and Bhutan remained strictly out of bounds; Darjeeling was the end of the line."[94]

6.3: Kathmandu:

While many other towns and cities in Nepal or North East (or Southern) India could technically be considered 'the end of the road', nowhere attained this symbolic title more than Kathmandu. Nepal's spiritual significance to those travelling the trail was

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[92] Harding and Richmond, *Istanbul To Kathmandu*, 12.
[93] Peter Matthiessen, *The Snow Leopard* (London: Picador, 1979), 30.
[94] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*, 140.

out of proportion to its (small) size, with Kathmandu seen as their Shangri-La.[95] Probably the most widespread of the alternative names for the Overland Trail is *The Road to Kathmandu* (or *RTK*)[96], and the name *Kathmandu* itself is also the brand name for an Australian outdoor clothing and camping company, specialising in equipment for adventure travel in 'exotic' locations such as the Himalayas.

The legendary status of Kathmandu suggests that the city was (and still is) more than just a 'high profile' destination. It was the epitome of authenticity as a tourist attraction, making it a vital destination for the 'serious' traveller on the trail. Tony Wheeler considered Kathmandu to be the finishing point of the trail,[97] and as noted by Parkinson, Kathmandu was certainly a physical end to the journey:

> From all directions except north, the trail converges on the great hippie melting pot of Kathmandu in Nepal, where a large population of travellers is always found. Turning south from there, it disperses through a thousand thoroughfares into the vastness of India, only converging again at favoured haunts, Goa, Agra, New Delhi and Darjeeling. Much further south, the trail wanders through the Sri Lankan coastal resorts and on to the highland fastnesses of Kandy and Adam's Peak.[98]

Irene Milburn described these practicalities much more simply: "Kathmandu was as far as anybody goes because you've got to turn around and come back again from Kathmandu."[99]

For many, Kathmandu was also the emotional end of a long journey. Maclean explained that travellers often didn't know what to do after reaching Kathmandu, finding themselves at a loss: realising that Nepal was not a perfect society, or one which could sustain a harmonious balance between East and West.[100] Parkinson described the comfort and elation of reaching Kathmandu after a long and arduous journey:

> Ninety thousand visitors a year were arriving by the 1970s and Kathmandu was *the* dream destination on the trail for many. Kathmandu was the end of a very long road and it had everything; cheap living, reasonable food, legendary drugs and a relaxed and sociable lifestyle close to the spectacular visual panoramas of the highest mountain chain in the whole world. To be

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[95] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 140.
[96] Mark Liechty, 'Building the Road to Kathmandu: Notes on the History of Tourism in Nepal', *Himalaya, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2005), 19.
[97] Wheeler, interview with author (2014).
[98] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*, 23.
[99] Milburn, interview with author (2014).
[100] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 257.

> an overlander and arrive in Kathmandu was to be on top of the world in every sense.[101]

In December 1966, 200 'hippies' travelled to Kathmandu for Christmas, under the rallying cry of 'Christmas in Kathmandu' – a slogan which apparently originated in 'hippie hangouts' in Paris.[102] Interviewee Tom Grunfeld participated in this event, and recalled: "There had been a rumour on the trail that all the "hippies" were going to meet on the Maiden in Kathmandu on Christmas day and what seemed like thousands had shown up much to the surprise and chagrin of the locals and the authorities."[103] Journalist James Shepherd discussed the event, speculating:

> Exactly what made the hippies choose Kathmandu for a Christmas pilgrimage is a mystery. Some hippies apparently were simply unable to resist the appeal of the far-out Kathmandu for Christmas slogan. A sizeable number made the journey because they [incorrectly] thought Nepal was a Buddhist country, and Buddhism is the religion most hippies have adopted and adapted to their philosophy of love.[104]

Two years after the 1966 pilgrimage to Kathmandu, the following paragraph appeared in the travel section of the *New York Times*, promoting Kathmandu:

> Katmandu, Nepal (AP) – For the hippie set, there's no high like getting high in the high Himalayas. At a time when Laos has grown disenchanted with the flower power folk and Thailand will not let them in without a bath and a haircut, and Japan requires a bond of $250 as proof of financial stability, the tiny kingdom of Nepal looms as the last stronghold of hospitality for the great unwashed.[105]

Tony Wheeler fell in love with Kathmandu, and described the city's exotic feel:

> Some places find their way into your heart instantly and Kathmandu was one of them. Perhaps the long ride up from the Indian plains helped, but as we topped the edge of the valley and dropped down towards Kathmandu, it seemed like Shangri-La, with multi-tiered temple roofs punctuating the city skyline, oil lamps twinkling through latticed wooden windows and the setting sun warming the snow-capped Himalayan range as a backdrop.[106]

More than any other location on the trail, Kathmandu acquired a mystical image and legendary status, acknowledged by those involved in counterculture as well as those

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[101] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*, 147.
[102] James Shepherd, in Joe David Brown (ed.), *The Hippies* (New York: Time Inc., 1967), 165.
[103] Grunfeld, interview with author.
[104] Shepherd, in Brown (ed.), *The Hippies*, 165.
[105] N.a., *The New York Times*, September 15, 1968, 29, in Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory Of The Leisure Class* (New York: Shocken Books, 1976), 171.
[106] Wheeler and Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story*, 21.

that were considered 'straight' or conformist. 'Penny', an original hippie, recollected to Maclean how on returning to the United States after nine years away, she and her husband were questioned by an immigration officer at Los Angeles Airport:

> This button-down guy in uniform calls us to his desk, ready to give us the third degree. "You been out of the country for *nine* years," he said, like it was a crime … "Nine years," he repeated, flicking through our passports, looking at the visas. "You've been living in …" then he stopped and this weirdness came over him. "…Kathmandu," he said under his breath, over and over again. "Kathmandu." I don't know if it was the name, or if he'd been here, or if he'd just dreamt about Nepal during his tour of Vietnam, but he looked up at us like there was some sort of holy light shining out of our backsides. He closed our passports really slowly, handed them back to us and just said, "Wow."[107]

Despite Kathmandu's legendary status, as the most high profile destination on the trail, as the end of the road, over a quarter (20 out of 70) of the Overland Trail Generation interviewees, ironically, did not even set foot in Nepal, let alone visit Kathmandu, preferring one or more of India's popular destinations as their finishing point. This fact not only reinforces the fluidity of the trail and its lack of rules, but also demonstrates a possible case of 'tourist angst', or the more recently coined term 'backpacker angst', whereby a tourist (or backpacker) refuses to visit a destination because it has become 'too touristy' or too popular.[108] The traveller rejects the high profile destination in favour of 'discovering' a new destination where they can experience added authenticity.[109] This added 'authenticity' gave those travellers extra status.

6.4: Goa, Kerala and Sri Lanka:

In the south where the Indian Subcontinent meets the Indian Ocean, destinations such as Goa, Kerala and Sri Lanka could be considered 'ends of the road' also. Goa's beach lifestyle was particularly well liked, attracting at least 31 of the 70 travellers.[110]

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[107] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 267.
[108] Greg Richards and Julie Wilson, 'Travel Writers and Writers who Travel: Nomadic Icons for the Backpacker Subculture?', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2004), 60; Julie Wilson and Greg Richards, 'Suspending Reality: An Exploration of Enclaves and the Backpacker Experience, *Current Issues in Tourism*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (2008), 188-189.
[109] Peter Welk, 'The Beaten Track: Anti-Tourism as an Element of Backpacker identity Construction', in Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (eds.), *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2004), 81.
[110] While 31 of the 70 Overland Trail Generation interviewees stated in their interviews or written works that they had travelled in Goa, it is quite likely that this number is slightly deflated, with some

Parkinson discussed the lifestyle in Goa at length: "Arriving in Goa was like an arrival among friends. The town is a famed beauty spot, one of the greatest of trail crossroads. For a good many travellers, Goa is the highlight. I met up with people previously encountered in Calcutta, Singapore and even way back in Bali."[111]

More than any other place regularly visited by the Overland Trail Generation interviewees, in Goa, and in particular, on Anjuna Beach, there appeared to be a specific 'scene' of people. Author Cleo Odzer described the scene as follows: "From a variety of mostly Western countries, the Goa Freaks were young people who'd rejected their home lives and homelands and had come to India to create a new way of life."[112] When interviewing travellers who had spent long periods of time in Goa, the interviewees would often mention various influential characters who had been heavily involved in the traveller community when they themselves had been there. For example, an interviewee would state: 'You must have heard about Goa Fred – everyone knew him!' The assumption was that anyone who didn't know Goa Fred was not really part of the scene.[113] Author Ann Becoy described this phenomenon as follows:

> As in many ex-pat communities, the small and intimate hippie community in Goa gave people nicknames, identifying their country of origin or other peculiarity. So there were names like Mushroom Dan and American Alice, Sveedesh Sven and Irish Mary, the Earthman, New York Dave and Mescaline Bob. There was British Bill and Australian Andy, Goa Gil and Randy Crazyhorse, Krishna Dave, Eight-Fingered Eddie, Mental, Chillum Charlie, Kirtan Katy and Sunshine Sue.[114]

Despite approximately half of the sample group of interviewees *not* visiting Goa, the impression that some interviewees gave was that the entire Overland Trail revolved around Goa! Some spoke with an air of exclusivity about their position as part of the 'Goa Tribe'. Many of these interviewees inflated Goa's sense of importance on the Trail, while underplaying the significance of other bottlenecks and enclaves along the route. Ironically, despite this exclusivity projected by many travellers with fond memories of Goa, it was the one place along the trail between Greece and Bali which

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explaining that they had travelled 'much of India', 'throughout India', 'around India' etcetera. It is likely that around 40 of the 70 interviewees travelled to Goa.

[111] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*, 222.

[112] Cleo Odzer, *Goa Freaks: My Hippie Years in India* (New York: Blue Moon Books, 1995), 28.

[113] The name 'Goa Fred' is a hypothetical name invented by the author to describe this phenomenon.

[114] Ann BeCoy, *Memoirs of A Hippie Girl in India* (Toronto: BeCoy Publishing, 2013), 37-38.

could quite easily resemble a beach holiday destination offering sun, sand and sex for package tourists![115]

Until 1961, Goa was a Portuguese colony.[116] As explained by Routledge (2000), Portuguese culture has been highlighted when marketing Goa as a 'Rome of the East', different from the rest of India.[117] Routledge also explained that Goa's *sossegado* (easy, relaxed, quiet) way of life has also been used in the marketing of Goa as a tourist destination, as has its 'hippie' culture, with Indian tourists often visiting Goa to photograph 'hippies' in their natural habitat on the beaches.[118] As explained by author Earthman, the arrival of the hippies in Goa was perfect timing: The Portuguese had just left, but the Western travellers now filled this void, allowing the Goans a source of income once again.[119]

7.1: Flying to India and Nepal:

Despite its name, the Overland Trail did not even have to be completed overland. From Australia, various sea crossings, and the impossibility of crossing Burma by land, made an exclusively overland trip impossible.[120] Although it was very expensive,[121] flying one way, either to the destination and then returning overland, or flying home after making the journey by land, were valid options. Some travellers simply flew to India or Nepal and made an overland journey exclusively in the Indian Subcontinent. Author Jeff Greenwald, for example, flew from Greece to Bombay and travelled overland to Nepal from there.[122]

Air travel became cheaper and more affordable during the 1970s as the Boeing 747 first went into service in 1970, along with other wide-bodied aircraft.[123] This air travel

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[115] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 88.
[116] Paul Routledge, 'Consuming Goa: Tourist Site as Dispensable Space', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 35, No. 30 (2000), 2648; Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 88; BeCoy, *Memoirs of A Hippie Girl in India*, 36; Odzer, *Goa Freaks*, 17.
[117] Routledge, 'Consuming Goa', 2651.
[118] Ibid., 2651-2652.
[119] Earthman, 'Chapter 23: Anjuna Beach At Last', in *Eight Finger Eddie: The Hippie History of Goa and Kathmandu* (Amazon/Kindle, 2015), [no page numbers].
[120] Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail*, 118.
[121] 'Motya', interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, April 1, 2014.
[122] Jeff Greenwald, 'The Fool', in Don George (ed.), *The Lonely Planet Travel Anthology* (Carlton: Lonely Planet Global Limited, 2016), 189-197.
[123] Wheeler and Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story*, 231.

has led to mass tourism.[124] Tomory explained: "the mid-sixties *were* when people began taking to the road in numbers; and the mid-seventies when they began to be outnumbered by those going by air – and the India Trip began to lose its visibility … to mass tourism."[125] As India became more accessible by air, the more high profile destinations on the Overland Trail transitioned from budget tourism undertaken by independent travellers, to include mainstream mass tourism also. Liechty (2005) considers 1973 to be the year when travellers regularly began to fly into India and Nepal,[126] and both he and author Earthman consider 1973 to be the end of what they refer to as 'the Golden Age' of hippie travel.[127]

8.1: Enclaves:

While the starting and finishing points of the trail are blurry, fluid and debatable, the various destination points (known as 'backpacker enclaves' or 'traveller hubs' in tourism literature, or 'traveller ghettos' in the vernacular) which lined the trail (often within the bottlenecks) were undisputed hives of activity. The enclaves were places to find cheap accommodation and restaurants, exchange information and advice with other travellers, buy or sell cars and vans to others who were coming or going, and have money wired to you from home.[128] While cities such as Istanbul, Kathmandu and Kabul were popular bottlenecks, enclaves which acted as magnets to travellers existed within these and other cities throughout the route. Before the term 'enclave' became common, Vogt (1976) described enclaves as follows:

> The gathering place is a popular center, on any scale, where youthful wanderers congregate. In every country, there is at least one of these cities or regions. In every city, there are parks and lodging houses which are particularly popular. The media, such as guidebooks and television,

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[124] Turner and Ash, *The Golden Hordes*, 11.
[125] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, xiv.
[126] Liechty, 'Building the Road to Kathmandu', 26.
[127] Earthman, 'Chapter 6: Erotic Writer in California', in *Eight Finger Eddie: The Hippie History of Goa and Kathmandu* (Amazon/Kindle, 2015), [no page numbers]; Liechty, 'Building the Road to Kathmandu', 20.
[128] Klaus Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach: An Ethnography of Modern Travellers in Asia* (Bangkok: White Lotus Co, Ltd., 2002), 36 and 69; Emily Brennan, '120 million guidebooks later, Tony Wheeler looks back': [Travel Desk], *New York Times, Late Edition (East Coast)*, [New York, N.Y.] 9 June, 2013, TR. 3., 1; Jay W. Vogt, 'Wandering: Youth And Travel Behaviour', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1976), 36; Erik Cohen, 'Nomads from Affluence: Notes on the Phenomenon of Drifter-Tourism', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 14, No. 1-2 (1973), 97; Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 24-25; Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail*, 65; Vogt, 'Wandering', 36; Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach*, 41; Barrett, *Christmas in Kathmandu*, 14; Wheeler and Wheeler, *across ASIA on the cheap*, 6.

> undoubtedly play a large role in identifying these sites. More likely, however, the verbal inter-traveler network is the information system which transmits the latest news on the best places to visit.[129]

The importance of enclaves to the Overland Trail cannot be over-emphasized. They became places where travellers could mix with other travellers undertaking their own journeys. As author and academic, Agnieszka Sobocinska (2014) explained, "The most popular travellers' hubs could feel like Western outcrops within an Asian setting…"[130] The popularity of enclaves was so rife that some guesthouses, cafes and restaurants along the Overland Trail became destinations in their own right.[131] Cohen (2006) described enclaves as follows:

> From the 1960s onward 'backpacker enclaves' began to emerge on popular backpacker itineraries, sites in little developed localities as yet untouched by the tourist industry, where young travellers created temporary communities, which over time became popular attractions in their own right, owing to their ambience and the availability of affordable services catering to the backpackers' needs and preferences. Such enclaves became an important source of employment and income to the local population.[132]

Author Franz Wisner, typically, described enclaves in a rather patronising manner:

> Like officers' clubs and army towns, [Back] Packers prefer to bunch together along streets, in neighbourhoods, and throughout pack-friendly cities. Most towns will have a Packer-designated section. If you're looking for a cheap hotel near plenty of vegan restaurants and incense stands, just show your backpack to the cabdriver and you'll be whisked there. Used bookstores, Internet cafes, natural food carts, and discount travel agencies comprise the prototypical Packer block. Khao San Road in Bangkok or the Sultanahmet neighbourhood in Istanbul are the types of places that make Packers sit back in their hammocks and go "ahhhhhh." But remember, Kathmandu is the Mecca. At least one pilgrimage is necessary for exalted status.[133]

Leiper (2010) defined enclaves more strictly, with the following descriptions as to what isn't and what is an enclave: "in Bangkok in the 1960s and throughout the 1970s, near Hua Lamphong railway station three or four cheap (in every sense) hotels accommodated a mix of down-market Thai business travellers, backpackers and

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[129] Vogt, 'Wandering', 36.
[130] Agnieszka Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours: Australians In Asia* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2014), 153.
[131] Ibid., 151.
[132] Erik Cohen, 'Pai – A Backpacker Enclave in Transition', *Tourism Recreation Research*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (2006), 12.
[133] Franz Wisner, *Honeymoon with My Brother: A Memoir* (United States: Bantam, 2005), 141-142.

prostitutes-in-residence. Describing the precinct as a backpacker enclave would be inaccurate."[134] And for what an established enclave looks like: "In Banglamphu, commercial accommodation business and restaurants apparently are patronised almost entirely by backpackers, in huge numbers, so the precinct can be characterised as an enclave."[135]

Enclaves evolve gradually, and as explained by Howard (2007) they "do not emerge fully formed like large planned tourist resorts. They typically expand from one or two guesthouses/hotels."[136] Travellers actively participated in the creation of enclaves, and still do. The following example, from the interview with 'Motya', demonstrates how travellers became involved:

> Chicken Street in Kabul, there was a hotel there ... In the hotel you basically had a room to stay in, you'd venture down the stairs through the snow to the eatery and in the eatery after main course there were things like lemon meringue pies and Anna Pavlovas and chocolate cakes which they'd learnt to cook because an Australian girl had come through and taught them how to cook these things.[137]

Along the Overland Trail, not all enclaves were the same. Some were well established, while others were developing. Australian author and social commentator Richard Neville also demonstrated the standards of enclaves as travellers travelled eastwards along the Trail:

> From Istanbul eastwards, the standards of hotels progressively improve. The Gülhane consists of a tent on the roof, and forty people camping on the floor; by Katmandu, you have, for much the same price, beds, mattresses and even curtains; by Bangkok, you have *double* beds, a private shower and hot and cold running prostitutes.[138]

8.2: Enclaves in Istanbul, Turkey:

Possibly the most famous traveller hub along the route was the Pudding Shop in Istanbul, as described by Moore:

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[134] Neil Leiper, 'Backpacker Tourism', *Current Issues in Tourism*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (2010), 393.
[135] Ibid., 393-394.
[136] Robert W. Howard, 'Five Backpacker Tourist Enclaves', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2007), 75.
[137] 'Motya', interview with author.
[138] Richard Neville, *Playpower* (London: Paladin, 1971), 249.

> The Pudding Shop was the legendary meeting point for travellers on the Overland Trail in the sixties and seventies, and it was here that the hippie trail really began. Istanbul was where travellers from all over the continent finally converged – at the crossroads of Europe and Asia – and set off on their common path. The Pudding Shop, in turn, was the gateway to nirvana, a place where seasoned hippies back from the East could sell their beat up VW Kombis to fresh-faced newcomers about to embark on their journeys in search of enlightenment (or at least a shag or two). Over coffee, tea or something altogether a little stronger, travellers would swap information or leave notices on special boards for friends and acquaintances.[139]

The Pudding Shop's correct name was the Lale Pastahanesi. It was opened in 1957 by brothers Idris Colpan and Namil Colpan.[140] Travel writer Rick Steves described the Pudding Shop as the "traditional hippie springboard for treks along the freak road to India."[141] Author and interviewee Giuseppe Albero was one traveller who was inspired by those returning from the Indian Subcontinent, and stated:

> Among the various kinds of travellers visiting the Pudding Shop the most outrageous were the freaks returning from India, easy to spot because of their outlandish clothes and the far off look in their eyes. Somehow their vibes were of a different nature from those of anybody else and that was very intriguing.[142]

While the Pudding Shop was Istanbul's major enclave for obtaining information, the most high profile accommodation was the seedy Gülhane Hotel. Author Patrick Marnham wrote: "The Gülhane was a small hotel in the poorest part of Istanbul, but for a few pennies a night people could sleep on the roof, beneath the polythene tent which the proprietor had rigged up to keep the rain off."[143] Richard Neville explained the corruption the Gülhane was widely known for: "Two rumours circulate in Istanbul about the Gülhane. (1) that the proprietor tips off guests before any police raid, and (2) that the proprietor calls the police at the first whiff of hash. Both rumours are true."[144]

8.3: Tehran, Iran:

Heading East, the next well known enclave was the Amir Kabir, a hotel in a street full of small tyre factories in Tehran, Iran. As Maclean explained, "In the sixties and

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[139] Moore, *The Wrong Way Home*, 133.
[140] Alun Buffry, *All About My Hat: The "Hippy Trail" 1972* (Great Britain: ABeFree Publishing, 2014), 15.
[141] Steves, 'Istanbul to India by Bus', 1.
[142] Albero, *Barefoot on the Himalayas*, 101-102.
[143] Patrick Marnham, *Road To Katmandu* (London: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2005), 12.
[144] Neville, *Playpower*, 250.

seventies, after the Gülhane … travellers headed for the Amir Kabir; *the* place to stay in Tehran."[145] He continued, "The hotel occupied the top two floors of a concrete horseshoe of balconies and walkways. Downstairs was a tyre emporium. Sixty rials – about a dollar – bought a mattress in the dorm. The toilet was at the end of the hall."[146] As written by author Chris Nicholson, and in keeping with the culture of enclaves, free lifts from Tehran to Istanbul were offered on the noticeboard.[147]

8.4: Enclaves in Kabul, Afghanistan:

Moving along to Kabul in Afghanistan, clearly the most high profile establishment was Sigi's Hotel – the ultimate traveller enclave. Wheeler and Wheeler explained: "…Sigi's café in Kabul was undoubtedly the epicentre of the Afghan section of the trail. We sat on carpets, sipping mint tea, listening to music (the rumour was that if Pink Floyd released a record in London on Monday it was in Kabul by Friday)"[148] Other descriptions of Sigis create a detailed picture of the ambience. Author and interviewee Dave Barrett wrote:

> That evening we went to Sigi's Hotel, the epitome of the Hippy Hotel. At the entrance a sign urged us to contribute to the hotel book. This was not a register, but a book full of poems and drawings and messages of peace and love. In the centre of the garden was a large chess set, with wooden pieces three foot high where you could wander about like Alice amidst the game.[149]

Close to Sigis was Chicken Street, a busy trading precinct. Author and interviewee Alun Buffry described it well:

> Chicken Street consisted of stalls and two story buildings occupied by cheap westernised restaurants and shops selling trinkets, clothing, wall hangings and mats, Afghan coats, breads and pancakes, even antique guns and swords – and hats and head scarves – it was where people went to meet and eat or to buy their souvenirs.[150]

8.5: Lahore, Pakistan:

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[145] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 81.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Chris Nicholson, *There and Back: cheap travel – overland through Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan* (Essex: Swiftnick, 2001), 95.
[148] Wheeler and Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story*, 15.
[149] Barrett, *Christmas in Kathmandu*, 49.
[150] Buffry, *All About My Hat*, 95.

In Pakistan, Lahore, close to the Indian border bore the closest resemblance to an enclave. As explained by Andy Weber (interviewed by Tomory): "Lahore was an information mill. People told you things, wrote things down for you, routes, buses, hotels, prices, on bits of paper. These were your guidebooks."[151]

8.6: Enclaves in India:

In India, as the route branched out and widened further, enclaves became more frequent and less high profile. No one enclave within India itself had the same legendary status as the Pudding Shop, Sigis, the Amir Kabir, etcetera. Delhi was the Indian city most resembling an enclave, and Tomory described it as a junction, dispersing travellers in all directions.[152]

> Delhi was the Poste Restante, the telegraph office (forget the phone), the bank, the railway booking office, the doctor's and the dentist's, the visa office, and the very last resort (the Embassy). For relief from these dire necessities Delhi was also the fancy restaurant, reunions with people you hadn't seen since Istanbul, and news of the West.[153]

Tomory also explained that most travellers found themselves in Delhi at some stage during their trip waiting for money to be wired to them from the West.[154] The most high profile budget hotel in Delhi was the Crown Hotel.[155] As explained by Cameron Barker (interviewed by Tomory):

> It was the cheapest place in Delhi to wait for money. Room rent was on a sliding scale, the first floor being the coolest (in temperature) and thus the most expensive. Going up, it got hotter and hotter and cheaper and cheaper until you reached the shacks on the roof, the hottest and cheapest of all. But you could always get credit – and you always paid the bill when your money finally came – because the management kept your passport in their safe.[156]

As explained by various authors, Dipti's Juice Bar was the preferred hangout in Bombay.[157] Cleo Odzer stated, "Dipti's offered ice cream and the luscious fruits of the

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[151] Weber, quoted in Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 56.
[152] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 61.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid., 173.
[155] Jonathon Green, *All Dressed Up: The Sixties and the Counterculture* (Great Britain: Pimlico, 1999), 225.
[156] Cameron Barker, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 171.
[157] Richard Neville and Julie Clarke, *The Life and Crimes of Charles Sobhraj* (London and Sydney: Pan Books, 1979), 76; Gregory David Roberts, *Shantaram* (Great Britain: Abacus, 2004); Earthman,

season and was the nerve center of the Bombay Freak world. Everyone reported there on arrival. If you wanted to know who was in town and what was going down, you could find out from Bila, the Indian manager."[158]

8.7: Enclaves in Kathmandu, Nepal:

The major traveller enclave in Nepal was undoubtedly Freak Street, in Kathmandu, which numerous authors described as the centre of the Kathmandu hippie scene.[159] Moore described the enclave in depth: "Freak Street runs South off Basantapur Square, and in the late sixties and early seventies, it *was* Kathmandu. It was a collection of cheap hotels, far out restaurants, moneychangers and hashish shops. It was a place to unwind after the long journey east, to catch up with friends, and to find enlightenment."[160] The street was named after "the weird and wonderful foreign 'freaks' who gave the street its name … Freak St was a magnet for those in search of spiritual enlightenment, cheap dope and a place where the normal boundaries no longer applied."[161] This description emphasizes that the enclave is a Western pocket within the city. Subsequently, as explained by Liechty (2005), Freak Street is usually written about as a Western space rather than a Nepalese space – as part of a Western narrative and a Western history.[162] This point, which is touched on in Chapter 1, Section 7.3, emphasizes the transnational nature of Freak Street, and enclaves in general.

While Freak Street was the major enclave in Kathmandu during the 1960s and early 1970s, as noted by Wheeler and Wheeler, in 1975 and 1976, Thamel had taken over as the new 'centre of gravity'.[163] Tony Wheeler attributed this move, in part, due to the construction of Kathmandu Guesthouse – a hotel opened in 1974.[164]

8.8: Enclaves in South-East Asia:

'Chapter 30: Private Farewell', in *Eight Finger Eddie: The Hippie History of Goa and Kathmandu* (Amazon/Kindle, 2015), [no page numbers]; BeCoy, *Memoirs of A Hippie Girl in India*, 45, Odzer, *Goa Freaks*, 58.

[158] Odzer, *Goa Freaks*, 58.

[159] Wheeler and Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story*, 21; Liechty, 'Building the Road to Kathmandu', 22-23.

[160] Moore, *The Wrong Way Home*, 230.

[161] Bradley Mayhew et al., *Nepal*, (9th edn., Singapore: Lonely Planet Publications Pty Ltd, 2012), 94.

[162] Liechty, 'Building the Road to Kathmandu', 27.

[163] Wheeler and Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story*, 88.

[164] Wheeler, interview with author, (2014).

In Bangkok, the most well known enclave was the Malaysia Hotel – a typical Overland Trail meeting place. Wheeler and Wheeler stated: "If you wanted to find out about anything, buy anything or simply track down some long-lost travelling companion, chances were there'd be a note about it on the Malaysia's famous board."[165] As explained by Odzer, notices at the Malaysia Hotel included warnings to beware of particular undercover narcotics agents, including their descriptions, the countries they worked in and the names they used.[166] Wheeler and Wheeler explained that while the original clientele of the Malaysia Hotel were American servicemen on R&R from the Vietnam War, as the war began to wind down, the hotel marketed itself to the backpacker market.[167] "The elevators were filled with gorgeous young prostitutes who seemed quite happy to have swapped American GIs for an international band of backpackers."[168]

Finally, in Malaysia, the New China Hotel in Georgetown was the traveller enclave and bottleneck.[169] In Singapore, the enclave was Bugis Street, which was eventually bulldozed after being viewed as too sleazy by the government of Singapore.[170]

9.1: The end of the Overland Trail (1979):

While numerous aspects of the Overland trail are blurry, fluid and have no precise rules or limits, one fact is absolutely undisputed: the way the trail suddenly ended in 1979 both as a land route and as a social phenomenon. While the Overland Trail began as a movement during the mid 1960s, it is too unclear to announce a definitive starting point. The end of the trail was extremely clear however: 1979.

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[165] Wheeler and Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story*, 71.
[166] Odzer, *Goa Freaks*, 106-107.
[167] Wheeler and Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story*, 71.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Wheeler and Wheeler, *across ASIA on the cheap*, 46.
[170] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*, 99.

In 1979, Iran closed its borders,[171] closing the roads which linked Europe and India by land. In the same year, the USSR invaded Afghanistan.[172] With Iran and Afghanistan no longer accessible, the Trail effectively ceased to exist. With Burma also closed firmly to land traffic, India and Nepal could no longer be reached from the West by land and flying became the only viable option when travelling to either country. Since 1979, Nepal and India have remained popular destinations in their own right and to Westerners, remain shrouded in exotic mystique. However the long, slow, romantic overland journey to reach them has been replaced with a relatively short flight from the West.

10.1: Contemporary backpacker routes through the Indian Subcontinent:

While this chapter has focused exclusively on the route taken by Overland Trail Generation travellers, the contrast would not be complete without mentioning the routes taken by the Contemporary Backpacker interviewees interviewed for this study. While travellers from the Overland Trail Generation primarily travelled to India over land, contemporary backpackers almost exclusively fly into India or Nepal, skipping Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan for example.

Once in India and Nepal however, the routes taken by contemporary travellers are much the same as those taken by the Overland Trail Generation. The destinations that were popular with the Overland Trail Generation are by and large the same ones popular with contemporary backpackers. Journeys south along the West coast, from Delhi through Rajasthan, to Mumbai (formerly Bombay), Goa and then further south to Karnataka and Kerala are fairly commonplace. In the north, journeys from Delhi to

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[171] Agnieszka Sobocinska, 'Following the "Hippie Sahibs": Colonial cultures of travel and the Hippie Trail', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer 2014), 2; Melanie Ball, 'The overlanders', *Escape, The Sunday Age*, 1 July, 2001, 14; Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours*, 159; Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 59, Gregory, 'A Brief History of the Hippie Trail'; Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach*, 24; Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 18. Gemie and Ireland (2017), stated that the Iranian Revolution occurred in 1978 and 1979. This appears to be factually incorrect however. All other authors mentioned in this footnote stated that the revolution occurred in 1979.

[172] James Joll, *Europe Since 1870: An International History* (London: Penguin Books, 1973), 466; Sobocinska *Visiting The Neighbours*, 159; Sobocinska, 'Following the "Hippie Sahibs", 2; Gregory, 'A Brief History of the Hippie Trail'; Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach*, 24; Earthman, 'Chapter 30: Private Farewell', [n.p.]; Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 18. Gemie and Ireland (2017), stated that the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan occurred in 1978 (rather than 1979), however this appears to be factually incorrect. All other authors mentioned in this footnote stated that the invasion occurred in 1979.

McLeod Ganj and east to Nepal via Varanasi (formerly Benares) are also still the norm. Versions of these routes were taken by 60 of the 80 Contemporary Backpacker interviewees in my sample group. Of the 20 that did not undertake these routes, 15 only visited Nepal rather than Nepal and India, meaning that 60 of the 65 Contemporary Backpacker interviewees who visited India (92%) travelled these established routes.

11.1: Conclusion:

The route of the Overland Trail can be likened to a large river, with tributaries (splinter routes) along its entire length, widening as it ran closer to India. Along its course were islands teeming with life (traveller enclaves within key destinations along the Trail). Upon reaching India, this 'giant river' spread out into a wide delta, distributing travellers throughout India and Nepal.

Understanding that the Overland Trail consisted of numerous different trails which diverted and came together again helps us to understand that the Trail meant different things to different travellers – all with their own personal travel motivations, many of which were shared, as explained in the major chapters of this project. As author Jack Parkinson explained, on reaching India, the possibilities were endless.[173] No two Overland Trail experiences were ever the same. It is possible that two did not even cover the same ground. There was still a basic route which was followed however, culminating in the destination lands of India and Nepal.

[173] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*, 22.

CHAPTER 5:
DISILLUSIONMENT WITH THE WEST

1.1: Introduction:

As is well known, and even exaggerated, the Overland Trail became an event of mass participation due to a distaste for life in the West and exposure to alternatives from the East. While the West experienced post-war prosperity, conditions were ripe for the questioning of Western society. The West experienced a transnational shift in consciousness, values and attitudes. Peter Carroll and David Noble explained this shift in the American context:

> Polls indicated [between 1960 and 1972] … dramatic shifts in cultural values and a tremendous loss of faith in established political, economic, and social institutions. Students widely engaged in premarital sex; abortion became a conventional method of contraception to some; marijuana was available as cigarettes; and homosexuality was tolerated. At the same time students shrank from the idea of fighting wars for national honor, and in general they eschewed the use of violence. Students expressed growing distrust of business corporations, the national government, and established churches, and scepticism about the modern work ethic.[1]

As this transnational shift in consciousness occurred, varying degrees of disillusionment with the West began to appear in the younger generation, mostly directed at the values of the generation in power. Consequently, values, lifestyle choices and ideas from the East were also beginning to be explored as alternatives to the aspects of the West causing this disillusionment.

Much has been stated about the differences between the Overland Trail Generation and contemporary backpackers regarding their lack of disillusion with the West. For

[1] Peter N. Carroll and David W. Noble, *The Free and the Unfree: A New History of the United States* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1977), 411.

example, Welk (2004), has argued that during the days of the Overland Trail, travellers were rebelling against their parents' conformist generation, while modern backpackers are not rebelling against anything and have no desire to change the world.[2] He concluded that contemporary backpackers do not reject Western society, but rather they reject mainstream forms of tourism – choosing backpacking instead of package holidays.[3]

These conclusions are the result of studying backpackers in general, rather than backpackers specifically travelling on the Indian Subcontinent. The results of this particular project paint a different picture: Although not overwhelming, disillusionment with the West was clearly present amongst the Contemporary Backpacker sample group of interviewees (specifically travelling in India and Nepal), with 39 of the 80 interviewees (49%), stating during their interviews that they felt disillusioned with the West.

Both the Overland Trail Generation and the Contemporary Backpackers interviewed during this study, were dissatisfied with one (or both) of two major aspects of Western society: Western politics and Western lifestyles. These two sources of disillusionment were not mutually exclusive. Some travellers felt a strong sense of disillusionment with both, while others were only dissatisfied with one or the other.

2.1: Western Politics:

Those from the Overland Trail Generation disillusioned with Western politics were dissatisfied with various aspects of politics, including international politics, often focusing on the Cold War nuclear arms race and the Vietnam War during the 1960s and 1970s, domestic politics in individual states, and even politics itself. Contemporary Backpacker interviewees jaded with Western politics had similar attitudes to their 1960s and 1970s counterparts, despite the change in world politics since the Cold War era.

2.2: The Cold War and nuclear threat:

[2] Peter Welk, 'The Beaten Track: Anti-Tourism as an Element of Backpacker Identity Construction', in Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (eds.), *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2004), 84-85.
[3] Ibid., 90.

The timeframe of the Overland Trail fell entirely during the Cold War. This era of fear weighed heavily on the minds of those who lived through it. As British author Jenny Diski explained, "The peaceful world our parents kept saying they had bequeathed to us was daily on the verge of exploding into the worst and final conflict. We expected it to happen."[4] As explained by interviewee Kevin Platts, the nuclear threat was a large part of one's subconscious in that era, with people growing up with it.[5] Interviewee 'Maxine' agreed, explaining that it was hanging over the population as an everyday part of life.[6] Diski described rather bluntly,

> I had waited, along with the rest of the world, to be blown to pieces on 11 – 12 October 1962. While I sat on the snowy pebble beach watching the grim – grey sea in Brighton, America and Russia played chicken in what became known as the Cuban Missile Crisis. It wasn't history happening at the time – it was perfectly clear to me, and to others, that my world was very likely to end within forty-eight hours.[7]

The campaigns devoted to unilateral nuclear disarmament became culturally and socially desirable for young people. They firstly wanted to create a more peaceful and secure world. They secondly wanted to meet each other and rebel against the older generation.[8] While protest was a common reaction to the nuclear race, high profile American Beat Poet Allen Ginsberg offered an alternative solution – that of 'dropping out', or 'escaping' from a society influenced overwhelmingly by the Cold War. In real terms this could mean travelling to India. In a note written to Bertrand Russell, one of the founders of the *Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament*, Ginsberg expressed his doubts about joining any organization, explaining that to do so would inevitably implicate him in the power plays that held the world's population hostage.[9] Ginsberg instead suggested psychology, drug use and even poetry as better solutions to heal the 'Cold War psychosis.'[10] The first reaction of young people living in fear during the Cold War was often to create appealing spaces of their own, such as cafes, coffee houses and pop festivals.[11] The overland journey to India was an extension of this, with the trail itself

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[4] Jenny Diski, *The Sixties* (London: Profile Books LTD, 2009), 5.
[5] Kevin Platts, interview with author, Mornington, Victoria, June 23, 2015
[6] Maxine Platts, interview with author, Mornington, Victoria, June 23, 2015.
[7] Diski, *The Sixties*, 28.
[8] Ibid., 27-28.
[9] Deborah Baker, *A Blue Hand: The Beats In India* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008), 170.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Sharif Gemie and Brian Ireland, *The Hippie Trail: A History, 1957-78* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 10.

becoming one of these 'appealing spaces' of the young generation. British lexicographer and historian of counterculture, Jonathon Green, even described a journey along the trail as the concept of dropping out taken to the extreme![12]

The nuclear threat was not the only source of disillusionment. During the Cold War, heightened propaganda increased the value of eye-witness accounts.[13] It is possible that India's non-alignment (between the USA and the USSR) formed part of India's appeal to the Overland Trail Generation, a concept worthy of further study, but one beyond the scope of this project. Despite India's non-aligned position, India was still involved in the Cold War, with a border war between India and China breaking out in the Himalayas weeks before the Cuban Missile Crisis – another event which supported Ginsberg's view that the Cold War held the world's population hostage.[14]

2.3: The Vietnam War:

While the Cold War as a whole was problematic for the world's population, the most relevant world event at the time to young Westerners, and the one that could affect many in a very real sense, was the Vietnam War. Unpopular with students worldwide[15], the Vietnam War affected some more than others. Young men from the United States and from Australia were eligible to be conscripted into the military to fight in Vietnam, causing angst amongst many in both countries. Over 58,000 Americans died in the war, along with possibly three million Vietnamese, and young Americans wanted to distance themselves from these horrors.[16] American journalist Judson Gooding, in his famous article in *Time Magazine* titled 'The Hippies: Revolution or Revival?' (1967), explained the point of view of young people resisting the war in the United States:

> They judge that the reason 18-year-olds have to go to war simply is because a lot of old men have created problems which cannot be settled any other way. They know the old men think there are grave issues involved, but the kids don't care about these issues, so they drop out, burn draft cards, slip

[12] Jonathon Green, *All Dressed Up: The Sixties and the Counterculture* (Great Britain: Pimlico, 1999), 224.
[13] Agnieszka Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours: Australians In Asia* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2014), 87.
[14] Ibid., 5.
[15] Billy Wells, *Snapshots of the Hippy Trail* (London: Lulu Enterprises, 2008), 11.
[16] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 9 and 209.

> away to Canada, lie to draft board examiners, take any means to elude serving in what they do not consider to be a valid service.[17]

One way of avoiding being conscripted into the military was to leave the country. Many American hippies (amongst other non-hippie Americans) left for Toronto in Canada to dodge the draft.[18]

While Canada was a viable destination for those evading conscription, travelling the world and specifically joining the Overland Trail to India became another viable option. Author Billy Wells described 'Mark', a college graduate from the US roaming around the world dodging the draft.[19] Indian journalist Gita Mehta also described an American draft dodger who kept returning to India every year for the same reason.[20] While some travellers travelled to avoid being conscripted, it was more common for people to travel out of disillusionment with the war and with their governments' enforcing the war upon their citizens.[21] Women were at no risk of being conscripted, yet several women interviewed cited disillusionment with the Vietnam War as a major reason for them undertaking the Overland Trail: Judith McKinley from Australia and Alice Shechter from Canada both expressed their disillusionment, while Sarah Mikkelsen from the United States stated that she had rejected the Vietnam War, but not the West itself.[22]

2.4: Domestic politics in the USA:

Many Americans were also disillusioned with domestic politics. Interviewee Jean (surname withheld) recalled, "I left the country shortly after the slaughter of several students at Kent State University. The anti-war protests were ripping the country apart. I wanted to get away from all the chaos … swirling around me."[23] Robert Friedman, who travelled after finishing high school also commented:

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[17] Judson Gooding, in Joe David Brown (ed.), *The Hippies* (New York: Time Inc., 1967), 202-203.
[18] Ann Berkeley, in Joe David Brown (ed.), *The Hippies* (New York: Time Inc., 1967), 140.
[19] Wells, *Snapshots of the Hippy Trail*, 9.
[20] Gita Mehta, *Karma Cola: Marketing The Mystic East* (New York: Simon And Schuster, 1979), 64-65.
[21] Irena Ateljevic and Stephen Doorne, 'Theoretical Encounters: A Review of Backpacker Literature', in Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (eds.), *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2004), 63.
[22] Judith McKinley, interview with author, Daylesford, Victoria, December 8, 2015; Alice Shechter, interview with author, via email, January 29, 2017; Sarah Mikkelsen, interview with author, via email, May 27, 2015.
[23] Jean (surname withheld), interview with author, via email, June 15, 2014.

> So those of us in that generation that would consider ourselves hippies, or even if we weren't hippies if we just weren't the status quo and we weren't the norm … had problems with so much that was going on in America at that time … 1968 was the year of Bobby Kennedy's assassination, Martin Luther King's assassination, the Democratic National Convention where they were beating up the protesters in the streets of Chicago … the National Guard killed students who were protesting at Kent State University, Ohio. It was a really difficult time in America before we left.[24]

While problems were also occurring in other Western states, including Britain, the conflict in the United States was at another level entirely. Diski explained how severe the problems in the United States seemed from across the Atlantic:

> In America there was far more student unrest much earlier than in the UK, centring around resistance to the Vietnam war. The brutality with which demonstrations were dealt with by the police and authorities was astonishing to those of us who watched. Four students died from bullet wounds at Kent State [University] … The adults were killing their children, not just by sending them to war, but by shooting them for complaining about it.[25]

2.5: Domestic politics in Britain and Ireland:

Life was not as difficult in Britain as in America for youngsters who didn't wish to fit into society's norms during this era.[26] As Diski explained, the USA was fighting a war in Vietnam whilst Britain was not.[27] However, while London was seen as progressive and a prime destination for other Westerners, life in another part of the UK was extremely volatile. Author Michael Hall emphasised the relentless terror he faced living in Belfast during the period of violence known as 'The Troubles'.[28] Hall discussed threats made against him from both the IRA and Protestant loyalists due to his participation in the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement and his 'mixed marriage'; these threats made travelling seem like a good idea.[29] Author Basil Jay discussed travelling with an Irishman named Tommy, from Belfast, who was travelling to India as a way of escaping, after "being warned by friends of the IRA, to make

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[24] Robert Friedman, interview with author, vis Skype, July 1, 2014.
[25] Diski, *The Sixties*, 104.
[26] Gavin Schott, in Joe David Brown (ed.), *The Hippies* (New York: Time Inc., 1967), 146.
[27] Diski, *The Sixties*, 45.
[28] Michael Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail: travelling across Asia 1976-1978* (Northern Ireland: Island Publications, 2007), 97-98.
[29] Ibid., 64.

himself scarce for a few months, as he had upset some rather dangerous people."[30] While the situation in Northern Ireland was clearly dangerous for some, others were disillusioned by, and escaping from, life in the Republic of Ireland. Interviewee Mick Whelan explained that he had not originally intended to travel to India, but was more interested in leaving Ireland, which he saw as a repressive society controlled by the Catholic Church.[31]

2.6: Domestic politics in Australia:

In Australia, disillusionment with federal politics existed, but without the urgency seen in the USA and UK. Social commentator Craig McGregor described this clearly in 1968:

> Indeed, partly though isolation and partly through past idealism, Australians probably feel freer and less beset by controllers than their counterparts overseas. In London the four minute warning and the sight of American H-bombers screaming overhead is a perpetual reminder that politics have finally got out of control. In America the Civil Rights bloodshed, hysterical anti-Communism and the might of the big corporations prove that they were never in control.[32]

McGregor instead, described Australians' disillusionment with the two-party political system, emphasizing the conservatism of one major party, the anti-intellectualism of the other, and the contempt for the ordinary citizen of many prominent Australian intellectuals.[33]

2.7: Domestic politics in Western Europe:

In Western Europe, resentment of domestic politics differed in different countries. Protests in both West Germany[34] and France[35] in 1968 and 1969 caused much angst amongst young people. Police in Amsterdam had tried to move people on after 9pm if

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[30] Basil Jay, *65 Days To Delhi: An Incredible Journey* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2012), 233.
[31] Mick Whelan, interview with author, via email, July 1, 2014.
[32] Craig McGregor, *People, Politics and Pop: Australians in the Sixties* (Sydney: Ure Smith Pty Limited, 1968), 168-169.
[33] Ibid., 158-159.
[34] Richard Neville, *Playpower* (London: Paladin, 1971), 33-35.
[35] Ibid., 35-38.

they were sleeping on the street.[36] Riots ensued; author Billy Wells who witnessed these riots first hand explained how the police used water cannons to disperse the protesters:[37]

> The water cannon was, fortunately for us, now aimed at the mob jumping up and down on the Damm. Dave and I split down a cobblestone side street and were invited into a guy's hotel room to watch the riot, live on T.V. You had to get off the street; the coppers were bashing any young person they saw with big sticks.[38]

Marco, a Spaniard from Barcelona (interviewed by Colaabavala) left Spain to avoid four years of compulsory military service, first crossing into France and then later travelling to India.[39] Interviewee Chouchou Malderner, from France, had grown to despise her homeland, "I made enough money to pay for the trip one way, as I did not ever intend to return to Europe. I plain hated everything western, particularly the politics and lack of "morals".[40] She described how she threw her gold wedding ring into the Mediterranean Sea upon leaving France, as a last, symbolic act.[41]

2.8: Disillusionment with, and rejection of politics itself:

While there was major discontent amongst the Overland Trail generation with international and domestic politics, there was also a degree of disillusion with politics itself. A common feeling amongst those involved in the Hippie Movement was that politics, both capitalist and communist, revolved around hate. The only solution to this problem was to counter hate with love.[42] Hence there was a feeling amongst those on the Trail that politics was not the answer to the problems faced by Western society. A change of culture was what was required. This cultural improvement could be found in India. As explained by Max Flury (interviewed by Tomory), "And now the times were right: even in Switzerland, the spirit was everywhere … Everybody was running round with a Bhagavad Gita in one pocket and Castaneda in the other. Politics wasn't it. There

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[36] Wells, *Snapshots of the Hippy Trail*, 200.
[37] Ibid., 201.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Captain F.D. Colaabavala, *Hippie Dharma* (Delhi: Hind Pocket Books, 1974), 111.
[40] Chouchou Malderner, interview with author, via email, June 24, 2014.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Timothy Miller, *The Hippies and American Values* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 105.

needed to be a change of mind, not more politics."[43] Interviewee Swami Shankarananda concurred, "I felt that politics only reflected the state of Consciousness; that if people were in a higher, more loving, more inclusive state, their politics would be better. I was disillusioned by the emptiness of it. It was like a void at the centre of things."[44]

Social commentator Richard Neville has explained that for some, the Overland Hippie Trail represented the wholesale rejection of the political arena, in favour of seeing the real world[45] (an impossible dream for the preceding generation of the Great Depression). The example he quoted, is from an article titled 'Letter from Kathmandu' by Richard Horn in the New York underground newspaper *The East Village Other*, published in 1968:

> There is a kind of emergent feeling that the road is its own cure for what ails you (spiritual – political – total) and so, if I may be granted a word of advice, leave it behind. If the summer's action – uptight scenes in Chicago and Czechoslovakia and wherever else – have not convinced you that politics always shits on freedom and the arts, then I can never. But maybe somewhere on the road between Kabul and Delhi… [you'll work it out for yourself][46]

Neville continued, "So while their brothers in the West build barricades, the flower children … are ghosts along the pot trail, haunting happy hippie love-ins and tribal weddings."[47] Similarly, Diski explained the ideas behind 'dropping out' and escaping rather than joining political movements for those not satisfied with what was happening in the world.[48]

2.9: Conflict between the counterculture and the New Left:

As in all movements or groups in society, levels of political participation vary, with some individuals more politicized than others. While some were appalled by politics, others such as Carlo Di Paoli (interviewed by Tomory), were originally highly politicized individuals, despite abandoning political involvement in favour of venturing East. Di Paoli recalled:

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[43] Max Flury, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 211.
[44] Swami Shankarananda, interview with author, Mount Eliza, Victoria, February 12, 2014.
[45] Neville, *Playpower*, 175.
[46] Richard Horn, 'Letter from Kathmandu', *The East Village Other*, Vol. 3, No. 44 (October 4, 1968).
[47] Neville, *Playpower*, 175.
[48] Diski, *The Sixties*, 79.

> A lot of politically motivated people in Italy – we were all on the Left – had a strong desire to move away from capitalism and exploitation … My focus had moved from seeking a perfect society to seeking a perfect state of inner being. I felt I had to find this state of inner being before I could do anything else.[49]

Many politicized Left wingers were highly critical of those who undertook the Overland Trail, accusing them of 'betraying the struggle'.[50] Di Paoli however, disagreed, arguing that his journey to India was part of the struggle.[51] Liesches Muller (interviewed by Tomory) explained the same phenomenon in a more condensed form: be in politics or go East – or get disillusioned by politics and then go East.[52] The comments by Di Paoli and Muller indicate that the Overland Trail travellers generally put personal fulfilment over political theory.

Interviewee Mick Whelan explained that while travelling on the Overland Trail, travellers followed an unwritten rule of avoiding talking about politics.[53] Jeremy Brecher, a highly politicized New Leftist, specifically stated, "Except for [their opposition to] the Viet Nam war, the hippies wouldn't be political at all."[54]

Due to their shared opposition to the Vietnam War, the Hippie Movement separated its participants from their parents and associated them with the New Left. [55] Like the Hippie Movement, the New Left was also a transnational phenomenon. Many hippies had sympathy for the New Left. Both the New Left and the Counterculture were sharply discontented with society and both were sworn opponents of the Establishment.[56]

However, the two movements were far from similar, and in some cases, they were even hostile towards each other. Richard Neville described the difference between the two opposing schools of youth protest as follows: "The actions of the New Left are said to be 'political'. The antics of the Underground are said to be 'cultural' … both sociological manifestations are part of the behaviour pattern of a single discontented

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[49] Carlo Di Paoli, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 4.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Liesches Muller, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 3.
[53] Whelan, interview with author.
[54] Jeremy Brecher, quoted in Joe David Brown (ed.), *The Hippies* (New York: Time Inc., 1967), 200.
[55] Philip Mandelkorn, in Joe David Brown (ed.), *The Hippies* (New York: Time Inc., 1967), 199-200.
[56] Miller, *The Hippies and American Values*, 10-11.

body."[57] Neville continued by explaining that while the New Left advocated that repressive institutions could only be exterminated by immense sacrifice, dedication and responsibility, the Underground simply did not agree and instead chose a path of apathy or choosing not to work, preferring having fun instead.[58] "It is this opposing instinct within the Movement which causes so much conflict. The sober, violent, puritan, Left extremists, versus the laughing, loving, lazy, fun-powder plotters."[59] New Leftist Brecher discussed the major differences: the New Left were always prepared to fight for political change, while the Hippies refused to fight, instead preferring to 'drop out' from society. The New Left was frustrated by the Hippies' refusal to mobilise.[60] For many, the actions in the name of the Left were enough to destroy any support and credibility that Communism had, with the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 a prime case in point.[61]

While the underground Counterculture movement (including the Overland Hippie Trail) and the New Left did not share a vision, they were united in opposition to a common enemy – the establishment championed by the elder generation. Richard Neville emphasized the suppression of high school students: "There was much to resent – the teachers played favourites, the cane was in vogue and pupils were barred from the slightest questioning of authority."[62] He later also emphasized the gulf between the (elderly) establishment in Australia and the younger generation, questioning why elderly men were in charge of endeavours primarily undertaken by young people: "Our own Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, was seventy. The NSW State Premier, Mr Heffron, was seventy-three. The Chairman of the Literary Censorship Board was eighty-one and his equivalent on the Appeals Board was eighty-four. The Chancellor of Sydney University was in his nineties."[63]

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[57] Neville, *Playpower*, 14.
[58] Ibid., 207.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Mandelkorn, in Brown (ed.), *The Hippies*, 196-198; Miller, *The Hippies and American Values*, 12-14.
[61] For one such example, see David Lovejoy, *Between Dark and Dark: A Memoir* (Mullumbimby: Echo Publications, 2005), 42.
[62] Richard Neville, *Hippie Hippie Shake: the Dreams, the Trips, the Trials, the Love-ins, the Screw ups… The Sixties* (Melbourne: William Heinemann Australia, 1995), 7-8.
[63] Ibid., 32.

2.10: Disillusionment with politics amongst Contemporary Backpacker interviewees:

Unlike the interviewees from the Overland Trail Generation, disillusionment with Western politics was barely noticeable amongst the eighty interviewees from the Contemporary Backpacker group. Of the eighty backpackers interviewed, only four made statements about Western politics, and the issues discussed were of a different nature. Interviewee Oliver (surname withheld), from Germany, was concerned about environmental issues: "The Western world is destroying the planet. Not only them, but they are the frontrunners who are doing this so I don't want to be a part of that."[64]

Interestingly, author Franz Wisner, who undertook an extensive backpacking trip through Asia in the early 2000s, discussed the often hypocritical anti-American sentiment amongst the backpacking community:

> In the backpacker world, it was fashionable and almost mandatory to bash the United States as a corrupting force that had spread its evil tentacles into the far reaches of the world (talking point #37). They'd do this in their Abercrombie & Fitch cargo pants and New Balance running shoes, while drinking Cokes at Microsoft-powered Internet terminals, listening to Eminem on their Apple MP3 players, toting their Patagonia backpacks. The most vocal critics tended to be rich and white.[65]

After having their views challenged by Wisner however, the backpackers changed their views drastically.[66] This author (Grant Szuveges), undertook numerous backpacking trips in the early 2000s, and experienced similar anti-American sentiment from backpackers, particularly around the time of the 2003 US invasion of Iraq and the lead up to this event. However, during the April-May 2016 (pre-Trump era) research trip for this project, very little anti-American or anti-Western political sentiment was evident from interviewees. Instead, the majority of those disillusioned by the West were disenchanted by Western lifestyles and culture.

3.1: Western Lifestyles:

As well as being disillusioned with politics, many 1960s and 1970s travellers were dissatisfied with everyday life in the West, and with the expectations from and attitudes

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[64] Oliver (surname withheld), interview with author, Delhi, India, April 11, 2016.
[65] Franz Wisner, *Honeymoon with My Brother: A Memoir* (United States: Bantam, 2005), 132.
[66] Ibid.

of society in general. This boredom with Western lifestyles was far more common than a hatred of Western politics for the Overland Trail Generation, and is equally prevalent in contemporary backpackers.

3.2: Suburban and regional town life in Australia and Britain:

Australian Overland Trail Generation travellers, in particular, found suburban life extremely dull. Interviewee Rose Price felt disillusioned with the 'rat race' and suburbia in Australia, rather than the politics, and spoke about how others were excited by the prospect of a house in Endeavour Hills, an outer suburb of Melbourne – a prospect which didn't interest her.[67] Alby Mangels, from Murray Bridge just outside Adelaide, also noted that marriage, children and suburbia were not for him.[68] "I found myself talking to my mates about going on a trip around the world. They ribbed me saying that I'd end up just like the rest of them, married with a few kids – that really started to play on my mind."[69] McGregor elaborated on the problems of nine-to-five living, and the disillusion it was causing in Australia at the time, in what he termed 'the destructive boss-worker relationship'.[70]

> Large groups of people – academics, schoolteachers, journalists, professionals, many tradesmen, in fact, virtually all self-employed people – have escaped it; but the great mass of working people spend their lives in an authoritarian environment in which they are handed down orders and required to give instant obedience, with the threat of the sack hanging over them if they step out of line.[71]

The disinterest in nine-to-five suburban life was not limited to Australians. Remarkably similar accounts arose from Britain. Gemie and Ireland (2017), in their British centred history of the trail also mentioned disillusion with the 'rat race' in the West and the appeal of living a simpler life in India.[72] Jonothan, a Welsh man (interviewed by Maclean) who felt misplaced in the West and headed to India in 1968,[73] stated: "Britain offered me a job, a mortgage, the Bee Gees. I didn't want to spend my

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[67] Rose Price, interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, February 12, 2014.
[68] Lynn Santer, *Alby Mangels Beyond World Safari* (Melbourne: JoJo Publishing, 2008), 16.
[69] Alby Mangels, *World Safari* (Adelaide: Savvas Publishing, 1986), 8.
[70] McGregor, *People, Politics and Pop*, 170-171.
[71] Ibid., 171.
[72] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 127.
[73] Rory Maclean, *Magic Bus: On The Hippie Trail From Istanbul To India* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 218.

life paying for crap, listening to crap. That wasn't my scene. India gave me room to breathe, to find myself."[74]

Those from small towns often agreed. Interviewee Nanette Schapel, an Australian from the outback town of Broken Hill, described her major push factor as a need to get away from Broken Hill, a place where most people married young, and had children and a mortgage.[75] Interviewed alongside Schapel, her close friend Debbie Hay, another Australian, from the small minding town of Mt Isa, shared her sentiments.[76]

A commonality to accounts from Overland Trail Generation travellers appears to be disdain for conservative outlooks in the societies they grew up in. As explained by Piccini (2016), the cultural cringe in Australia often meant that ideas or lifestyles from overseas were often seen as superior to local equivalents.[77] For example, interviewee Chris Koller, who was raised in a working class home in Pakenham, then a country town, now an outer suburb of Melbourne, cited the lack of support for him being an artist.[78] He explained that there were no books in the house when he was growing up, only a newspaper called *The Truth* which was used only for the racing guide.[79] Koller took up surfing to escape this lifestyle, and escaping boredom was a huge factor in his decision to make the trip.[80] "I think we were all looking for something more than the suburbs and we got more than we bargained for."[81]

3.3: Cultural shift between generations and generational conflict:

As is well known, and evident in the quote by Carroll and Noble at the very beginning of this chapter, the late 1960s and early 1970s saw a significant cultural shift between the generations. Regardless how much or how little a young person from that era (especially from the middle class) identified with the counterculture of the day, it was highly likely that their outlook and views differed significantly from those of their

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[74] 'Jonathon', quoted in Rory Maclean, *Magic Bus: On The Hippie Trail From Istanbul To India* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 220.
[75] Nanette Schapel, interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, February 22, 2014.
[76] Debbie Hay, interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, February 22, 2014.
[77] Jon Piccini, *Transnational Protest, Australia and the 1960s* (Palgrave Macmillan Limited, 2016), 101.
[78] Christopher Koller, interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, January 30, 2014.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.

parents. While their parents' generation faced the hardships of the Second World War, this younger generation experienced an urge to explore.[82] Previous generations may well have wanted to explore too, but simply could not do so to the same extent.

While the previous generation strived for a more comfortable life, the Overland Trail Generation strived for a more nourishing or fulfilling life, even if that came at the expense of material comfort. As author Michael Hall explained:

> Even for those not enamoured by talk of inner quests, in the late 1960s and early 1970s an obsession with settling down and securing a career and a mortgage was well down one's list of priorities. There was a mood of self-sufficiency about, not based on having money in the bank, but on confidence in one's ability to survive and adapt. Among many young people the desire to 'get up and go' was stronger than the inclination to simply stay at home and vegetate.[83]

As elaborated in Chapter 6, Section 7, the Overland Trail Generation were heavily influenced by specific writers as well as other high profile celebrities. Arguably the two most influential books read by this generation were *On The Road*, by Jack Kerouac, and *Siddhartha*, by Hermann Hesse. Both novels romanticised and glamorised the idea of the journey – the physical journey in Kerouac's novel and the spiritual in Hesse's. However, as both novels romanticise travel, both do this by denigrating dull, everyday aspects of life. In *On The Road*, Kerouac describes a police officer whose life has always revolved around work, portraying his life as dry and soulless.[84] The complete quote can be found in Chapter 6, Section 7.6. Hesse also alludes to the everyday as boring; his main character, Siddhartha, a very well thought of young Brahmin, was leading an unfulfilled life, and decided to leave this lifestyle and join the Samanas (holy men).[85] The writings of Kerouac and Hesse influenced the minds of their readers, and reconfirmed that they had made the correct decision by undertaking the Overland Trail journey instead of staying at home.

3.4: Materialism vs Freedom:

While many travellers on the Overland Trail were escaping from aspects of Western society such as boredom, suburbia, small towns, nine-to-five living and an expectation

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[82] Lovejoy, *Between Dark and Dark*, 40; Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 18; Diski, *The Sixties*, 5.
[83] Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail*, 13.
[84] Jack Kerouac, *On The Road* (USA: Penguin, 1957), 64.
[85] Hermann Hesse, *Siddhartha* (New York: New Directions Publishing Corporation, 1951), 3-12.

to get married and buy property, others were escaping from other aspects of the very fabric of Western society such as materialism, capitalism and the competitive environment. As explained by Sobocinska (2014), the binary logic of those involved in the counterculture portrayed the West as materialistic and idealised the East as spiritual, uncomplicated and an undeveloped place of artisanship.[86] Davidson (2005) explained that to many travellers, budget travel in India is seen as a means of ridding oneself of a 'Western' consumer identity.[87] Interviewee Bill (surname withheld) described his "disillusionment with the whole competitive, 'the tough guy wins all' attitude that we had."[88] Even travellers whose primary motivation for travel was not necessarily disillusionment with the West also expressed a desire to leave materialism behind. Interviewee Rod Deering, whose primary motivation is best described as 'adventure', also explained in his interview that while travel was his primary motivation, his trip was also partly about escaping from materialism.[89]

Robin Brown (interviewed by Tomory) described a lack of spiritual nourishment at home as a factor inspiring the India trip.[90] Interviewee Swami Shankarananda, a former academic in New York, now a spiritual teacher in Australia, described this lack of spiritual nourishment as 'meaninglessness'.

> I was leaving meaninglessness. I'd been disappointed in a lot of things in my life. I had high hopes with the academic life and when I got immersed in that I found it didn't have as much meaning as I wanted. It didn't solve the big problems … I was disillusioned by a kind of meaninglessness and I had an intuition that India had spiritual answers and I wasn't disappointed.[91]

3.5: Disillusionment with Western lifestyles amongst Contemporary Backpacker interviewees:

When comparing the attitudes of the Overland Trail Generation with contemporary backpackers in relation to their disillusionment with Western lifestyles, the attitudes of the two groups are remarkably similar. One Contemporary Backpacker interviewee to

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[86] Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours*, 124.
[87] Kelly Davidson, 'Alternative India: Transgressive Spaces', in Adam Jaworski and Annette Pritchard (eds.), *Discourse, Communication and Tourism* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), 38.
[88] Bill (surname withheld), interview with author, Apollo Bay, Victoria, July 9, 2014.
[89] Rod Deering, interview with author, Apollo Bay, Victoria, March 28, 2014.
[90] Robin Brown, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 233.
[91] Swami Shankarananda, interview with author.

elaborate in detail about his disillusionment with life at home was Jonny Lyons, from Britain. When asked by the author why he had undertaken his 2016 trip to India, he replied: "I was just looking for a change. I've been working in London for five years. I got a bit bored with it. I got a bit bored with working nine to five in an office."[92] The author also asked Lyons whether disillusionment with the West had played a part in prompting his trip. Lyons replied with:

> I would say definitely yes. I haven't really thought of it in that sense, but in terms of if you think of London, which I guess is the epitome of the West to some extent, yeah I was getting very disillusioned with working and working towards goals that had been set for you since going to university. I'd got very bored with working towards what I felt was no end of working to save for a house or a car or to buy better clothes or to buy new technology … So I'd lost all motivation to work basically, so this is hopefully a reset of that.[93]

What is notable about this quote, is that Lyons indicated towards the end through his use of the word 'reset' that he intended to return to this lifestyle after a break.

This is consistent with the findings of Westerhausen (2002). His study of independent budget travellers in Asia stated that most travellers fit back into their home societies when they finish travelling, but some go back to travelling whenever they have the opportunity to do so.[94] The idea of returning to the same lifestyle once returning home was less common amongst the 1960s and 1970s interviewees, although not all Contemporary Backpacker interviewees wanted to return home to the same lifestyle either. William Lowe, also from Britain, answered the same question in a very similar manner to Lyons, however he indicated that he would not be interested in returning to office work when he returned to Britain, instead emphasizing his willingness to explore other lifestyle options:

> Yes, pretty much all of it. I felt completely disillusioned with all of it. I just think it's a system that wasn't really serving me and I just didn't want to be a part of it. I don't like the office culture in particular in the UK, and it's not something I want to continue working with ... My idea is to try to get away from it all and try to see if there is another way to live.[95]

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[92] Jonny Lyons, interview with author, Panjim, Goa, India, April 13, 2016.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Klaus Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach: An Ethnography of Modern Travellers in Asia* (Bangkok: White Lotus Co, Ltd., 2002), 256.
[95] William Lowe, interview with author, Mapusa, Goa, India, April 13, 2016.

Another interviewee to answer the questions in a remarkably similar manner was Vanessa Jones, from Australia. When asked if disillusionment with the West had played a part in prompting the trip she answered:

> Totally, I felt very uninspired in the west. I was not happy with society's expectations. The need to be someone, have a job title, a nice car, nice clothes- all external pleasures that are not true happiness. The expectations that you can only truly be happy if you have a house, nice car, job, get married and have kids.... This trip has been about an inner journey, and I have let go of all my things, sold my car, left my job with the desire to no longer have my identity framed around those things.[96]

Leaving the life of small towns was also evident among the contemporary backpacker interviewees. Yasmin Gill-Carey, from Britain, (speaking for herself and her friend Sophie Dennett) maintained in her interview, "We're from quite a small town in South West England and it can get quite boring at times. We're both in jobs that we enjoyed but we probably wanted to do something more."[97]

3.6: Comparisons with other studies of backpackers:

In 2007, Scott Cohen interviewed a sample group of twenty five 'lifestyle travellers' backpacking in India and Thailand about their motivations for 'escaping' from Western society in favour of this lifestyle. The results from Cohen's sample group were also consistent with both the Overland Trail Generation and the Contemporary Backpacker interviewees from this project. Cohen found that many budget travellers want to 'get away from it all', meaning get away from Western life and find a place where they could experience personal growth.[98] Many felt boxed in by expectations of family and peers, including to work, to start a family and to dress a certain way.[99] Some of the negative comments that Cohen's interviewees made included: "Escapism is definitely a huge part of it. Adult responsibilities seem a million miles away and you're not

[96] Ibid.
[97] Yasmin Gill-Carey, interview with author, Agra, India, April 19, 2016.
[98] Scott Cohen, 'Searching for escape, authenticity and identity: Experiences of 'lifestyle travellers', in M. Morgan, P. Lugosi and J.R.B. Ritchie (Eds.), *The Tourism and Leisure Experience: Consumer and Managerial Perspectives* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010), 3.
[99] Ibid., 11

thinking about rent, it's definitely to escape"[100], and "I felt like a bird in a cage."[101] Cohen also cites Pamela Riley's 1988 study – describing long term budget travellers as "escaping from the dullness and monotony of their everyday routine, from their jobs, from making decisions about careers, and desire to delay or postpone work, marriage, and other responsibilities."[102]

4.1: Rejection of Western religions:

A rejection of Western religions and Judeo-Christian values also played a part in some 1960s and 1970s travellers' disillusionment with the West.[103] Author Derek Lewis, explained that he eventually rejected Christianity after attending several different denominations.[104] "All of these churches would insist on their own righteousness, without respect, it seemed, to others. One by one I moved on, sometimes, in a controversial way."[105] Author and interviewee Alun Buffry lost interest and belief in any form of god as a child, after the minister of his Sunday School insulted a boy and threw him out after the boy refused to take off his school cap – an action which Buffry considered to have violated the love and tolerance that the preacher had spoken about.[106] Soon after that, Buffry began to open his eyes during prayers and noticed that most of the adults in church were simply standing and mouthing words with their eyes open; a charade which seemed both false and rather funny to him.[107] Interviewee 'Motya' also became disillusioned with the church early in life. He rejected Christianity after the priest at his local Catholic church refused to explain to him what had transpired in the events leading up to his parents' divorce.[108] 'Motya' concluded, "I was left like a mushroom, growing up like a mushroom, kept in the dark and fed bullshit."[109]

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[100] 'Brendon', quoted in Scott Cohen, 'Searching for escape, authenticity and identity: Experiences of 'lifestyle travellers', in M. Morgan, P. Lugosi and J.R.B. Ritchie (Eds.), *The Tourism and Leisure Experience: Consumer and Managerial Perspectives* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010), 12.
[101] 'Julie', quoted in Scott Cohen, 'Searching for escape, authenticity and identity: Experiences of 'lifestyle travellers', in M. Morgan, P. Lugosi and J.R.B. Ritchie (Eds.), *The Tourism and Leisure Experience: Consumer and Managerial Perspectives* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010), 12.
[102] Pamela J. Riley, 'Road Culture of International Long-Term Budget Travelers', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (1988), 317.
[103] Green, *All Dressed Up*, 226.
[104] Derek Lewis, *Headlong Into Life* (Pontypridd: DGLP, 2010), 19.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Alun Buffry, *All About My Hat: The "Hippy Trail" 1972* (Great Britain: ABeFree Publishing, 2014), 56-57.
[107] Ibid., 57.
[108] 'Motya', interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, April 1, 2014.
[109] Ibid.

Unsurprisingly, the contemporary backpackers, living in the modern, secular West did not experience religion being forced upon them in this same way.

5.1: The search for freedom:

A number of interviewees from the Overland Trail Generation left their home societies to experience freedom, but did not necessarily leave in order to journey along the Overland Trail, or to specifically visit India. Instead, after leaving the societies they were disillusioned with, they simply found themselves gravitating towards India gradually. One such interviewee was Stephania (surname withheld), who recalled:

> I left the USA to live in Amsterdam to experience the creative freedom of an open society. So perhaps I was somewhat disillusioned with the material world. I left a high paying job with an American TV show, sold everything I owned and left. Just felt a pull, I didn't know leaving America I would wind up in India when I left.[110]

Interviewee Mick Whelan had also not intended travelling overland to India, but simply intended to leave Ireland. "I left Ireland, originally because I felt that I was living in a repressive society, controlled by Church and State so, in a way, I was escaping that and had already tasted "liberation" upon arriving in London."[111] Author Michael Hall also spoke of the relief and relaxation from being away from the violence of Belfast and in Amsterdam.[112]

Christian Mottet (interviewed by Tomory) spoke extensively about the mentality of the French who were disillusioned with their society. Mottet explained that the French government's reaction to the student revolution of 1968 was particularly harsh, which had a negative effect on young French people.[113] Mottet also explained that Frenchmen had to complete military service and objected to the repression and obedience required, and instead chose to leave the country.[114] "We objected to the army, to going to school, to doing some job or other, to being obedient. It was all too depressing. We wanted to breathe fresh air."[115] He went on to explain that spirituality was not as important to the

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[110] Stephania (surname withheld), interview with author, via email, May 28, 2014.
[111] Whelan, interview with author.
[112] Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail*, 98.
[113] Christian Mottet, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 3.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.

French as it was to the British. To the French, leaving home was more about the freedom it provided, and India did not seem to be a repressive place.[116] "I think that's why I wanted to go to India: for the freedom. The spiritual aspect didn't figure particularly, because India was new to me, quite unknown. Perhaps it had more influence in England, because the Beatles had inspired this guru thing with their visit to the Maharishi."[117]

Many interviewees and authors did not elaborate on what they viewed as 'wrong' with their own societies, but instead explained how they viewed India, or travel itself, as a place of freedom, as opposed to their homelands which they felt were stifling them. Author and interviewee David Tomory emphasized that freedom was what he was searching for: "At the point of leaving home with a small bag and hair down to here, if I expected anything of India, it was *freedom*."[118] Author Gregory David Roberts also described the feelings of freedom he felt on arriving in Bombay: "Bombay was free – exhilaratingly free. I saw that liberated, unconstrained spirit wherever I looked, and found myself responding to it with the whole of my heart."[119]

A number of the Contemporary Backpacker interviewees also felt that India brought them a sense of freedom. Interviewee Franco (surname withheld), from Italy, when asked about whether disillusionment with the West had prompted his trip, answered, "Yeah. Yeah, I don't connect too much with that. [the West] I feel more at home in India, and more free."[120] Freedom was also cited as a travel motivation by many interviewees in Westerhausen's 2002 study. Interviewees from that study cited the ability to change their ideas each and every day, not having to wear a watch, the possibility of answering to nobody and the lack of responsibilities (other than to find accommodation and food) as the freedoms they found appealing.[121]

6.1: Hostility at Home:

An added source of disillusionment for many travellers who undertook the Overland Trail journey was the hostility and discrimination they faced from others in their

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[116] Ibid., 3-4.
[117] Ibid.
[118] David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), xv.
[119] Gregory David Roberts, *Shantaram* (Great Britain: Abacus, 2004), 21.
[120] Franco (surname withheld), interview with author, McLeod Ganj, India, May 13, 2016.
[121] Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach*, 90-91.

societies, mostly the older generations. Many young people felt they were being targeted for their views and beliefs. While the attitudes of young people began to change during the 1960s and 1970s, these changing attitudes were not necessarily well received by wider sections of society. Carroll and Noble explained:

> In 1970, polls indicated that a majority of American adults rated the problem of dissident youth above all other problems: war, the environment, race relations, the economy. The adult fear and anger revealed by these polls came from the recognition that the pattern of "adolescence" established between 1880 and 1914 was breaking down. The counterculture adolescents of the 1960s were rejecting conventional virtues such as militant masculinity, competitiveness and aggressiveness, emphasis on bodily cleanliness and self-discipline in order to channel energy into economic achievement. Parents were confronted by "loose" young people, resisting the armed forces and the world of work.[122]

This hostility pressured young people who identified with Counter-Culture, further disillusioning them with Western society. Interviewee Robert Friedman recalled, "Those of us who were hippies at that time did not like the police, we didn't like the military, we didn't like authority, whether it came from our parents or something else. We wanted to be be left alone. For us everything was really peace, love and brotherhood."[123] Friedman spoke of feeling a very deep connection with like-minded people, due to large sections of society hating them so much.[124]

Much of this hostility was directed at young peoples' appearance, with men who wore their hair long as a major target. Harry Deissing (interviewed by Tomory) discussed discrimination he received back home in Munich because of his hair and appearance, which involved not being allowed in any restaurants or bars in his home town.[125] Co-Editor of *Avatar*, an underground newspaper, Dave Wilson, a former university student and solider turned 'hippie'(interviewed by William F. Marmon Jnr.), also elaborated on the hatred he received from society for his long hair, which he believed drew out the hate from conventional society.[126]

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[122] Carroll and Noble, *The Free and the Unfree*, 373.
[123] Friedman, interview with author.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 14.
[126] William F. Marmon Jr, in Joe David Brown (ed.), *The Hippies* (New York: Time Inc., 1967), 101.

Institutional discrimination appears to have been as rife as personal prejudice. Bailey (2017), stated that 'hippie longhairs' were treated with ridicule by the media,[127] while Miller (1991), explained, "the majoritarians insisted on confrontation with the hippies, arresting them for sale and possession of dope and trying to block rock festivals and communes."[128] As explained by interviewee 'Motya', men with long hair could not receive unemployment benefits in Australia between 1967 and 1969 as they were deemed to be unemployable, with this antiquated law only changing after the progressive Gough Whitlam became Prime Minister in 1972.[129] Meanwhile in Britain, the Oztrial defendants (Richard Neville, Jim Anderson and Felix Dennis) had their long hair illegally cut short when awaiting trial.[130]

As well as discrimination from the older generation due to their looks, the activities which young people participated in were also looked upon with disdain: World surfing champion, Midget Farrelly, hardly a countercultural icon, explained in an interview with Craig McGregor, that surfers were looked down on by the older generation.[131] Similarly, journalist Philip Mandelkorn, stated that sexual promiscuity and drug use were the main reasons why the older generations don't like the hippies.[132] Interviewee Laurie (surname withheld) explained that her husband was expelled from university for smoking marijuana and participating in Left Wing activism.[133] Author Michael Hall and his wife Sheila were searched for drugs at Perth Airport upon entering Australia, simply because they had backpacks rather than suitcases.[134]

While a hatred of the hippie movement and of young peoples' dress sense and choice of activities certainly existed in certain sections of the West, equally common was a mutual incomprehension between the older and younger generations. As interviewee Kate Powley admitted: "Hippies generally had the view that anyone older had buggered up society and we had the answer and we lived a way of life that was certainly different

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[127] John Bailey, '1967: Where did all the love go?', *Melbourne Inside Out, The Sunday Age*, 4 June, 2017, 6.
[128] Miller, *The Hippies and American Values*, 103.
[129] 'Motya', interview with author.
[130] Diski, *The Sixties*, 84.
[131] McGregor, *People Politics And Pop*, 112.
[132] Mandelkorn, in Brown (ed.), *The Hippies*, 199.
[133] Laurie (surname withheld), interview with author, via email, June 27, 2014.
[134] Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail*, 149-150.

to our parents. Our parent's generation generally just walked around with a look of amazement and alarm on their faces."[135]

Faced with societies that didn't understand their outlook and needs, and in some cases displaying open hostility towards them, many young people felt a strong sense of disillusionment with their own Western societies decisively pushing them towards the East. Unsurprisingly though, the Contemporary Backpacker interviewees did not mention hostility towards them as a reason for their disillusionment with the West. As stated by Richards and Wilson (2004), and Cohen (2003), backpackers used to be anti-establishment or outsiders, whereas this is no longer the case.[136] The generational conflict felt by so many from the Overland Trail Generation no longer exists to the same degree or with the same intensity. In addition to this, as explained by Paris (2010) modern technology is bridging this gap further still: "the ability to instantly be in contact with home has contributed to the mainstreaming of the backpacker market. Parents of first-time backpackers can now feel more at ease, as can first-time backpackers, with the ability to be in instant contact with family members."[137]

7.1: Ironies of India as a destination choice:

A number of ironies are evident when examining the disillusionment with the West – particularly from the Overland Trail Generation:

One irony about travelling to India to avoid scrutiny, was pointed out by Bhaskar Bhattacharyya (interviewed by Tomory): Westerners came to India because they didn't want to answer the questions asked of them in the west, yet India was a bad choice of destination because Indians asked them even more questions due to the lack of privacy in public in India.[138] Sobocinska also noted that Asian countries posed many of the same restrictions which many travellers wished to avoid in the West: Travellers may have been motivated to visit Asia by images painting it as the binary opposite of the

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[135] Kate Powley, interview with author, via email, June 16, 2014.
[136] Greg Richards and Julie Wilson, 'Travel Writers and Writers who Travel: Nomadic Icons for the Backpacker Subculture?' *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2004), 61; Erik Cohen, 'Backpacking: Diversity and Change', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (2003), 105.
[137] Cody Paris, 'The Virtualization of Backpacker Culture: Virtual Mooring, Sustained Interactions and Enhanced Mobilities', in Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann (eds.), *Beyond Backpacker Tourism: Mobilities and Experiences* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010), 61.
[138] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 152.

West, but many quickly discovered that the reality of Asian society could be just as repressed and repressive as Europe, America or Australia.[139]

Sobocinska's point remains valid in the contemporary era. When asked whether disillusionment with the West played a part in prompting her trip, Contemporary Backpacker interviewee Henriette Lofstrom from Denmark, replied, "No, not specifically the West I don't think. It could be disillusionment with humanity as such, yes. But not specifically the West, as there are a lot of problems here too."[140]

Sobocinska also discussed the sense of rebellion against authority which many travellers brought with them from the West, and how it played out in Asia along the Overland Trail:

> Police, immigration and customs officials came to be regarded as obstacles to be overcome rather than as legitimate figures enforcing local regulations. The strong military presence in many Asian countries was also regarded with contempt, and stories of travellers tricking officials by sneaking drugs or people through checkpoints and border crossings were a favourite at Sigi's and in subsequent retellings.[141]

Interestingly, these attitudes and actions suggest a rebellion against authority itself, rather than a rebellion against the authority of the older generation in the West. While prevalent during the days of the Overland Trail, these attitudes and actions are far less common amongst contemporary backpackers, for whom budget travel is no longer a form of rebellion.

8.1: Conclusion:

For both the Overland Trail Generation, and typical contemporary backpackers, disillusionment with the West figures as a common travel motivation. Bruner (1991), citing MacCannell (1976), described the tourist pursuit of the exotic and the Other as a quest for "authenticity", arguing that Westerners don't experience it in their own societies and hence look elsewhere.[142] This statement rings true for both the Overland Trail Generation and contemporary backpackers. McLean described the shift in

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[139] Agnieszka Sobocinska, 'Following the "Hippie Sahibs": Colonial cultures of travel and the Hippie Trail', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer 2014), 5.
[140] Henriette Lofstrom, interview with author, Delhi, India, April 24, 2016.
[141] Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours*, 154-155.
[142] Edward M. Bruner, 'Transformation of Self in Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (1991), 240.

consciousness of the Overland Trail Generation: "The sixties marked a shift of consciousness. Ordinary people did extraordinary things. A generation rejected old, unfeeling ways, questioned established practices, searched for new values."[143] This shift in consciousness manifested itself in a rejection of or disillusionment with various aspects of the West in favour of different values to be acquired in India. This disillusionment remains with Western travellers in India. However, the specific sources of disillusionment have changed slightly since the days of the Overland Trail. For example, during the days of the Overland Trail, disillusionment with Western politics was rife, yet it does not feature as heavily in the mindset of contemporary backpackers. Western lifestyles however, were the source of disillusionment for both groups. Attitudes towards the expectations of Western society to conform to societal norms are also remarkably similar in both groups of travellers.

[143] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 267-268.

CHAPTER 6:
THE LURE OF THE EAST

1.1: Introduction:

As explained in Chapter 5, Section 1.1, disillusionment with various aspects of Western society provided a strong push factor for the Overland Trail Generation to travel to the Indian Subcontinent. At the same time, a 'lure of the East', provided a corresponding pull factor, drawing travellers to India and Nepal for a multitude of different reasons.

As explained by Hannam and Diekmann (2011), tourism is partly influenced by an escape from the mundane, everyday aspects of life, the opposite of which is the 'exotic'.[1] This 'exotic' to Westerners was and still is 'the East', or 'the Orient'. "The Orient is socially constructed as a place where those in the West can contemplate their fantasies and desires outside of their own boundaries of normality."[2] The 'Exotic Orient' became a huge lure for the Overland Trail Generation, just as disillusionment with their own societies began driving them away from home.

1.2: Is the East still exotic to Westerners in light of globalisation?:

While the East is more accessible to Westerners than ever before, it still remains exotic to the majority of everyday people from Western countries. While upwardly mobile Middle Class Westerners, and those that travel frequently (such as business people, academics and others involved in transnational professions and endeavours) experience the culture of the East on a regular basis, the vast majority of suburban Westerners still regard the East, and in particular India, as extremely exotic. For example, in my own experience, despite my obvious interest in India, most of my

[1] Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann, *Tourism And India: A Critical Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 84.
[2] Ibid., 84-85.

family, friends, acquaintances and colleagues in Australia know very little about India. Most have not travelled to India and nor do they have any significant understanding of India, its geography or its culture. As explained in Chapter 1, Section 6.2, India is regarded by most Westerners with fear and trepidation along with awe and wonder. Despite the East being more accessible than ever before to Westerners, it is far from everyday or mundane.

1.3: A broad range of lures:

The lure of the East also resulted from exposure to Eastern lifestyles in the form of spiritual pursuits such as meditation and yoga, an exploration of sexuality, experimentation with mind altering drugs, Indian food, Indian clothing, Indian music, Indian nature and the fact that India itself had become fashionable. This chapter examines a wide array of pull factors drawing travellers to India and Nepal, some of which fit the Overland Trail's collective narrative and some which are lesser known.

2.1: Spiritual pursuits:

Spiritual fulfilment, or the undertaking of spiritual pursuits was a major reason for travellers to travel to India. While the West was being criticised for its materialism, lack of meaning and absence of spirituality, India was seen as the place where spiritual fulfilment could be attained, and where spiritual pursuits could be practiced. Gemie and Ireland (2017), stated that travellers often understood their journeys as individual spiritual pilgrimages.[3]

Interviewee 'Motya', who travelled to India numerous times, eloquently described this phenomenon as a search for a reason to be: "It was necessary to find a raison d'être, a reason to be and the reason to be obviously was an exploration of the spiritual world, of Asia, of India, of the Himalayas, of the Buddhist world, of the Hindu world … So this became a virtuous thing to do, hence all the travel to India."[4] Interestingly, poet Allen Ginsberg had predicted, or perhaps encouraged this phenomenon, announcing, "India will be the holy place of pilgrimage for the young!"[5] Referring to the lure of the

[3] Sharif Gemie and Brian Ireland, *The Hippie Trail: A History, 1957-78* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 158.
[4] 'Motya', interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, April 1, 2014.
[5] Allen Ginsberg, quoted in Deborah Baker, *A Blue Hand: The Beats In India* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008), 198.

East and the disenchantment with his native United States, he continued, "They will come like birds migrating to a promised land."[6]

2.2: Exploration of individual spirituality:

There is no single definition of spirituality.[7] Willson et al (2013) suggests it essentially concerns a human being's individual search for meaning in life, inevitably undertaken by all.[8] It is generally argued that people usually explore their spirituality when they feel a 'deep prompting' to do so, for example, after a significant life event, such as an illness or the loss of a close relationship.[9] There appears to be some evidence of a number of interviewees from both the Overland Trail Generation and Contemporary Backpacker sample groups undertaking their journeys after such events. Chouchou Malderner for instance, undertook her overland journey after leaving her husband, intending never to return to her native France.[10]

As explained in *Culture Smart India: a traveller's guide to customs and culture*, "Indian spirituality has long fascinated Westerners wishing to broaden their own spiritual experience."[11] Sobocinska (2014), concurred, explaining that while many travellers did travel to India as 'seekers' in the Overland Trail era, Australians had been travelling to India to seek enlightenment over a very long period of time.[12] Sobocinska used Australian Prime Minister Alfred Deakin, who travelled to India in 1893 as her prime example. Deakin maintained a lifelong interest in Buddhism and helped establish the Toorak branch of the Theosophical Society, an organisation which attempted to bridge Eastern and Western traditions.[13] It should be noted however, that as a two time

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[6] Ibid.
[7] Gregory B. Willson, Alison J. McIntosh and Anne L. Zahra, 'Tourism And Spirituality: A Phenomenological Analysis', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 42 (2013), 152; V.M. Kinjerski and B.J. Skrypnek, 'Defining spirit at work: Finding common ground', *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (2004), 26-42; M.F. Maher and T.K. Hunt, 'Spirituality reconsidered', *Counselling and Values*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (1993), 21-28.
[8] Willson et al, 'Tourism And Spirituality', 152.
[9] J.F. Marques, 'The spiritual worker: An examination of the ripple effect that enhances quality of life in – and outside the work environment', *Journal of Management Development*, Vol. 25, No. 9 (2006), 884-895; E.K. Schultz, 'The Meaning of spirituality for individuals with disabilities', *Disability and Rehabilitation*, Vol. 27, No. 21 (2005), 1283-1295; R.M. Torance, *The spiritual quest: Transcendence in myth, religion, and science* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Willson et al, 'Tourism And Spirituality', 152-153.
[10] Chouchou Malderner, interview with author, via email, June 24, 2014.
[11] Nicki Grihault, *Culture Smart! India* (South Yarra: Explore, 2003), 64.
[12] Agnieszka Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours: Australians In Asia* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2014), 121-122.
[13] Ibid.

Prime Minister, Alfred Deakin cannot really be considered an 'everyday Australian', but rather an elite public figure.

The Overland Trail Generation of the 1960s and 1970s were the first Westerners to travel to India to undertake spiritual pursuits in what can be defined as a 'egalitarian mass movement'. Overland Trail Generation interviewee Peter Keynes explained, "I have also spent much of my life in the pursuit of a deeper understanding of spiritual and religious truth, particularly those which originated in India."[14] While Keynes' outlook is similar to that of Deakin, Keynes is an 'ordinary Australian' who undertook the journey as a regular citizen, rather than a high profile person with fame and wealth. Interviewee Jane (surname withheld) had also studied Eastern philosophy at university before undertaking her journey along the Overland Trail, and explained that many travellers were travelling in India for a spiritual experience.[15]

2.3: Meditation, yoga and ashrams:

Meditation and yoga were amongst the most common spiritual pursuits undertaken by those who travelled to India in the 1960s and 1970s. Jane (surname withheld) enrolled in a meditation course in Bodh Gaya attended by three hundred people.[16] At this same course, interviewee Bill (surname withheld) was given a walking meditation, which he still does without realising it to this day.[17] Author Billy Wells also gave an account of his time meditating at a monastery in Sri Lanka. While staying at the monastery, he was encouraged to read Buddhist texts, practice meditation and undertake a walking meditation just as Bill had undertaken in Bodh Gaya.[18] Wells also described other Westerners staying at the monastery, including Americans, Englishmen and a German man: "The German was doing it according to ancient teachings and prior to coming here, had been living in a cave, meditating in the forest and taking his bowl into the villages to ask for food."[19]

As discussed by author and interviewee David Tomory, one of the more famous monasteries in Western Buddhist circles was the Kopan Monastery in Nepal due to its

[14] Peter Keynes, interview with author, via email, March 5, 2014.
[15] Jane (surname withheld), interview with author, Apollo Bay, Victoria, July 9, 2014.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Bill (surname withheld), interview with author, Apollo Bay, Victoria, July 9, 2014.
[18] Billy Wells, *Snapshots of the Hippy Trail* (London: Lulu Enterprises, 2008), 168-169.
[19] Ibid., 168.

meditation courses run by Lamas Yeshe and Zopa.[20] Brian Beresford (interviewed by Tomory) was intrigued by the Tibetan tradition of this particular monastery: "the Tibetans didn't believe in God, or in gods: so, was this a religion close to the reality of our actual, *human*, being? Very close to how *we* are?"[21] Interviewee Rod Deering felt similar sentiments from guru Manindra from Bodh Gaya, whom Deering felt was one of the first people to make sense to him, after stating, "God's just a concept" rather than trying to sell him religion.[22]

Sobocinska (2014), recounted the story of two young Australians who travelled the Overland Trail and found themselves at the Kopan Monastery: In 1972, 22 year old Marie Obst from Brisbane, and her boyfriend Nick Ribush enrolled in a meditation course at Kopan, and stayed for two years.[23] After two years, Marie had become Yeshe Khadro, a nun fully initiated in the Tibetan tradition, and Nick became a Buddhist monk, with both remaining pillars of the Tibetan Buddhist community in Australia over forty years later.[24]

Meditation courses were often conducted in ashrams, which Tomory described as follows: "Ashrams, residential institutions customarily based around a single personage and their particular religious practice, varied enormously in style (and size). The Gandhian centres dedicated to social service and abstinence, and the Pune headquarters of Bhagwan Rajneesh, which was not, were both called ashrams."[25]

The lure of meditation however, was not always as great as the lure of the ashram and the living conditions available there. Gavin Kilty (interviewed by Tomory), on hearing about a meditation course in a monastery in Bodh Gaya, was lured in by the promise of free food and lodgings: "It was the talk of the food that did it: as soon as I was able, I left for Bodhgaya. When I got there, I knew, I'd have to do the course to get fed."[26] David Williams (interviewed by Tomory) stayed in an ashram in Hardwar for

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[20] David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 107.
[21] Brian Beresford, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 107.
[22] Rod Deering, interview with author, Apollo Bay, Victoria, March 28, 2014.
[23] Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours*, 120.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 84.
[26] Gavin Kilty, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 108.

similar reasons: "I was there in the first place because it was warm and comfortable. So much nicer than shivering on a thin mat up in Rishikesh, waiting for an icy morning bath in the Ganga with the sadhus. In Hardwar it was three square meals a day, a mattress in a warm dormitory and a bunch of amusing lunatics to talk to."[27]

Interviewee Rod Deering was more earnest in his approach to meditation, taking his practice seriously. Deering practiced yoga daily for a number of months in Goa – an experience he considered a real awakening.[28] After practicing yoga, he felt that meditation would also be beneficial to his spiritual growth. "I had the feeling that there was something I'd kind of missed and I'd talked to my yoga teacher about meditation and they'd always said that it's not something that you'd take on lightly and that you have to really be in a quiet place and away from all the hippie influences and drugs and that."[29] Deering undertook a Vipassana meditation course, which will be discussed in Section 2.5 of this chapter.

Not all travellers practiced meditation – as acknowledged by previous scholars studying travellers: Teas (1988) stated that meditation and prayer did not happen much within the society of travellers she studied in Kathmandu,[30] while Riley (1988) only mentioned two women in her sample group who had participated in meditation courses despite noting that many travellers had travelled to Asia for spiritual reasons and had an interest in Buddhism.[31] Interviewee Judah Rosen gave an amusing anecdote: When he explained to others that he had travelled to India, he was often asked whether he had meditated in India. He would then state emphatically, "No, I meditated in San Francisco, I partied in India."[32]

2.4: Authenticity of practicing meditation and yoga in India:

Of course meditation and yoga could easily be practiced in the West, especially in the later years of the Overland Trail era, but as author Jack Parkinson somewhat

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[27] David Williams, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 85.
[28] Deering, interview with author (2014).
[29] Ibid.
[30] Jane Teas, 'I'm studying monkeys. What do you do? Youth and travellers in Nepal', *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers*, No. 67-68 (1988), 38.
[31] Pamela J. Riley, 'Road Culture of International Long-Term Budget Travelers', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (1988), 319.
[32] Judah Rosen, interview with author, via Skype, May 6, 2015.

flippantly remarked, "Why meditate in drab suburbia when you can take yourself off to the sanctuary of a thousand-year-old mountain monastery, or linger for a moment beneath the very tree where the Buddha attained enlightenment?"[33] Although it was made casually, Parkinson's comment is worth further investigation, because it suggests that a more authentic experience can be attained by meditating in a land with a much longer history or culture of meditation or yoga.

These were also the findings of Batts Maddox in her 2014 study of Ashtanga Yoga tourism in Mysore, India. Batts Maddox stated that some of her interviewees travelled to India because they viewed India as the yoga and spiritual capital of the world.[34] The perceived authenticity of the participants was based on the perception that yoga in India is more pure than its equivalent in the West.[35]

Batts Maddox concluded that Westerners not only want an authentic yoga experience but also an existentially authentic experience in themselves in regard to their place and purpose in the world.[36] She also found that Westerners appeared to be seduced by the incense and Indian classical music which they perceived to make the yoga seem sufficiently authentic.[37]

2.5: Vipassana Meditation:

One path on the search for enlightenment undertaken by numerous interviewees from the 1960s and 1970s sample group was that of *Vipassana* (silent) meditation with the famous guru Satya Narayan Goenka. The Vipassana meditation technique began in India and was preserved in Burmese monasteries throughout the Islamic invasions of the country, only re-emerging after being popularised by Goenka.[38] Goenka was born into a strict Hindu family, grew up to be a rich industrialist and suffered migraines for which he required morphine fortnightly.[39] Goenka found that Vipassana was the only cure for his condition, and after teaching his parents and friends, the technique grew in

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[33] Jack Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven: Rites of Way on the Overland Route* (Port Melbourne: Government of South Australia through Arts South Australia, 2001), 15.
[34] Callie Batts Maddox, 'Studying at the source: Ashtanga yoga tourism and the search for authenticity in Mysore, India', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol, 13, No. 4 (2015), 1.
[35] Ibid., 2-3.
[36] Ibid., 5.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Sarah Macdonald, *Holy Cow! An Indian Adventure* (Sydney: Bantam Books, 2002), 69-70.
[39] Ibid., 69.

popularity rapidly both in India and in the West.[40] As explained by author Sarah Macdonald, who undertook a ten day course, Vipassana courses were free as Goenka refused payment, although donations were encouraged.[41]

Interviewee Nanette Schapel participated in Vipassana meditation, as well as other meditation courses during her time in India, considering it part of the spiritual side of travelling in India.[42] Interviewee Chouchou Malderner recollected, "I did take a Vipassana meditation course with Goenka. In a way, I was on a spiritual path but not looking for a leader, looking for a way for me to be in the world that I liked."[43] This quote corresponds with 'Motya's 'reason to be' analogy mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. Interviewee Rod Deering also undertook a Vipassana meditation and elaborated in detail about the experience: "At some point there became a thing where I realised that there was an observer observing the body experience and I had to let go of the observer and just be the body experience and my whole body just became full of light. It just blew me away, it's just an unbelievable experience and I've never been quite the same since."[44]

Deering found the Vipassana course particularly satisfying, and explained, "Once I'd done the meditation course I realised that I was now onto something that was real. I wasn't asked to believe anything."[45] He felt that during the course he was never told what to look for, but rather just to look.[46] On completion of the course, Deering undertook another ten days of meditation in Sri Lanka after which he felt ready to return home to Australia.[47] Similarly interviewee Sara Mikkelsen stated that Goenka's Vipassana course changed her life: "On my second visit [to India] I travelled halfway across India to take a meditation course with Sri S.N. Goenka and that changed my life completely. I felt that I found what I was looking for in my religious studies and Buddhism remains my passion to this day."[48]

2.6: Travellers becoming monks and sadhus:

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[40] Ibid., 69-70.
[41] Ibid., 81.
[42] Nanette Schapel, interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, February 12, 2014.
[43] Chouchou Malderner, interview with author.
[44] Deering, interview with author (2014).
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Sara Mikkelsen, interview with author, via email, May 27, 2015.

Some Westerners who travelled to India in the 1960s and 1970s decided to take their search for spirituality even more seriously. They became monks. One such traveller, encountered by Parkinson was a Swede named Nils, who gradually adopted the lifestyle of a monk after stays in India, Thailand and Nepal over two trips to Asia, and had no contact with his family and no desire to return to Sweden.[49] Author Jack Parkinson explained that Nils lived a pious existence, remaining unaffected by the harassment he received from Indian officials:

> Strangely, the officials we encountered during that long and unnecessary day of queuing all treated Nils with a uniform rudeness and contempt I could not fathom. They distrusted and resented this foreigner with his shaven head, his air of piety and his apparent posturing in monkish robes. Nils was unfailingly polite and seemed either accustomed or oblivious to this sort of behaviour. When I asked why it was he thought he was drawing this excessively hostile treatment he only smiled and shrugged his shoulders. It did not matter in his scheme of things.[50]

Author Paul Theroux also encountered a Western monk – an American from Baltimore, ironically on the same train journey in Southern India, heading to Sri Lanka as Parkinson had undertaken with Nils. This monk however, was particularly rude when asking for water. When Theroux asked him 'Is that any way for a monk to talk?' he became particularly angry and called Theroux 'a nosy bastard, just like the rest of them'.[51]

While some Westerners became monks, other became sadhus. Author Sarah Macdonald explained, "Sadhus are men who have abandoned their families to travel India's sacred sites and dedicate their lives to worship."[52] She continued later, "Sadhus are the holy saints of Hinduism, mourned as dead by their families, they abandon everything to devote their lives to God; reprogramming their body and mind through celibacy, renunciation, religious discipline, meditation, yoga, austerities and secret tantric practices."[53] Carlo di Paoli (interviewed by Tomory) became a sadhu while in India, going through the first initiation process, however he abandoned the lifestyle

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[49] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*, 200-201.
[50] Ibid., 201.
[51] Paul Theroux, *The Great Railway Bazaar: By Train Through Asia* (London: Penguin Books, 1975), 169-170.
[52] Macdonald, *Holy Cow!*, 14.
[53] Ibid., 139.

after breaking his celibacy with an attractive blonde American woman at the Crown Hotel in Delhi.[54] Another traveller called him a hypocrite after leaving the Catholic Church and then breaking his own sadhu vows.[55]

2.7: Spiritual connectedness of being in India:

While some travellers were motivated to travel to India to be active participants in institutions fostering spiritual growth, such as temples, monasteries and ashrams, others felt that they would achieve some form of spiritual growth by simply being in places which were considered spiritual, or even simply by being in India itself. As explained by Gemie and Ireland (2017), many travellers saw the East as a cure for the ailments of the West.[56] By visiting places considered to be holy sites, travellers felt a sense of connectedness to their own spirituality. Additionally, as travellers spent time in these 'spiritual sites', the boundary between spiritual seeking and regular tourism has become extremely blurred. As Sobocinska (2014) explained, "The counterculture's interest in Eastern spirituality turned ashrams, meditation retreats and monasteries throughout India, Nepal and Thailand into tourist destinations."[57]

One such spiritual site was (and still is) Swayambhunath Stupa, also known as 'The Monkey Temple' in Kathmandu. In 1969, Jasper Newsome (interviewed by Tomory) arrived in Kathmandu and immediately caught a taxi to Swayambhunath, where he climbed the immense flight of steps to the stupa dome, encountering "minor dieties, pseudo-heavens and pseudo-hells, all the merest suggestion of the mystic encounter to be had at the summit."[58] Tomory described Newsome's experience: "Pairs of eyes painted on the massive stupa gazed out in the four cardinal directions, and at the crown was a spire of burnished bronze, from which a great greenish-white light shone all night."[59] Author Shirley Hardy-Rix, who travelled to Nepal in 2004 also described Swayambhunath: "The golden stupa dazzles in the sunshine. The Buddha's eyes watch over all that happens here. The sounds of Tibetan Buddhist chants emanate from all the

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[54] Carlos Di Paoli, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 175-179.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 151.
[57] Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours*, 126.
[58] Jasper Newsome, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 96-97.
[59] David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 97.

souvenir stands and the pleasant aroma of incense permeates the smoggy air. It is crowded with people, monkeys are everywhere, and yet it has peace and serenity. It's that Buddhist thing again."[60] Despite travelling 35 years apart, Newsome and Hardy-Rix both noted the spiritual feel of Swayambhunath. In this recollection, Hardy-Rix emphasised the peace and serenity, and the feeling the temple gave her as a visitor. Although she was not participating as a monk, but as a tourist, she still felt a feeling of connectedness with the spiritual aspect of the site.

2.8: The acceptance of death:

Along with temples, monasteries and ashrams, funeral ceremonies at the burning ghats in Varanasi (aka Benares) and Kathmandu were also seen as places where one felt connected to their spirituality. Journalist Gita Mehta described this sense of connectedness:

> The original hippies … were pathfinders who discovered the burning ghats. India is probably the only country in the world that allows the tourist to treat death as a spectator sport, and nowadays tourists increasingly look to India for the experience. Trips to the unknown are monogrammed by the sensation not the photograph, and few places are more sensational than the burning ghats at Benares – the place where all devout Hindus hope to be cremated.[61]

Brian Rix (husband of author Shirley Hardy-Rix and her co-author) visited the burning ghats of Pashupatinath, in Kathmandu, and described in detail the funeral ceremony and rituals which occurred before cremation of a body, concluding that the ceremony is confronting to Westerners. "We are not used to these rituals and have coffins to hide the realities of death."[62]

As the comments of both Mehta and Rix allude to, Westerners watching funeral ceremonies at the ghats physically see dead bodies and thus are witnessing the physical realities of death, which obliges them to face their own mortality and ipso facto, become aware of, and ponder, their own spirituality. One such traveller was author and interviewee John Worrall, who noticed the body of a dead boy, aged 3-4 in a river in

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[60] Shirley Hardy-Rix, in Shirley Hardy-Rix and Brian Rix, *Two for the Road: 56,671km, 27 countries, one dream* (Sydney: Macmillan, 2005), 264.
[61] Gita Mehta, *Karma Cola: Marketing The Mystic East* (New York: Simon And Schuster, 1979), 142.
[62] Brian Rix, in Shirley Hardy-Rix and Brian Rix, *Two for the Road: 56,671km, 27 countries, one dream* (Sydney: Macmillan, 2005), 268.

Agra, India.[63] Worrall explained later how this discovery had affected him emotionally, forcing him to think about death.[64] Author Sarah Macdonald described India's ambivalence when reflecting on the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks in New York: "But India seems not to have noticed. Indians live in a land that's always been outside the bubble of safety that has now burst in the west. In a land used to death, disaster and disease life goes on as normal."[65]

2.9: 'Looking the part' of a spiritual seeker:

Many Westerners visited sites such as the burning ghats in Varanasi and Swayambunath Stupa in Nepal purely as tourists, with or without a vague interest in spirituality. Others identified strongly as spiritual seekers. The latter often altered their behaviour and physical appearance in order to be taken seriously as spiritual seekers, and disassociated themselves with 'tourists'. One such traveller was author and interviewee David Lovejoy, who, after hitchhiking through Central India, decided for this very purpose, to stop conserving his money so carefully, buy a train ticket and visit a barber to have his head shaved.[66]

2.10: Travellers uninterested in spiritual pursuits:

While many travellers made the journey to India or Nepal specifically to explore their spirituality, others showed little or no desire to do so. Author Michael Hall stated: "Ironically, the 'search for enlightenment', which made a journey to the East seem so attractive to young people in the late 1960s and early 70s, had played little part in our daily concerns. From the minute we stepped ashore on Asia we had experienced few esoteric musings and no preoccupation with developing our inner-awareness."[67] Interviewee Tom Grunfeld, also explained that the spiritual aspects of India had no appeal at all,[68] while author Richard Gregory stated, "I am the least spiritual person you

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[63] John Worrall, 'Chapter 12: Death In The Afternoon', in *Travelling for Beginners: To Kathmandu in '72* (Amazon/Kindle: 2012), [no page numbers].
[64] John Worrall, 'Chapter 13: The River', in *Travelling for Beginners: To Kathmandu in '72* (Amazon/Kindle: 2012), [no page numbers].
[65] Macdonald, *Holy Cow!*, 261.
[66] David Lovejoy, *Between Dark and Dark: A Memoir* (Mullumbimby: Echo Publications, 2005), 85-86.
[67] Michael Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail: travelling across Asia 1976-1978* (Northern Ireland: Island Publications, 2007), 145.
[68] Tom Grunfeld, interview with author, via email, February 3, 2017.

could meet, and though I visited many religious buildings on my travels it was always to soak up the culture and admire the architecture."[69]

Author Peter Moore, who retraced the Overland Trail in 1994, was also unconvinced by the idea that being in India in itself could help one accelerate their spiritual growth. He explained:

> I guess I was also a little cynical and suspicious about their search for spirituality. On my journey I'd seen most of the major religions, and what had struck me was that each was tailored to offer answers to the problems and needs of the cultures it originated from. It might be that I'm simple, but I just didn't see the relevance of a blue-faced God or an elephant with nine arms to a rich kid with a camera and a Walkman, and not a clue about what to do with his or her life.[70]

Others, such as interviewee Nanette Schapel, had not planned to visit India for a spiritual experience, but felt that their journey had become a spiritual experience.[71] These scenarios however, do not constitute a travel motivation. Tomory concurred, explaining that, "there were sincere spiritual seekers and suchlike, but they tended to have been 'hippies' who had graduated to spiritual respectability."[72] Like Schapel, the travellers Tomory referred to became interested in spiritual growth after being in India rather than before visiting.

2.11: Contemporary backpackers in search of spiritual pursuits:

Travellers in the modern era, including many from the 2016 sample group of Contemporary Backpacker interviewees, also visited India in large numbers to explore spirituality and engage in spiritual pursuits, some of which were similar to those which attracted their 1960s and 1970s counterparts.

Vanessa Jones, from Australia, had prior knowledge of various spiritual pursuits and felt that in India, she would experience a connectedness to these practices and ideas: "I have always had a calling to come to India, as I was inspired by true yoga (not fake pretentious yoga that we have cultivated in the west). I wanted to deepen my meditation

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[69] Richard Gregory, 'The Hippie Trail 1974 – Kashmir and India', http://www.richardgregory.org.uk/history/hippie-trail-04.htm, accessed on 1 October 2016.
[70] Peter Moore, *The Wrong Way Home: London to Sydney the Hard Way* (Great Britain: Bantam, 1999), 223.
[71] Schapel, interview with author (2014).
[72] David Tomory, interview with author, via email, May 19, 2015.

practices and learn more about Buddhism, as well as any other Eastern Philosophies or techniques that have been presented to me on my journey."[73]

Franco (surname withheld), from Italy, also felt that in India he was connected with his spirituality, and that he could meet like-minded people there: "I especially like to live in India, and spend time in India. Especially spiritually. I feel well here. I can reach a good spiritual state, I feel well in the body. Also social life. I can meet more people."[74]

Like the Overland Trail Generation travellers, participation in meditation courses was common for the Contemporary Backpacker interviewees. One such interviewee was Jana Uhlendahl, from Germany, who undertook a ten day Vipassana meditation course in McLeod Ganj during her three month trip.[75] Jona (surname withheld), also from Germany, grew up in a meditation centre and participated in a number of meditation retreats throughout India during his stay.[76] He discussed his views on travel to India from Europe to practice meditation: "By making this trip I think there's a big industry for going to India from Europe, and it's a lot of this 'Shanti tourism' which I don't appreciate, but if you really take it seriously it is different, as it is with anything like that. For people in the West, taking things seriously is not that common."[77] As explained by author Sarah Macdonald, *Shanti* is the Hindi word for 'peace' and is used excessively by Westerners seeking spiritual experiences in India. For example, 'I'm very shanti', 'You're very shanti', 'India's very shanti', etcetera.[78] Maoz (2007), defined it as 'peace and serenity' in Hindi.[79]

2.12: Contemporary backpackers and yoga teachers training courses:

One spiritual pursuit which interested the Contemporary Backpacker interviewees exclusively, involved travelling to India to undertake yoga teacher training courses: Karen Cortoos, from Belgium included a yoga teacher training course while in India,[80]

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[73] Vanessa Jones, interview with author, via email, August 10, 2016.
[74] Franco (surname withheld), interview with author, McLeod Ganj, India, May 13, 2016.
[75] Jana Uhlendahl, interview with author, Delhi, India, April 10, 2016.
[76] Jona (surname withheld), interview with author, McLeod Ganj, India, May 12, 2016.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Macdonald, *Holy Cow!*, 168.
[79] Darya Maoz, 'Backpackers' Motivations: The Role of Culture and Nationality', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (2007), 130.
[80] Karen Cortoos, interview with author, Palolem, Goa, India, April 16, 2016.

while both Andreanne Leclerc, from Canada[81] and Maja Nemec, from Slovenia[82] considered participation in yoga teacher training courses to be their primary motivation for travelling to India. While yoga teacher training was commonly discussed by the Contemporary Backpacker group of interviewees, it was not mentioned once by a single interviewee from the Overland Trail Generation sample group. This suggests that yoga teachers training for travelling Westerners was not available, or certainly not common, during the 1960s and 1970s.

2.13: The search for a guru:

The search for a *guru* or teacher in India to impart their spiritual knowledge was a widespread motivation amongst the 1960s and 1970s travellers. Interviewee Stephania (surname withheld) explained, "I was definitely looking for a guru or enlightenment. I knew the yogis of the Himalayas had profound meditation experiences, magical powers and an inner experience. I wanted that."[83] She explained how her search for a teacher was a lifelong ambition:

> I studied mysticism and meditation since I was very young and had many lucid dreams of a young Indian boy that watched over me somehow. I wanted to go to India from childhood and when I met my Rainbow brothers and sisters in Amsterdam we decided to pool our resources and make our incredible overland journey to the east to find our teacher. I was running "to" not "from". It was an inner calling.[84]

After meeting her guru, Stephania felt that she had found what she came to India in search of. She concluded, "I was initiated there on the banks of the Ganges and shown the sacred Knowledge with a mystical glimpse of realms of light within. This was the most powerful and life altering experience. My search was over."[85]

Interviewee Swami Shankarananda, who would later become a guru himself, also travelled to India in search of a teacher. He described his personal search and reason for being lured to India: "Friends of mine in Chicago, where I was living at the time, introduced me to the famous American yogi Ram Das at a dinner party. I sat next to

[81] Andreanne Leclerc, interview with author, McLeod Ganj, India, May 14, 2016.
[82] Maja Nemec, interview with author, McLeod Ganj, India, May 14, 2016.
[83] Stephania (surname withheld), interview with author, via email, May 28, 2014.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.

him and our conversation had a great effect on me. Afterwards I knew that I had to go to India to find a spiritual teacher, a guru."[86] He continued:

> I was definitely searching. Ram Das had convinced me that there were great beings alive today; beings like Jesus and the Buddha. They weren't just around in biblical times. I thought 'Well, if that's true that they have this spiritual knowledge I'd be a fool not to avail myself.' So I went searching for that. I knew there was someone there who would teach me these hidden secrets. I went precisely for that.[87]

Shankarananda found his teacher, Swami Muktananda, in India. After completing a Goenka Vipassana course near Bombay, he then travelled to Muktananda's ashram, located fifteen kilometres out of Bombay.[88] He described his experience: "Muktananda's ashram blew me away. It was perfectly on purpose and had a lot of energy. I felt I could really make progress. So I spent the next three years at that ashram."[89]

Interviewee and author, David Lovejoy, travelled to India knowing the identity of the guru he wished to follow. In Britain, Lovejoy was a follower of the child guru Maharaji and travelled with others to India to meet him in person.[90] Lovejoy and his friends travelled to India specifically for Maharaji's thirteenth birthday as they were interested in his teachings and his ashram.[91] On taking up residence in the ashram, Lovejoy and his counterparts were shocked by the structured nature of life there. Lovejoy explained:

> The bits of Premanand's speech that we missed concerned working in the gardens from an hour before dawn till lunch, regular attendance at satsang, an hour's meditation morning and night, and no smoking in the ashram. It wasn't that we deliberately flouted these rules; we simply had no comprehension that there could be such things as rules, much less that they could apply to us.[92]

Lovejoy also wrote about the shame they felt when the senior Mahatma (leader) of the ashram caught them playing cards and smoking in the room and how they felt that

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[86] Swami Shankarananda, interview with author, Mount Eliza, Victoria, February 12, 2014.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
[90] David Lovejoy, interview with author, via email, June 29, 2015.
[91] Lovejoy, *Between Dark and Dark*, 52-53.
[92] Ibid., 68-69.

they should change how they behaved in the ashram.[93] Lovejoy and his colleagues also maintained differing levels of acceptance of whether Maharaji was of divine origin.[94]

Maharaji attracted controversy and was not universally loved. From the beginning, administrations from other ashrams in Hardwar were jealous of Maharaji's ashram for having several dozen Westerners staying.[95] Over time, Maharaji established great wealth, with journalist Gita Mehta writing:

> For the less intellectually demanding, there are gurus like the eternal teenager Guru Maharji Ji, who once hired the Houston Astrodome in order to spread his teachings. Maharaji Ji sat on an elaborate throne spotlighted from every direction. Behind him rose the huge stadium scoreboard, which carried in blazing lights the encouraging Eastern message: ENJOY ENJOY ENJOY.[96]

As explained by author Ann BeCoy, Maharaji was known for imparting what he referred to as 'the knowledge' on his disciples.[97] 'The Knowledge', according to BeCoy, involved, "a secret mantra and some techniques to do. That was it: suddenly I had 'the knowledge."[98] BeCoy was unimpressed by Maharaji, explaining that his mother was the real power behind him and that he was confused by the fuss being made over him.[99] She stated, "I saw the fourteen-year-old fat kid was basking in the glory of his devotees. He might have been the guru for some people, but I didn't connect with him at all."[100]

Gurus and their teachings were as diverse as the ashrams they oversaw. For example, interviewee Robert Friedman described his guru Hari Puri, as a very relaxed guru.[101] Hari Puri was a sadhu, as well as a highly educated Brahmin with whom Friedman stayed in a village in Rajasthan for three months. Hari Puri would give villagers advice on digging wells, obtaining water and other everyday business, while in the evenings he would smoke hashish with the villagers and visitors, and lead chanting, prayer and meditation before a communal meal was cooked.[102] Friedman explained, "So he was

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[93] Ibid., 70.
[94] Ibid., 71-76.
[95] Ibid., 70.
[96] Mehta, *Karma Cola*, 108.
[97] Ann BeCoy, *Memoirs of A Hippie Girl in India* (Toronto: BeCoy Publishing, 2013), 163.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid., 164.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Robert Friedman, interview with author, via Skype, July 1, 2014.
[102] Ibid.

just like a priest that saw to everybody's needs and I would almost compare it to receiving confession because he took on everybody's stale stories and he did everything he could to fix it for them."[103] While Friedman's guru undoubtedly served his community in a somewhat traditional manner, some other gurus were more flamboyant or eccentric in their teaching methods, while others were simply considered charlatans by most people.

Award-winning author Peter Matthiessen explained his and his wife's view on searching for a teacher, and their distrust for many gurus: "Not that D and I considered ourselves "seekers": we were embarrassed by such terms, and shied from people who employed them. We read and talked and read again, but what we needed was a teacher and a discipline. In those days, instant gurus were turning up as thick as bean sprouts, but true teachers were very hard to find."[104] Journalist Gita Mehta described another (unnamed) guru:

> Yet another guru bolsters the faith of his followers in an indoor football stadium in Delhi by promising proof of the existence of God … The guru informs them … that God exists because if you look in the Oxford English Dictionary under the letter G, you will eventually find the word God. Triumphantly the guru raises his short arms in benediction to the nonplussed but believing audience.[105]

Mehta also relayed the story of a young French woman living under a tree who had two children with her guru, who had since died.[106] Jim Swartz (interviewed by Tomory) told the story of a rich Western woman seduced by a taxi driver pretending to be a guru: The driver told the woman that the best path to God was through tantric sex with the guru, and the woman obliged.[107] Swartz continued: "before too long she was talking about building him an ashram. He preferred to see the West, so she married him and took him there. In the end he got all sorts of money from her. He doesn't drive taxis anymore. He lives not far from here in a nice new house, with a nice new wife."[108]

2.14: Eight Finger Eddie:

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[103] Ibid.
[104] Peter Matthiessen, *The Snow Leopard* (London: Picador, 1979), 50-51.
[105] Mehta, *Karma Cola*, 108-109.
[106] Ibid., 133-136.
[107] Jim Swartz, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 196.
[108] Ibid., 197.

Here mention must be made of a remarkable 'Overland Trail celebrity' named Eight Finger Eddie. Eddie (real name Yertward Mazamanian) is known to have 'founded' the hippie scene at Anjuna Beach, Goa, in 1969.[109] Author Earthman, referred to Eddie as a 'hippie cult idol'.[110] While older than most travellers on the Overland Trail, Eddie did not identify as a guru, but was seen as one due to the assistance he provided to 'down and out' Westerners in Goa, Kathmandu and other places along the trail.[111] At age 44, during his second trip to Goa, Eddie welcomed all travellers to live and share food in his house, in an arrangement where everyone was welcome unconditionally, and nobody was asked for any money or to do any housework – although Eddie was happy to accept money or housework from his guests.[112] Richard Neville described Eddie as follows: "Eight Fingers [sic] Eddie, an involuntary father figure to what he calls 'the white tribe' and who, judging from the prolific gossip, possesses an enviable capacity to materialize in several world capitals simultaneously."[113] While Eddie was well known for his time in Goa, interviewee 'Jim' (Not his real name) spent time with him in Kabul.[114] Earthman, in his biography *Eight Finger Eddie: The Hippie History of Goa and Kathmandu*, explained:

> From our point of view, Eddie is the hip father we always dreamed of having. We are his younger, loved children – innocent, vulnerable, disoriented, and exploited. He is the cool, inner-realized papa, who already has a lifetime of gritty street experience under his belt. So, he takes confident pleasure – *with no extra sweat* – guiding and protecting the world travellers gathering around him.[115]

One young traveller suggested to Eddie that he should start an ashram and be a guru, so that he and other young travellers could stay indefinitely in India as Eddie's

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[109] BeCoy, *Memoirs of A Hippie Girl in India*, 36.
[110] Earthman, 'Chapter 22: Hashish Dens in Kathmandu', in *Eight Finger Eddie: The Hippie History of Goa and Kathmandu* (Amazon/Kindle: 2015), [no page numbers].
[111] Philippe Manoussi, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 130-131.
[112] Earthman, 'Chapter 1: India's Most Famous Expatriate', in *Eight Finger Eddie: The Hippie History of Goa and Kathmandu* (Amazon/Kindle: 2015), [no page numbers]; Earthman, 'Chapter 19: Colva Crash Pad', in *Eight Finger Eddie: The Hippie History of Goa and Kathmandu* (Amazon/Kindle: 2015), [no page numbers].
[113] Richard Neville, *Playpower* (London: Paladin, 1971), 169.
[114] Anonymous, interview with author, Malmsbury, Victoria, March 24, 2014.
[115] Earthman, 'Chapter 10: First Trip to India and Nepal', in *Eight Finger Eddie: The Hippie History of Goa and Kathmandu* (Amazon/Kindle: 2015), [no page numbers].

devotees![116] Eddie eventually began to feel uncomfortable with the fact that others saw him as a guru,[117] and explained in his autobiography, "Although I've been telling those around me not to follow anyone, I've failed to see that they're following me. Without intending to, I have become a kind of drug to them. I must bring an end to this."[118]

2.15: Contemporary backpackers' lack of interest in gurus:

While the search for a guru was quite common amongst the Overland Trail Generation sample group of interviewees, as well as among writers who have written about their journeys on the Overland Trail, this motivation seems far less common amongst contemporary backpackers. Not one interviewee from the Contemporary Backpacker sample group identified the search for a guru as a motivation for visiting India or Nepal. Possible explanations are that gurus or spiritual teachers are now prevalent in the West and easy to find. The search for a guru was a highly fashionable pursuit during the 1960s and 1970s whereas it has become less fashionable in the modern era. None of my interviews however, were conducted in ashrams or places where travellers specifically go to find a guru (such as Rishikesh).

3.1: Religion:

While the Overland Trail became a spiritual pilgrimage for many, the concept of a religious pilgrimage was also present and was often intertwined with the search for spiritual enlightenment. Gemie and Ireland (2017), noted that when comparing the Overland Trail Generation travellers interviewed in their study, that those with a definite interest in Eastern religions were far clearer about their travel motivations than most other travellers.[119] Mainstream interest in Eastern religions began in the 1960s and 1970s and was an integral element of the youth counterculture of the era.[120] When specifically discussing young Americans involved in the hippie movement, Carroll and Noble explained: "Looking West from San Francisco, they saw hints in Asian thought of another way of perceiving the world. Asian philosophies and religions enjoined the

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[116] Eight Finger Eddie, *My Rise to Relative Obscurity 1924-1972* (undated, unpublished text, available at: http://www.8fingereddie.com/; PDF format; accessed on 10 February 2017), 159.
[117] Earthman, 'Chapter 29: Freedom at the Well', in *Eight Finger Eddie: The Hippie History of Goa and Kathmandu* (Amazon/Kindle: 2015), [no page numbers].
[118] Eight Finger Eddie, *My Rise to Relative Obscurity*, 201.
[119] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 145.
[120] Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours*, 123.

individual to perceive reality from the inside, to find meaning from within."[121] Eastern religions were seen as aesthetically pleasing, as demonstrated by author and interviewee Dave Barrett when discussing daily life in Kathmandu: "Above all, daily life was irrevocably interwoven with religion, and the steps of the temples were just as likely to be used for daily chores, such as cutting hair or searching for nits, as for burning of incense and the saying of prayers."[122]

Using a sample group of Israeli backpackers, Uriely et al. (2002) found that many travelled to India to experience Eastern religions rather than to practise them or participate in their ceremonies. Many would visit an ashram without praying in one, leaving prayer for the synagogue.[123] Some of Uriely's sample group had no desire to abandon Judaism for Hinduism or Buddhism, but intended to use elements of Eastern philosophies and meditation in their everyday (Jewish) life.[124]

3.2: Rejection of Christianity and Judaism in favour of Hinduism and Buddhism:

Generally, those on a search for religion on the trail had rejected the Western faiths of Christianity and Judaism in favour of the Eastern faiths Hinduism and Buddhism. Author, Captain F. D. Colaabavala, in his study on the Western hippie subculture in India and Nepal in the 1960s and 1970s noted that this was certainly the case with those he had met.[125] Interviewee Robert Friedman explained that many travellers didn't feel connected with their birth faiths.[126] Many often rejected the doctrine and customs of Western religions but wanted to retain some of the ethics and attitudes of religion.[127] Interviewee Bill (surname withheld) recalled:

> I'd been brought up as an Orthodox Jew. I gave the whole religion thing away when I was 18, but I still believed in spiritual things and I found the whole concept of Hinduism in particular where you had a myriad number of gods and you chose the one that most suited your outlook and your

[121] Peter N. Carroll and David W. Noble, *The Free and the Unfree: A New History of the United States* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1977), 369.
[122] Dave Barrett, *Christmas in Kathmandu* (Bath: DEVA B Publications, 1992), 134.
[123] Natan Uriely, Yuval Yonay and Dalit Simchai, 'Backpacking Experiences: A Type and Form Analysis', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (2002), 530.
[124] Ibid., 531.
[125] Captain F.D. Colaabavala, *Hippie Dharma* (Delhi: Hind Pocket Books, 1974), 55.
[126] Friedman, interview with author.
[127] Jonathon Green, *All Dressed Up: The Sixties and the Counterculture* (Great Britain: Pimlico, 1999), 226 and 230; Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 157.

> persona as an attractive one, but in the end we were far more involved with Buddhism than we were with Hinduism.[128]

Interviewee Phil (surname withheld) was also open to exploring the Eastern faiths, and stated, "I learnt a bit about Buddhism, learnt a bit about Hinduism, I'd rejected Christianity at school so it was just curiosity, to see what it was like."[129] Interviewee Sara Mikkelsen felt the same, stating that she had studied Indian religions and that they were a pull factor for her undertaking her trip.[130] Interviewee Dorothea Polonyi explained that she had given up Christianity for Hinduism at the time, but has since returned to Christianity in her old age.[131]

3.3: Hinduism:

The widespread appeal of Hinduism and Buddhism centred around their flexibility and lack of dogmatism. Interviewee Debbie Hay considered both far less dogmatic than Catholicism.[132] As author Rory Maclean explained, "Hindu theology accepts that there are many roads leading to nirvana. Hinduism, a tolerant, all-encompassing 4,000-year-old religion without central authority or rigid moral code, never countenanced exclusivity."[133] The irony about Hinduism as a choice by Westerners, as pointed out by Robin Brown (interviewed by Tomory) while discussing travellers visiting Benares (Varanasi), was that "It's an anomaly, because you can't become a Hindu, it's the only thing you can't become. You can become anything else."[134]

The most well-known Hindu religious text to the Overland Trail Generation of travellers and contemporary travellers alike was the *Bhagavad Gita*, a 700 verse scripture. American yogi Bhagavan Das, when interviewed by Colaabavala, explained that he felt the *Bhagavad Gita* was more practical than the Bible as he felt that it addressed the needs of ordinary people better than the Bible.[135] "It's much more advanced than the Bible. In spite of man's landing on the moon, [the] Pope keeps on

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[128] Bill (surname withheld), interview with author.
[129] Phil (surname withheld), interview with author, Apollo Bay, Victoria, July 9, 2014.
[130] Mikkelsen, interview with author.
[131] Dorothea Polonyi, interview with author, Bega, New South Wales, August 11, 2015.
[132] Debbie Hay, interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, February 27, 2016.
[133] Rory Maclean, *Magic Bus: On The Hippie Trail From Istanbul To India* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 203.
[134] Robin Brown, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 80.
[135] Colaabavala, *Hippie Dharma*, 40.

pronouncing that such a feat is impossible. Whereas Gita is much more rational and scientific in believing a man going to the moon is not impossible."[136] The Bhagavad Gita was also popular with the Contemporary Backpacker sample group of interviewees: Karen Cortoos, of Belgium had read the *Bhagavad Gita*,[137] as had Frenchman Lalian Gaillard.[138]

3.4: Buddhism:

Although Hinduism is the most practiced religion in both India and Nepal, Buddhism had even more appeal to Western travellers, and was subsequently the most popular Eastern religion amongst Overland Trail travellers.[139] The particular appeal of Buddhism to Westerners was its non-violence, humility and compassion, as well as its compatibility with individualism.[140]

Tibetan Buddhism was particularly popular, in part due to its celebration of sexual union.[141] As Brian Beresford (interviewed by Tomory) asked, "What kind of religion could it be that instead of having a man nailed to a cross, had sexual ecstasy as an object of devotion?"[142] Group sex, known in Tibetan Buddhism as *yabyum* was glorified in Jack Kerouac's 1958 novel *The Dharma Bums*.[143]

Buddhism in Nepal is heavily influenced by *Tantra*, a philosophy concerning itself with the totality of existence, where all thoughts and acts, including sex, are channelled into spiritual growth.[144] Author Colaabavala explained the appeal of *Tantra* to hippies travelling in Nepal:

> Nepal's brand of Buddhism – like in the adjoining Tibet – is strongly influenced by the philosophy of a breakaway Hindu sect known as the Tantriks. The Tantriks were the earlier cousins, separated by several centuries, of the present-day hippies. They, too, like the hippies, had

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[136] Bhagavan Das, quoted in Captain F.D. Colaabavala, *Hippie Dharma* (Delhi: Hind Pocket Books, 1974), 40-41.
[137] Cortoos, interview with author.
[138] Lalian Gaillard, interview with author, McLeod Ganj, India, May 10, 2016.
[139] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 150.
[140] Macdonald, *Holy Cow!*, 156-157.
[141] Beresford, quoted in Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 107.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Jack Kerouac, *The Dharma Bums* (USA: Penguin, 1958), 28.
[144] Matthiessen, *The Snow Leopard*, 155.

> revolted from the established society, took drugs, practised free sex and were constantly searching for inner power.[145]

Another appealing aspect of Eastern religions may have been the accessibility of the deities and prophets of Hinduism and Buddhism and their use in fun aspects of everyday life. The contrast was the dour, holy and sacred use of deities and prophets in Western religions. Author Jeff Greenwald described this phenomenon in relation to Nepal:

> Buddha fruits, Lord Ganesh potato chips, Tara mayonnaise. There's an openness, a street-corner accessibility, a *vulgarity* to the gods and goddesses of Nepal that you just don't see in the West. No Yahweh toothpaste here, or Baby Jesus Electrical Works; no Moses cigarettes or Mary Magdalene communion wafers. Our gods and prophets don't endorse soft drinks or sell potato chips.[146]

Overland Trail Generation interviewee Adrian (surname withheld), explained that Buddhism may have been popular with travellers due to its compatibility with Catholic rituals: "There were a lot of Catholics or people who had grown up as Catholics, that intrigued me. A lot who got into Buddhism were formally Catholics, maybe because of rituals or something like that appealed to them."[147]

By the time the Overland Trail was clearly established, Buddhism had already become popular in the West. As Ann Douglas explained, in the introduction to Jack Kerouac's novel *The Dharma Bums*, Buddhism had been growing in popularity in the United States, particularly in San Francisco since the late 1940s and through the 1950s.[148] Authors such as Kerouac and Hesse provided their readers with an introduction to basic Buddhist themes.[149] To Kerouac, Buddhism offered a neutral, 'third way' as opposed to Soviet Communism and American Capitalism during the years of the Cold War.[150] However, as noted by Gemie and Ireland (2017) the Western interpretation of Buddhism advocated by Kerouac and other writers, and often practiced by Western travellers, developed into a 'Buddhism-lite': Westerners chose select aspects of Buddhism, often neglecting the discipline and hard work required of traditional Buddhism.[151]

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[145] Colaabavala, *Hippie Dharma*, 11.
[146] Jeff Greenwald, *Shopping for Buddhas* (USA: HarperCollins, 1990), 88.
[147] Adrian (surname withheld), interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, February 5, 2014.
[148] Ann Douglas, 'Introduction', in Jack Kerouac, *The Dharma Bums* (USA: Penguin, 1958), xiv-xv.
[149] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 151.
[150] Ann Douglas, 'Introduction', xix.
[151] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 151-152.

The most high profile Buddhist figure is undoubtedly the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama was cited as an influence by both Overland Trail Generation travellers and contemporary backpackers alike. As stated by Agrawal, Choudhary and Tripathi (2010), Westerners often recognise the Dalai Lama as 'the face of Buddhism', even more so than the Buddha himself![152] From the Overland Trail Generation, interviewee Adrian (surname withheld) explained that the Dalai Lama and his two tutors were hugely influential on him,[153] while interviewee Chris Koller was keen to meet the Dalai Lama because he was asked to do so by his mother.[154] Author Derek Lewis was drawn to Nepal in 2002 because of the Dalai Lama, forty years after having completed the Overland Trail in 1962.[155] Author Sarah Macdonald explained:

> I can see why Buddhism appeals to so many westerners. The Dalai Lama is a superb ambassador; always calm and smiling, he's untainted by scandals and bad television shows. HH also practices what he preaches – non-violence, humility and compassion – and he teaches techniques that appeal to Western minds. He even demands doubt, questioning and reasoning. It's exciting to hear a preacher say, 'Don't take my word for it, you must question the question.[156]

3.5: Contemporary backpackers' interest in Buddhism:

The interviewees from the Contemporary Backpacker sample group also expressed some interest in Buddhism. Jana Uhlendahl of Germany explained that India fascinated her and that she wanted to explore Buddhism and the culture.[157] Jenny Wren, from Britain concurred, citing Buddhism and spirituality as her 'lure from the East'.[158] Phillipp Kaeks, also from Germany, was even more heavily influenced by Buddhism. He explained, "I came primarily to study Buddhism and especially to find a Buddhist teacher, because it's hard to study Buddhism with books and theory."[159]

3.6: Traveller misconceptions about Eastern religions:

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[152] Madhu Agrawal, Himanshu Choudhary and Gaurav Tripathi, 'Enhancing Buddhist tourism in India: an exploratory study', *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (2010), 482.
[153] Adrian (surname withheld), interview with author.
[154] Christopher Koller, interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, January 30, 2014; Christopher Koller, interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, March 17, 2016.
[155] Derek Lewis, *Headlong Into Life* (Pontypridd: DGLP, 2010), 159.
[156] Macdonald, *Holy Cow!*, 156.
[157] Uhlendahl, interview with author.
[158] Jenny Wren, interview with author, McLeod Ganj, May 14, 2016.
[159] Phillipp Kaeks, interview with author, McLeod Ganj, May 12, 2016.

Interestingly, a number of travellers from both the 1960s and 1970s, and from the contemporary era, did not necessarily understand much about the religions they found appealing in India. For example, as explained by Colaabavala, many travellers travelled to Nepal mistakenly believing Nepal to be a Buddhist country rather than a Hindu one.[160] This is also a common misconception amongst contemporary backpackers. One interviewee from the Contemporary Backpacker sample group even made a similar mistake regarding India: "I think actually, before you come to India I think you think it's predominately a Muslim country and it's obviously predominantly Hindu."[161]

3.7: Islam:

While Hinduism and Buddhism were the fashionable religions to many on the Overland Trail, the journey through Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan exposed most travellers to Islam. John Butt (interviewed by both Tomory and Maclean) converted to Islam in Pakistan whilst travelling on the trail and went on to become an Imam.[162] Butt's story, however, was an exception rather than a norm, with Islam not attracting the same level of interest amongst travellers as Hinduism and Buddhism.[163] As explained by Tomory, many female travellers could not get used to the conservative Muslim lands after their countercultural revolt against the code of public morals in the more liberal West.[164]

3.8: Unspecific faiths:

While many travellers were searching for specific faiths, others were not so particular as to which path they took. As Overland Trail Generation interviewee Robert Friedman stated, "We were looking for God and hash."[165]

3.9: Viewing the Overland Hippie Trail as a pilgrimage:

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[160] Colaabavala, *Hippie Dharma*, 11.
[161] Contemporary Backpacker (Name withheld), interview with author, McLeod Ganj, May 14, 2016.
[162] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 47-50; Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 185-191.
[163] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 152-153.
[164] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 50.
[165] Friedman, interview with author.

Although many travellers viewed India's religions as a lure of the East, and experiencing them was a key motivation, it is inaccurate to refer to the Overland Trail as a pilgrimage. Instead, the trail could more accurately be labelled a transnational journey of exploration. Maclean summed this argument up as follows: "Pilgrimage seems to be a means of reinforcing certainties of faith. Independent travel can be about challenging one's idea of living."[166] Hannam and Diekmann (2011), reinforced Maclean's view: "MacLean (2006) emphasises how the backpacker to India of the 1960s and 1970s was often on a Western-style pilgrimage in search of a guru to follow as had been popularised by the Beatles following their visit to India."[167] They continued, "Such pilgrimages have continued in the contemporary period with so-called *ashram* tourism."[168] However neither Maclean, nor Hannam and Diekmann consider the trail a 'religious' pilgrimage, instead alluding to the idea that it was a spiritual one. Gemie and Ireland (2017), discussed the concept of the trail as a pilgrimage extensively, similarly concluding: "While a few of our trail travellers … went to Asia to confirm their extant religious beliefs, many more were motivated by a vaguer aspiration; perhaps they were seeking a new set of values – or an older set that pre-dated Western values."[169] Tomory however, did discuss some parallels between the trail and a pilgrimage: "The pilgrim's road is straight and narrow (like the RTK [Road to Kathmandu]) and through bestrewn with obstacles (diseases, officialdom) and meretricious detours … keeping to the Path led the faithful straight to Heaven.[170]

4.1: Sex:

The Overland Trail is quite rightfully associated with the spiritual quest of many travellers, but is also (less accurately) associated with their sexual quest. McKercher and Bauer (2003) argued that romance, love and sex have been linked to tourism since tourism began.[171]

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[166] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 106-107.
[167] Hannam and Diekmann, *Tourism And India*, 91.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 148.
[170] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 23-24.
[171] Lorraine Brown and Yvonne Simone Stephan, 'Anonymous and uninhibited: sexual encounters during the international sojourn', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 11, No. 1-2 (2013), 36; B. McKercher and T.G. Bauer (2003), 'The conceptual framework of the nexus between tourism, romance and sex' in T.M. Bauer and B. McKercher (Eds.), *Sex and tourism: Journeys of romance, love and lust*, Binghamton, NY: The Haworth Press, 2003, pp. 3 – 16.

4.2: Links between sex and tourism:

The link between tourism and sex appears accurate in certain types of tourism. For example, Meisch (2002), when describing her experience working as a trekking guide in the Peruvian Andes since 1978, explained that many clients (both male and female), were far more interested in having a sexual affair during their trek than they were in Peruvian architecture.[172] She noted: "As I learned when I began leading treks as the company guide for such outfitters as Mountain Travel and Wilderness Travel, many trekkers and guides consider a sexual affair an integral part of the trip."[173]

4.3: The sexualised East:

Alongside the notion that tourism itself is linked to sex, and as explained by Edward Said (1978), as well as Gemie and Ireland (2017), Western novelists have traditionally associated the Orient with sex.[174] Sobocinska (2014) agreed, explaining the various erotic and sexual stereotypes associated with the East for both genders.[175] "Frustrated with Christian morality, Western men found an imaginative outlet in fantasies of Asian harems since at least the 18th century. Women, too, fantasised about the swarthy and mysterious men of the East."[176] She continued: "As historian Hsu-Ming Teo has shown, 'sheikh fever' gripped the Western world from the 1920s, and millions of women fantasised about dark and powerful men who, like Rudolph Valentino in the film adaptation of *The Sheikh*, would steal them away to the exotic East."[177]

4.4: Changing attitudes towards sex and nudity in the 1960s and 1970s:

The romanticised stereotype of the sexualised East may have contributed to the sexualised perception of the Overland Trail. Attitudes towards nudity and sex were changing during the 1960s and 1970s, with premarital sex becoming more widespread

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[172] Lynn A. Meisch, 'Sex and Romance on the Trail in the Andes: Guides, Gender, & Authority', in Margaret Byrne Swain and Janet Henshall Momsen (eds.), *Gender/Tourism/Fun* (Elmsford, New York: Cognizant Communication Corp., 2002), 175.
[173] Ibid, 175-176.
[174] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 1978), 188-190; Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 67.
[175] Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours*, 132-133.
[176] Ibid., 132.
[177] Ibid.

than ever before.[178] However, there does not appear to be much evidence suggesting that either nudity or sex played a great role in the lure of the East or in travellers' motives to travel to India or Nepal. In *The Sixties*, social commentator, Diski wrote:

> Taking off our clothes was an important part of the project of undoing the constraints we perceived our elders to have been immobilised by. We stripped conscientiously in front of each other and made nothing of it. Sex was written about and acted out in private and in public with enthusiasm in the name of the sexual revolution. The idea was to have fun, because having fun with our bodies was a completely new way of being with our peers.[179]

Other social commentators agreed with Diski: Richard Neville described sex as a new form of 'play' to be championed by the Underground movement, rather than something to be taken too seriously.[180] Miller (1991), explained the point in a very similar manner to Diski: "The counterculture's advocacy of nudity, as of liberated sexuality generally, rested primarily on grounds of fun and freedom: nudity was fun per se, and it was a symbol of the free lifestyle advocated by hippies."[181]

As explained by Miller, and supported with the following examples, "What was once known as promiscuity was rampant in the counter-culture, but it was no longer shameful or hidden."[182] Journalist John Lloyd described his experiences living in a commune, where the ethos was that all men in the commune would have sex with all women in the commune.[183] Author Johnny Dolphin mentioned a woman he met travelling who said that she had slept with 11 men on the way to Tangier, Morocco and didn't find that excessive for a modern woman travelling.[184] The most striking remark however, came from Richard Neville, who even stated that during this era, it was riskier to ask a liberated woman to cook than to have sex![185]

However, the Time Magazine publication, *The Hippies*, published after Time's original article of the same name, demonstrated several times that sex was not as prominent a part of the subculture as others believed it to be: Journalist James Kent

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[178] Timothy Miller, *The Hippies and American Values* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 130; Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 67-69.
[179] Jenny Diski, *The Sixties* (London: Profile Books LTD, 2009), 52-53.
[180] Neville, *Playpower*, 223-225.
[181] Miller, *The Hippies and American Values*, 60.
[182] Ibid., 55.
[183] John Lloyd, quoted in Jenny Diski, *The Sixties* (London: Profile Books LTD, 2009), 61-63.
[184] Johnny Dolphin, *Journey Around an Extraordinary Planet* (Arizona: Synergetic Press, 1990), 6.
[185] Neville, *Playpower*, 71.

Willwerth stated, "Sex does play a part in communal togetherness, but it is not as free and easy as outsiders think."[186] Journalist James Shepherd, discussing the 'hippie scene' in Kathmandu, explained that most of the Westerners there showed no untoward interest in sex, and that most thought "that sex was all right when it was pleasant."[187] Shepherd even found that some were 'escaping' from what they called the tyranny of sex![188]

4.5: Sex on the Overland Hippie Trail:

While these statements reflect the general attitudes of young people in the 1960s and 1970s, sex seemed to be no more available on the Overland Trail at the time than in the West. Interviewee Chris Koller recalled that, despite public perceptions, there was not much sex happening on the Overland Trail.[189] Teas (1988), agreed with this view, citing a lack of privacy as the reason for this.[190] Author and interviewee David Lovejoy explained that sex was prohibited in the ashram he was staying in, and that subsequently there was very little of it happening there.[191] Author Billy Wells described in detail how unromantic and desexualised the trail could be: "Us lot had spent 24 hours a day in each others company for several weeks, we were all a bit hung, flung and strung from all the doping and Delhi Belly so there are no romantic links at this point, just a little team on a mission."[192]

Some travellers had more sex than others however. Author Chris Nicholson mentioned that he slept with two women one night in Tehran,[193] but there was not much else about sex mentioned in his book. Author Billy Wells discussed sex on the road, describing his Dutch lover, a woman named Francis.[194] He also mentioned other sexual encounters, but they were not frequent or a major part of his account. One traveller who did have far more sex than most, as described (and interviewed) by Colaabavala, was a woman named Linda, who described herself as a 'tantric radical' and who slept with

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[186] James Kent Willwerth, in Joe David Brown (ed.), *The Hippies* (New York: Time Inc., 1967), 82.
[187] James Shepherd, in Joe David Brown (ed.), *The Hippies* (New York: Time Inc., 1967), 167.
[188] Ibid., 166-167.
[189] Koller, interview with author (2014).
[190] Teas, 'I'm studying monkeys. What do you do?', 39.
[191] Lovejoy, *Between Dark and Dark*, 81.
[192] Wells, *Snapshots of the Hippy Trail*, 17.
[193] Chris Nicholson, *There and Back: cheap travel – overland through Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan* (Essex: Swiftnick, 2001), 18.
[194] Wells, *Snapshots of the Hippy Trail*, 95-96.

virtually everyone who was willing to sleep with her.[195] Despite the examples used in this paragraph, the vast majority of interviewees and authors who undertook the Overland Trail hardly, if ever, mentioned sex in their verbal and written accounts.

4.6: Nudity in sexualised Goa:

Goa, as a Western society, appeared to be more liberal when it came to attitudes towards sex than the rest of India. Many Westerners who lived or travelled in Goa during their overland sabbatical discussed walking naked on the beach,[196] swimming naked[197] and even having sex on the beach.[198] Author Ann BeCoy explained, "I was one of those bare-breasted ladies, wearing only a sarong and a silver snake belt around my hips … Although I was initially shy, I soon got used to being half-naked. Everyone there did it. Besides, I had a great pair of boobs and no reason to hide them."[199] However, as noted by Gemie and Ireland (2017), a profound difference in attitudes towards nudity and exposure of the body existed between East and West, and while public nudity was tolerated in Goa, a Christian enclave, nudity would've caused a riot almost anywhere else along the trail.[200]

4.7: Depictions of sex in Indian temple architecture:

As Robin Brown (interviewed by Tomory) explained, sex was not a public pastime in India: "Sex wasn't socially acceptable in India, never mind the temples were covered in it. In India people did *not* make love with the light on."[201] Author Ann BeCoy shared this view.[202] Brown's mention of graphic displays of sex carved into the walls of temples is relevant however, as numerous travellers discussed the depictions of sex, particularly at Khajuraho in Central India. The temples at Khajuraho have carvings of

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[195] Colaabavala, *Hippie Dharma*, 12-13.
[196] Carmel Lyons, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 126.
[197] Earthman, 'Chapter 4: Teenager in a Zoot Suit', in *Eight Finger Eddie: The Hippie History of Goa and Kathmandu* (Amazon/Kindle: 2015), [no page numbers]; Brown, quoted in Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 131.
[198] Brown, quoted in Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 132.
[199] BeCoy, *Memoirs of A Hippie Girl in India*, 36-37.
[200] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 78 and 89.
[201] Brown, quoted in Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 132.
[202] BeCoy, *Memoirs of A Hippie Girl in India*, 89.

thousands of gods, goddesses, spirits, men, women and animals all in various sexual positions decorating their walls.[203] Author Michael Hall described them as follows:

> Even though the couple had been captured in the act of sexual congress the look on the woman's face was serenity personified, while that of her companion – despite his aroused state – was almost whimsical. No aggressive baring of the teeth here, no rampant lust on display – just an overwhelming sense of union. A union not only between man and woman, but between love and sex.[204]

4.8: The *Kama Sutra*:

Another well-known stereotype associated with the idea of a highly sexualised East was the *Kama Sutra*, the ancient Hindu text written by Vatsyayana in the fourth century AD and dedicated to the god Kama.[205] Considered the standard work on human sexual behaviour in Sanskrit literature, and contrary to popular perception in the West, the *Kama Sutra* is not exclusively a sex manual, but rather a guide to virtuous and gracious living, discussing love, family life and other pleasurable activities.[206] The following example taken from the text promotes further study and can certainly be considered a lure of the East:

> Sexual intercourse being a thing dependent on man and woman requires the application of proper means by them, and those means are to be learnt from the Kama Shastra. The non-application of proper means, which we see in the brute creation, is caused by their being unrestrained, and by the females among them only being fit for sexual intercourse at certain seasons and no more, and by their intercourse not being preceded by thought of any kind.[207]

4.9: Contemporary backpacker attitudes towards sex on the road:

In the contemporary era, it is highly doubtful that any of the interviewees travelled to India or Nepal in search of sex. Not one Contemporary Backpacker interviewee

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[203] Niloufer Ichaporia, 'Tourism at Khajuraho: An Indian Enigma?', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 10 (1983), 76.
[204] Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail*, 76-77.
[205] Trisha Bernard, *With the Kama Sutra Under My Arm: My Madcap Misadventures Across India* (New York: Sterling, 2008), 23.
[206] Carroll Janell, *Sexuality Now: Embracing Diversity* (Boston: Cengage Learning, 2009), 7; Devi Chandi, *From Om to Orgasm: The Tantra Primer for Living in Bliss* (Bloomington, Indiana: AuthorHouse, 2008), 288.
[207] Vatsyayana, *The Kama Sutra*, translated by Sir Richard Burton and F.F. Arbuthnot (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1963), 103.

mentioned sex in an interview and the author did not observe any discussion during participant observation, about sex between any of the backpackers interviewed in the sample group, or even among other backpackers who were not interviewed. Modern author Trisha Bernard however, used the stereotype of the erotic East as the theme of her trip to India in *With the Kama Sutra Under My Arm: My Madcap Misadventures Across India* (2008), explaining that she purchased a copy of the *Kama Sutra* and brought it with her to India – as she saw India as a romantic destination and thus a suitable one in which to recover from a lost romance.[208] While it is unclear how seriously Bernard took this idea, it resulted in an enjoyable and informative book for a modern Western traveller interested in visiting India.

In an earlier study, Ford and Eiser (1996) found that young people have much more casual sex when on holiday than they do in their everyday life.[209] Brown and Stephan (2013) explained that while sex was not their interviewees' major travel motivation, it was deemed to be an exciting possibility.[210] While sex was, at the very most, an exciting possibility while travelling, it does not appear to have played any serious role as a major travel motivation to any majority of travellers, either from the Overland Trail Generation or amongst contemporary backpackers.

4.10: Public nudity:

While sex was not a prime motivation for travellers, public nudity was a new, exciting phenomenon for young people during the Overland Trail era. Diski explained that nudity in the 1960s was an expressive thing, undoing obstacles and constraints and bringing freedom.[211] As explained by Miller:

> Nudity on a beach, meadow or forest is an experience that is very much apart from sexuality. It is a communion with all of the gods' creations. It is a pure animal delight in the freedom of the body wildly playing in the elements. It is an aesthetic joy in the beauty of the human form. It is one of life's richest and most pleasurable experiences… This growth is heartening in a world of silly hang-ups. Nudity makes one free of hang-ups. One

[208] Bernard, *With the Kama Sutra Under My Arm*, 6.
[209] N. Ford and J.R. Eiser, 'Risk and liminality: The HIV-related socio-sexual interaction of young tourists' in S. Clift and S.J. Page (Eds.), *Health and the international tourist*, (New York, NY: Routledge, 1996), 152-178; Brown and Stephan, 'Anonymous and uninhibited', 37.
[210] Brown and Stephan, 'Anonymous and uninhibited', 39.
[211] Diski, *The Sixties*, 52-53.

> becomes a part of the wind and water, and once this is experienced one can never wear a bathing-suit again.[212]

Being naked in spectacular nature, such as beach and mountain environments was seen as particularly appealing for many who travelled the Overland Trail, and certainly constituted another lure of the East. Author Jack Parkinson recalled encountering a German woman in the Nepalese Himalayas: "As I passed close by the hot springs I witnessed a remarkable sunset tableau: the German girl standing naked on top of a high flat rock, arms fully outstretched and muscular body straining tautly towards the gleaming snow-capped mountains and the thundering waterfall. She was completely still in this pose for a long moment. … It was a moment of pure pagan delight."[213]

4.11: Nudity in paradise:

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, one place synonymous with nudity was the beach paradise of Goa. Robin Brown (interviewed by Tomory) explained that in Goa, one could see only a few people per day rather than a few million (as in the rest of India) and swim naked in the ocean.[214] Author and interviewee Dave Barrett mentioned naked tourists on the beach in Goa,[215] while author Michael Hall noted Westerners meditating naked on the beach:

> There, as golden-skinned as the sand, sat four naked Westerners, two males and two females. But what was so striking about them was not their nudity, or that three of them were sitting cross-legged in the full-lotus position, but that they all had their eyes tightly closed. Certainly when meditating at home I too had closed my eyes, but then I had little to look at but four familiar walls, whereas here there was mile after mile of beautiful sand, fringed with gently swaying coconut trees.[216]

Interviewees Debbie Hay and Nanette Schapel, who travelled together briefly, both explained that the 'hippie values' of nakedness on the beach were very appealing to them.[217] While nakedness on Goan beaches was popular to Westerners, Indian tourists often found these very Westerners appealing as a tourist attraction in themselves, a phenomenon which was not always appreciated by some travellers. Tomory wrote, "I

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[212] Gina Shepard, "If It's Their Thing Just Let 'em Leer," Berkeley *Barb*, 7-13 July, 1967.
[213] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*, 168-169.
[214] Brown, quoted in Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 131.
[215] Barrett, *Christmas in Kathmandu*, 113.
[216] Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail*, 99.
[217] Debbie Hay, interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, February 22, 2014; Schapel, interview with author.

do remember seeing a group of bemused Bombayites observing a beach yoga session, and being called 'perverts' by a nude woman in a turban."[218]

The appeal of nudity in paradise was very clear, so much so, that in 1979, Lonely Planet founder Tony Wheeler took a photograph of his wife Maureen walking topless along the beach at Tangalla, Sri Lanka, which would later become the cover shot of the first Lonely Planet guidebook to Sri Lanka.[219] This photo resulted in the beach being renamed Bikini Beach.[220]

4.12: An exaggerated stereotype:

The information offered by interviewees and authors about their sex lives while travelling is quite equivocal: Some specifically emphasized how little sex they and others had, whilst some may have discreetly not discussed their sex lives. None however, mentioned that they had, or noticed others having, a lot of sex while travelling.

Overall, it is highly unlikely that sex has ever been a travel motivation for the vast majority of travellers travelling to India or Nepal – neither during the Overland Trail days nor in the contemporary era. In fact, amongst all travellers interviewed for this project, and all accounts written about the journeys of travellers, the author found only one example where sex could possibly have been considered a motivating factor – that of author Jeff Greenwald, who followed a woman he had met in Greece to Nepal.[221] This example however, would more accurately be described as travelling for love rather than sex. It appears that the idea of travellers travelling the trail to find sex is simply a product of the long-established stereotypes of the erotic, romantic and sexualised East combining with stereotypes of the hippie subculture being a promiscuous one. As Gemie and Ireland (2017), noted, "…when Orientalist clichés met the new accounts of hippie promiscuity, a hostile, dismissive image of the hippie trail as one long shagathon was born."[222] This stereotype appears far from the truth.

5.1: Drug use:

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[218] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 136.
[219] Tony Wheeler and Maureen Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story: Once While Travelling* (Great Britain: Crimson, 2008), 125.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Jeff Greenwald, 'The Fool', in Don George (ed.), *The Lonely Planet Travel Anthology* (Carlton: Lonely Planet Global Limited, 2016), 189-197; Greenwald, *Shopping for Buddhas*, 20.
[222] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 68.

While sex was not as high on the priority list of Overland Trail travellers as might have been expected, drug use was also not as high a priority as is generally thought. Like sex, the amount of drug use on different travellers' journeys was equivocal. While many Overland Trail Generation interviewees experimented with drugs during their journeys, the amount of drug use did not seem to exceed levels common in the West at the time. Very few of the interviewees stated that drug use was a primary reason for them undertaking the journey in the first place. This is consistent with the findings of Cohen (1973) in his study of 'drifter tourism'. Cohen noted, "though many drifters might occasionally engage in drug taking, drugs are not for most of them the purpose and the sole aim of the trip."[223] Interestingly, more authors discussed drug use in their written accounts of the trail than interviewees, although no interviewees were specifically asked about drug use during their interviews.

5.2: Complex considerations involving drug use as a travel motivation:

There are viable arguments on both sides as to whether drug use was or wasn't a travel motivation. On one hand, many travellers did use drugs, but there were also many who did not. The other issue of conjecture is whether those who used drugs used them only because they were travelling the trail, or whether they would have used the same drugs back home. It appears that many travellers took the opportunity to sample drugs while on the trail due to their hassle free access.

To further complicate the issue, it is not known whether there were differing levels of drug use between those travellers identifying as part of the 'hippie movement' and those who did not. Some authors believe that drug use was rife amongst hippies. Others believe that this stereotype has been exaggerated. Journalist William F. Marmon Jr stated that marijuana and LSD were not as important in the subculture as is generally thought,[224] while Colaabavala made the rather outlandish claim that the majority of hippies in Kathmandu were drug addicts![225] The most balanced view on the issue appears to be that of Gemie and Ireland (2017), who concluded that while drugs were less central to the trail than sensationalist reports suggest, drug use developed in parallel

[223] Erik Cohen, 'Nomads from Affluence: Notes on the Phenomenon of Drifter-Tourism', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 14, No. 1-2 (1973), 94.
[224] William F. Marmon Jr, in Joe David Brown (ed.), *The Hippies* (New York: Time Inc., 1967), 102.
[225] Colaabavala, *Hippie Dharma*, 50.

with the trail.[226] Statistics appear to support this assertion, with Gallup polls taken in the USA finding that in 1967, 5% of Americans had tried cannabis, while in 1971, 40% had tried it.[227] Similarly, in the UK, in 1946 17 people were convicted for cannabis related offences, while in 1954 the number had increased to 205, and in 1969 had jumped to 4683.[228]

5.3: Drug use and spirituality:

The motivations of travellers using drugs were often spiritual. When discussing the 1960s in general, Diski explained that drugs, along with travel and sexual freedom were used to change consciousness and explore new and different ways of living.[229] She likened this experimentation to the modern day 'Gap Year' taken by many school leavers in the West.[230] Diski explained, "Enlightenment found another branch: drugs were already a fast route to opening ourselves up to the religious experience of Eastern philosophy, now they became a way for those not 'blessed' with madness to get an insight into this newly hallowed state."[231] Author Peter Matthiessen concurred. He had experimented with hallucinogens and other drugs such as LSD,[232] but emphasized that while drug use could help open minds, it couldn't solve problems or give happiness.[233] Many other interviewees and authors explained that many people found spirituality in India through taking drugs, as drug use opened their minds to be receptive to spirituality. One such person was Overland Trail Generation interviewee Rod Deering, who explained, "that was part of the … spiritual awakening, because in India smoking ganga is part of the mystical experience for some people … and there was some culture of these things being a way of getting in touch with your spiritual side."[234]

The new spiritualities of the time ironically usually condemned drug use.[235] Diski also explained that it was commonly believed by young people in the 1960s that other cultures had used drugs for a long time and that the West had missed this opportunity

[226] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 35.
[227] Ibid., 38.
[228] Ibid., 38-39.
[229] Diski, *The Sixties*, 2-3.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Ibid., 127.
[232] Peter Matthiessen, *The Snow Leopard*, 48-50.
[233] Ibid., 52.
[234] Deering, interview with author.
[235] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 41.

for growth.[236] High profile psychologist and counter cultural figure Timothy Leary even advocated drug use as a progressive science to assist humans in studying spirituality: "Pursuing the religious life today without using psychedelic drugs is like studying astronomy with the naked eye because that's how they did it in the first century A.D., and besides, telescopes are unnatural."[237]

5.4: Other motives for drug use:

Travellers and others also had simpler reasons for drug use. Richard Neville stated, specifically for Overland Trail travellers, "Apart from the spiritual bounty, intoxicants ease physical hardships along the route. They possess a secret mileage ingredient. Daylong trips across deserts in converted army trucks can seem like minutes. Hunger and sex pangs are soothed."[238] Diski also stated that drugs were yet another toy for her 1960s generation.[239] Author and interviewee Alun Buffry, wrote about a fellow traveller named Keith, who stated that he did not believe in any god, instead believing that life was for enjoying, which was why he used drugs.[240] Although all of these reasons for the Overland Trail Generations' drug use are legitimate reasons for taking drugs, none explain why travellers felt a need to travel to Asia to use drugs which they could easily have acquired at home. Author Richard Gregory specifically addressed this issue in his account of the trail: "I may be making it sound like all we did was smoke dope, which would be far from the truth, though a lot of us smoked it constantly. For me, at least, that was no different to being at home."[241]

5.5: Travellers who did not use drugs:

While drug use was common amongst travellers on the Overland Trail, numerous interviewees and authors alike specifically emphasized their abstinence or minimal drug use while travelling the trail. Interviewee Graeme Wood stated that the drug

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[236] Diski, *The Sixties*, 41.
[237] Timothy Leary, *The Politics of Ecstasy*, 1968, in Timothy Miller, *The Hippies and American Values* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 23.
[238] Neville, *Playpower*, 174.
[239] Diski, *The Sixties*, 40.
[240] Alun Buffry, *All About My Hat: The "Hippy Trail" 1972* (Great Britain: ABeFree Publishing, 2014), 57.
[241] Richard Gregory, 'The Hippie Trail 1974 – Afghanistan', http://www.richardgregory.org.uk/history/hippie-trail-03.htm, accessed on 1 October 2016.

element of the Overland Trail has been exaggerated.[242] Lonely Planet founder Tony Wheeler agreed, stating, "it wasn't the 'drug trail' for everybody for example, perhaps for a few and those few tend to think everybody else was as stoned as them."[243] The narrative that drug use was such a widespread and important aspect of the trail has been so rife, that Gemie and Ireland (2017) even noted, "this 'silent minority' [travellers who did not use drugs] has received so little attention [that] one of our interviewees was amazed to hear that there were travellers who did not take drugs."[244]

On the other hand, some travellers who were not regular drug users took the opportunity to sample drugs on offer when travelling due to their widespread availability. One such traveller, author Michael Hall explained, "We needed no coaxing to relax in Herat, even allowing ourselves to buy some hash – after all, we *were* following the Hippie Trail. However, we were so naturally high in our new surroundings that our token purchase sat on a shelf in our lodgings, untested, unneeded."[245] Hall and his wife smoked a bit of their hash eventually before giving the rest away to other travellers. They felt no need for it.[246]

Despite the prevalence of drugs along the trail, those who used them were sometimes looked down upon, and even avoided by their fellow travellers. For example, Hall wrote of a man who travelled all the way from Britain to Goa to smoke dope, yet wouldn't walk four miles up a mountain to see some interesting ruins.[247] Author and interviewee Dave Barrett wrote about an American called Larry he had met in Goa, who spent all day, every day talking only about drugs.[248] Barrett himself did occasionally smoke hash, but generally did not like drugs or the drug scene.[249] Later he explained that he felt left out at a beach party because he wasn't using drugs.[250] Author Noela Steinfort also explained that she and her husband did not stay long in Penang, Malaysia due to numerous Westerners using drugs on the island.[251] Later in her account, she was highly critical of drug use by Westerners in Goa: "most of those we saw, all young Westerners,

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[242] Graeme Wood, interview with author, via email, December 15, 2015.
[243] Tony Wheeler, interview with author, via email, February 29, 2016.
[244] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 54.
[245] Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail*, 46.
[246] Ibid., 56.
[247] Ibid., 66.
[248] Barrett, *Christmas in Kathmandu*, 112.
[249] Ibid., 87.
[250] Ibid., 120.
[251] Noela Steinfort, *We've Been There!* (Melbourne: Allure Publishers, 2005), 25.

seemed to be naked and high on some drug or another, even several pregnant women. To us this was such a waste of time, money and an opportunity to see a different country – they could be out of this world on drugs at home! Their reason for being there, so different to ours, was one we could not comprehend."[252]

5.6: Opportunistic drug use:

An uncontrolled abundance of drugs existed in most countries along the trail.[253] This abundance provided an opportunity for travellers. Cannabis grows wild in the Indian Subcontinent,[254] and one reason for the Overland Trail becoming synonymous with drug use was the fact that it was so readily available in India, Nepal and Afghanistan. Author Richard Gregory explained that Afghanistan, Chitral, Kashmir and Nepal were all well known for their high quality hashish and Chitral, Kashmir and Manali for their high quality marijuana.[255] When describing a drug den in Bombay, author Gregory David Roberts noted, "They smoked nothing but Kashmiri – the best hashish in the world – grown and produced at the foothills of the Himalayas in Kashmir."[256]

5.7: Drugs in Nepal:

Author Jack Parkinson wrote about smoking hash with Nepalese locals while walking the Jomsom Trek in Western Nepal.[257] Kathmandu in particular, was known for its liberal attitude towards marijuana.[258] Cannabis was legal in Nepal and even sold in government shops, until the United States pressured Nepal to criminalise it in 1973, after which it was still sold through the black market.[259]

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[252] Ibid., 235.
[253] Green, *All Dressed Up*, 226.
[254] Matthew Power and Thomas Berenato, 'Lost Highway of the Himalaya', *National Geographic Adventure*, Vol. 6, No. 10 (Dec 2004/Jan 2005), 1.
[255] Richard Gregory, 'A Brief History of the Hippie Trail', http://www.richardgregory.org.uk/history/hippie-trail.htm, accessed on 1 October 2016.
[256] Gregory David Roberts, *Shantaram* (Great Britain: Abacus, 2004), 152.
[257] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*, 159.
[258] Wheeler and Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story*, 21.
[259] Mark Liechty, 'Building the Road to Kathmandu: Notes on the History of Tourism in Nepal', *Himalaya, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2005), 25-26; Earthman, 'Chapter 30: Private Farewell', in *Eight Finger Eddie: The Hippie History of Goa and Kathmandu* (Amazon/Kindle: 2015), [no page numbers]; Giuseppe Albero, *Barefoot on the Himalayas* (USA: The Author, 2014), 111; Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 188-189; Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 257; Moore, *The Wrong Way Home*, 231; Colaabavala, *Hippie Dharma*, 8.

Nepal was also well known and popular for its legal and cheap access to hallucinogens.[260] Jasper Newsome (interviewed by Tomory) explained that it had become popular for travellers to visit Swayambhunath Stupa in Kathmandu and take LSD.[261] He explained that this had become so common that incidents inevitably occurred, such as the time when a Yugoslav traveller, hallucinating from the LSD, began smashing some of the temple icons with an axe – an event which led to travellers being turned off the hill by the authorities at sunset.[262] Author Billy Wells also wrote about how a doctor in Kathmandu presented and administered drugs illicit in the West.[263]

The 1973 ban on drugs, as reported by Colaabavala, resulted in anger by Nepalese locals, particularly shop keepers and growers, towards both Western smokers and even more towards Western governments.[264] He explained that shopkeepers argued that cannabis had not corrupted Nepalese people and had instead earned the country valuable foreign exchange.[265] He continued: "The *charas*-growers are even more angry with the outside world – and, to most of them, the outside world consists of the *charas*-filled hippies. They argue: "We consider beef-eating as the biggest crime but we do not go about asking beef-eaters to stop slaughtering cows."[266]

5.8: Drugs in Afghanistan:

Another destination legendary for its availability of drugs was Afghanistan. If travelling East from Europe, Afghanistan was the first country on the trail where drug use was so open and for many, such as author and interviewee Dave Barrett, their first contact with hashish along the trail.[267] As Brian Beresford (interviewed by Tomory) noted, many travellers took advantage of this: "I realized on seeing this Kabul, Mecca of Hippies, that the restrictions on smoking and such were so rigid in America, in Europe, in Turkey and Iran, that by the time these guys finally arrived in Afghanistan, where smoking and such were, to say the least, unrestricted, they experienced a joyous

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[260] Valene L. Smith, 'Uncontrolled Tourism: Bhutan and Nepal', *RAIN*, No. 46 (Oct., 1981), 5.
[261] Jasper Newsome, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 97.
[262] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 97.
[263] Wells, *Snapshots of the Hippy Trail*, 7.
[264] Colaabavala, *Hippie Dharma*, 43.
[265] Ibid.
[266] Ibid.
[267] Barrett, *Christmas in Kathmandu*, 36.

collapse."[268] Many travellers, when visiting Afghanistan, simply took the attitude 'When in Rome, do as the Romans do'.

Stories about border guards and customs officers selling or giving Western travellers hashish on entering Afghanistan as 'welcome presents' were common. One such story was told by Sean Jones (interviewed by Tomory), involving a customs inspector asking if Jones had hashish on entering the country. When Jones stated that he didn't, the inspector reached into his trenchcoat pocket and produced a slab of hashish and shouted, "Then take *this! First* quality! Welcome to Afghanistan! *Hahaha!*"[269] Author Billy Wells explained that morphine could be purchased from the chemist in Afghanistan.[270] However he also emphasised that opium was uncommon and frowned upon there too.[271] This indicates that the different countries along the Overland Trail all had different drug cultures.

5.9: Cannabis:

The primary drug of choice along the Overland Trail was cannabis, used in the form of hash and bhang – a yoghurt beverage made from the plant,[272] but which (as claimed by author Billy Wells) locals always claimed was not marijuana.[273] Hash was commonly smoked in the West during the 1960s and 1970s, however the hash in India, Nepal and the Middle East at the time was five to eight times stronger than that in the West.[274] This may have been part of the attraction of the drugs available on the trail. Marijuana use was so common along the trail that Tony and Maureen Wheeler even included a two page section on the 'do's and don'ts' of using the drug in the various countries along the trail in their original Lonely Planet guidebook.[275]

5.10: LSD:

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[268] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 44.
[269] Sean Jones, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 32-33.
[270] Wells, *Snapshots of the Hippy Trail*, 7.
[271] Ibid.
[272] Bernard, *With the Kama Sutra Under My Arm*, 182.
[273] Wells, *Snapshots of the Hippy Trail*, 112.
[274] Colaabavala, *Hippie Dharma*, 87-88.
[275] Tony Wheeler and Maureen Wheeler, *Across ASIA on the cheap: a complete guide to making the overland trip with minimum cost and hassle* (Sydney: Lonely Planet, 1973), 14-15.

The other major drug used along the trail, albeit nowhere near as common as cannabis, was LSD. Author and interviewee David Lovejoy expanded on his experience using the drug: "To say that LSD was a powerful influence on my thinking would be an understatement. It wrenched me into an entirely new direction and was the gateway to the most memorable experiences of my life: the long voyages of self-discovery propelled by meditation and eastern mysticism."[276]

5.11: Other drugs:

Other drugs were available along the trail, but were not used extensively. Opium, heroine, morphine and methedrine attracted serious addicts to the trail.[277] Author Jack Parkinson recollected the story of a heroin addict named Wayne.[278] Author Gregory David Roberts also described 'heroin travellers', referring to them as "…tourists who came to India to binge-hit heroin, for a week or two, before returning to the safety of their own countries."[279] Interviewee Judah Rosen discussed his own heroin habit during his interview, stating that he was surprised that others did not use the drug also.[280] These examples were isolated however, with very few interviewees and authors admitting to heroin use.

5.12: Travellers abandoning drug use:

While some travellers used drugs on their journeys, some gave up drug use while travelling. Interviewee 'Jim' (Not his real name) stated that he never touched cannabis again after moving to an ashram and taking meditation more seriously.[281] Interviewee Paul Derrick stopped using drugs, noting, "Afterwards … it … left me with a distrust of hallucinogenic drugs especially of cannabis…"[282] Author Peter Matthiessen also quit using drugs, citing that their use was not aiding his spiritual search.[283] As explained by Gemie and Ireland (2017), spirituality and drug use were often seen as opposing poles on the trail, with spiritual practices often used as a means to overcome drug addiction.[284]

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[276] Lovejoy, *Between Dark and Dark*, 33.
[277] Liechty, 'Building the Road to Kathmandu', 22.
[278] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*, 184-188.
[279] Roberts, *Shantaram*, 390.
[280] Rosen, interview with author.
[281] 'anonymous', interview with author.
[282] Paul Derrick, interview with author, via email, March 15, 2014.
[283] Matthiessen, *The Snow Leopard*, 52.
[284] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 42.

5.13: Selling and smuggling drugs along the Overland Trail:

Occasionally travellers would top up their travelling funds by selling drugs along the way. In the 1970s, the finest quality Nepalese hash sold for $10 per kilogram in Nepal, while in North America, low grade Nepalese hash sold for $4000-$5000 per kilo,[285] providing travellers a huge financial incentive to smuggle it out of Nepal and to the West. Frank White (interviewed by Tomory) purchased hashish in Turkey and later sold it in Amsterdam for profit to get home: "In Istanbul I rested up, sold my gold ring, bought a kilo of hash, which I sewed into a vest, and took a sleeper ticket on the Orient Express to Amsterdam. In Amsterdam I sold the hash, rested up in decent accommodations, and bought a ticket for the States."[286]

While smuggling was a useful way of topping up travelling funds, it was fraught with danger, particularly in Iran and Turkey. Turner and Ash (1975) related the story of Timothy Davey, an fifteen year old English boy arrested in Turkey on a drugs charge and sentenced to six years in a Turkish prison, as opposed to a juvenile court care order which would have resulted in Britain for the same charges.[287] Richard Neville related the stories of many travellers serving long sentences in Turkish prisons for drug possession,[288] while Tomory explained the harsher penalties for being caught with drugs in Iran: "Getting caught with a kilo [of hash] in Iran meant two years in jail and a fine, but the fine was $1 per gram, thus, for the kilo, $1,000. This was usually well beyond the means of the India returnee, so he or she was obliged to pay off the fine by staying in jail at the rate of one day for one dollar: and the sentence became two years plus a thousand days."[289] Several authors described the infamous border separating conservative Iran from drug tolerant, lawless Afghanistan. The Iranians even had a museum with display cases illustrating unsuccessful drug smuggling attempts.[290]

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[285] Liechty, 'Building the Road to Kathmandu', 24.
[286] Frank White, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 225-226.
[287] Louis Turner and John Ash, *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (London: Constable, 1975), 240.
[288] Neville, *Playpower*,182-187.
[289] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 226.
[290] Rick Steves, 'Istanbul to India by Bus: Rick's Excellent Asian Adventure', http://www.ricksteves.com/watch-read-listen/read/articles/istanbul-to-india-by-bus, accessed on 2 October 2016, 5; Richard Gregory, 'The Hippie Trail 1974 – The Journey Home', http://www.richardgregory.org.uk/history/hippie-trail-07.htm, accessed on 1 October 2016; Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*, 268-269.

5.14: Another exaggerated stereotype:

While drug use was common amongst the Overland Trail Generation travelling on the trail, there is no evidence that it was a *key* motivation for their travelling. It appears that most travellers who used drugs did so *only* because the opportunity presented itself, rather than as a means for travelling in the first place. Gemie and Ireland (2017), noted, "For regular drug-takers, the trail could be a time of happy indulgence."[291]

5.15: Drug use amongst contemporary backpackers:

None of the Contemporary Backpacker sample group of interviewees stated that drug use was a motivation for undertaking their trips to India or Nepal. Of the eighty interviewees only one mentioned drug use during her trip, and even in this case it was only one comment in the entire interview. These findings are similar to those of other research on drug use by backpackers: Westerhausen (2002), explained that while a drug culture is no longer synonymous with travellers, contemporary travellers will sample drugs if the opportunity presents itself.[292] Riley (1988) also found that the travellers in her sample group used drugs, but no more than their peers back home who weren't travelling.[293] As noted by Pearce (2006), Maoz (2004) and Haviv (2005) highlight the frequent drug use amongst (Israeli) backpackers, but very few studies deal with this topic or sexual contact between backpackers.[294] The prevalence of both of these activities amongst backpackers deserve further study, particularly as travel motivations.

6.1: Orientalist pursuits:

As explained by Piccini (2016), the hippies travelling through Asia in the days of the Overland Trail travelled to embrace the polar opposite of the West – the Orient.[295]

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[291] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 52.
[292] Klaus Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach: An Ethnography of Modern Travellers in Asia* (Bangkok: White Lotus Co, Ltd., 2002), 159.
[293] Riley, 'Road Culture of International Long-Term Budget Travelers', 318.
[294] Philip L. Pearce, 'Backpacking and Backpackers – A Fresh Look', *Tourism Recreation Research*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (2006), 8; Darya Maoz, 'The Conquerors and the Settlers: Two Groups of Young Israeli Backpackers in India', in Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (eds.), *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2004), 109-122; Ayana Shira Haviv, 'Next Year in Kathmandu: Israeli Backpackers and the Formation of a New Israeli Identity', in Chaim Noy and Erik Cohen (eds.), *Israeli Backpackers and Their Society* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2005), 45-86.
[295] Jon Piccini, *Transnational Protest, Australia and the 1960s* (Palgrave Macmillan Limited, 2016), 87.

The lure of the Orient amongst Overland Trail Generation and Contemporary Backpacker interviewees alike made itself felt through everyday pursuits such as Eastern food, music and art, as well as exotic nature not experienced in the West. The fascination by Westerners of 'all things Eastern' comes under the broad heading of 'Orientalism'.

6.2: 'Orientalism' and it's meanings and connotations:

The term 'Orientalism' originally referred to the depiction by Western writers, designers and artists of Eastern cultures in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and stood for the romantic imagination of European culture towards the exotic.[296] Turner and Ash (1975), described this interest in the exotic: "In such a culture people will become interested in the 'barbarians' and 'monsters' to be found beyond the borders of what they consider to be the civilised world. What might have been terrifying and monstrous to a more archaic society will now produce pleasurable excitement – precisely because it is outside normal experience."[297]

In 1978, literary theorist Edward Said published *Orientalism*, and the term began to be employed to refer to a politics of difference in the post-colonial era.[298] Said's interpretation of the term illustrates how the West had reduced Eastern societies, Eastern populations and Eastern practices to stereotypical images of the 'Other' in polar opposition to the West, deeming this Other to be inferior, exotic and backward.[299] By depicting and reducing non-Western societies as underdeveloped, irrational and inflexible, and thereby inferior to the West (which is presented as developed, rational and flexible – and thus superior), Said argued that the West has legitimized and justified its history of dominating the Orient.[300] In Orientalist discourse, North America and

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[296] Changsup Shim et al., 'Oriental imagery and American attitudes toward Asia: an exploratory tourism study', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (2015), 167.
[297] Turner and Ash, *The Golden Hordes*, 19.
[298] Shim et al., 'Oriental imagery and American attitudes toward Asia', 167.
[299] Batts Maddox, 'Studying at the source', 4.
[300] Rafiq Ahmad, 'Orientalist imaginaries of travels in Kashmir: Western representations of the place and people', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (2011), 168; Ranjan Bandyopadhyay and Duarte Morais, 'Representative Dissonance: India's Self and Western Image', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (2005), 1007; Said, *Orientalism*, 3-5; Batts Maddox, 'Studying at the source', 4; Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 172.

Europe are perceived as safe, Africa as dangerous, and Asia as risky, but worth the risk for its exoticness.[301]

As advocated by Shim et al (2015), despite the negative attributes of Orientalism, it provides a useful way to divide the world into two spheres: East and West.[302] Sobocinska (2014), explained this very point in describing the Overland Trail Generations' attitudes to Asia when on the trail: "While the counterculture's image of Asia reversed some of the value assumptions inherent to Orientalism by conceiving disorder and irrationality as positive rather than negative, it nonetheless continued to imagine the East through binary oppositions to the West."[303]

6.3: The search for difference and the exotic:

Even so, tourists have long looked for differences and otherness.[304] Orientalist discourse fits in well with tourism. Ahmad (2011) explained that Western tourism discourse reproduces Orientalist ideas, often unconsciously, presenting the East as backward, primitive and timeless.[305] The language of the tourist discourse suggests that a Western tourist will experience a total transformation upon travelling to the exotic Third World.[306] In the case of India, Hannam and Diekmann (2011) explained that many representations of India rely on exotic social constructions manifested from colonial, imperial and Orientalist desires.[307] For example, Overland Trail Generation interviewee Ellen Van Boggelen-Heutink explained that she was aware of India's jungles, tigers and tea plantations, yet knew nothing about Indian culture.[308]

6.4: Western perceptions of India:

Author Michael Hall described Western perceptions of India: "For many in the West their image of India is either one of hot desert landscapes dotted with poor villages and

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[301] Brijesh Thapa, 'Tourism in Nepal', *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, Vol. 15, No. 2-3 (2004), 131.
[302] Shim et al., 'Oriental imagery and American attitudes toward Asia', 167.
[303] Agnieszka Sobocinska, 'Following the "Hippie Sahibs": Colonial cultures of travel and the Hippie Trail', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer 2014), 3.
[304] Ibid., 178.
[305] Ahmad, 'Orientalist imaginaries of travels in Kashmir', 171.
[306] Edward M. Bruner, 'Transformation of Self in Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (1991), 239.
[307] Hannam and Diekmann, *Tourism And India*, 3.
[308] Ellen Van Boggelen-Heutink, interview with author, via email, May 29, 2017.

watched over by romantic castles and turbaned tribesmen, or of the chaotic downtown areas of Mumbai (Bombay) and Calcutta filled to bursting with bustling humanity."[309] This exoticism of the East was also a key lure for interviewee Dorothea Polonyi: "There was definitely something about the East at the time that we responded to. It was an exploration of something different, and I call it the Other, with a capital O."[310]

Korpela (2010), in her study on Westerners in Varanasi, explained that in Orientalist discourse, that the East was seen (by Westerners) as ancient and spiritual, and the West as materialistic.[311] She found that Westerners visit Varanasi because it is seen as exotic, mystical and a sign of Eastern Otherness.[312] However she also stated that India has marketed 'Otherness' and there are 'authentic' meditation, yoga and music courses offered in India for this very reason.[313]

6.5: Lack of interest in, or concern for local people:

Another example of this Orientalism is the popular Western perception of the Taj Mahal. The Taj Mahal is a symbol of India and a global icon,[314] and is viewed by Westerners for its romanticism.[315] For many Westerners, the Taj Mahal is more authentically Indian than the modern shopping centres being built all through the country.[316] This is an example of what Korpela described as Westerners romanticising India; a frozen past as opposed to its modern present.[317] One participant in Batts-Maddox's 2014 study of yoga tourism in India criticised the locals of Mysore for wanting to be richer, more materialistic and more like the West, saying that their spirituality should be more important to them.[318] However by saying this he is reinforcing the idea that India is, was and must always be poor and is denying Indians the material comfort that he himself has as a Westerner.[319]

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[309] Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail*, 70.
[310] Polonyi, interview with author.
[311] Mari Korpela, 'A Postcolonial Imagination? Westerners Searching for Authenticity in India', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 8 (2010), 1307.
[312] Ibid., 1301.
[313] Ibid., 1307.
[314] Tim Edensor, 'Reconstituting the Taj Mahal: tourist flows and glocalization', in Mimi Sheller and John Urry, *Tourism Mobilities: Places to Play, Places in Play* (London: Routledge, 2004), 103.
[315] Hannam & Diekmann, *Tourism And India*, 58.
[316] Batts Maddox, 'Studying at the source', 10.
[317] Korpela, 'A Postcolonial Imagination?', 1300.
[318] Batts Maddox, 'Studying at the source', 11-12.
[319] Ibid., 12.

Sobocinska (2014), also emphasized the point that while Westerners liked Asia for what it offered, there was little consideration for locals and what they wanted: "Travellers on the Hippie Trail were often more interested in Asian ideas, rituals or crafts than the people themselves."[320] Korpela (2010), was even more blunt, explaining that many of her sample interview subjects in Varanasi liked Indian culture, but did not necessarily like Indian people: "It seems that the Western lifestyle migrants in Varanasi have found an ideal life *in* India but not *with* Indians."[321] She even offered the following anecdote which indicates that many Westerners in India only consider associating with their fellow Westerners:

> Once in May, I accidentally met a Western acquaintance in the street in Varanasi. She was very happy to see me: 'It is so nice to see you! I thought there was nobody left in Varanasi any more in this heat'. It is rather revealing that, although there are over a million inhabitants in Varanasi, for this woman there was 'nobody' there when, she thought, there were no other Westerners.[322]

Similarly, when describing Kashmir, Western authors have traditionally taken a positive view on the land itself, while writing negatively about its people. Ahmad (2011), explained that historical portrayals of Kashmir follow the same story – that it is a place of natural beauty with mountains, and lakes before describing the inhabitants.[323] Kashmiri men have then been portrayed negatively as dirty, while the women are portrayed as beautiful, exotic and mysterious (like the landscape).[324] Following on, fruit trees in Kashmir are described as 'our' (European) trees even though they are on 'their' (Kashmiri) land.[325] This Orientalist sense of entitlement was also discussed by Turner and Ash (1975) who explained that tourists, when reflecting on a destination, often state that the destination would be wonderful if it wasn't for all the locals around![326]

6.6: Perceptions of paradise:

The examples listed in the previous paragraphs have contained various regions which could be referred to as 'paradise'. Kravanja (2012), in his study of tourist spaces

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[320] Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours*, 128.
[321] Korpela, 'A Postcolonial Imagination?', 1303.
[322] Ibid.
[323] Ahmad, 'Orientalist imaginaries of travels in Kashmir', 173.
[324] Ibid.
[325] Ibid., 175.
[326] Turner and Ash, *The Golden Hordes*, 139.

in Southern Sri Lanka explained, "Paradise serves as a powerful trope for discovering and then experiencing the perfect place where one can escape from the banal existence we live on a daily basis. Such a romantic vision fuelled Orientalists and colonialists, as well as adventurers, who also quested in the pursuit of ultimate happiness and bliss."[327] He stated that while paradise can be 'pure', it can also be fraught with danger – which is what Said's Orientalism is founded on.[328] One of the few authors who discussed the concept of paradise in relation to the Overland Trail was author Jack Parkinson, who suggested the following option: "Or, try being a romantic exile in a distant paradise; assume the lifestyle and attitudes of a simple villager, or a hedonistic artist. Spend your days fishing the coral reefs off pristine shores or exploring the byways of exotic cities."[329] The terms 'simple villager' and 'exotic cities' demonstrate Said's Orientalism in play.

6.7: Desirable aspects and values of the Orient:

Said explained that many Orientalists love the countries they visit as privileged onlookers.[330] This can be seen represented in the clothes they wear, the food they eat, the interior design of their houses, and the perfume they wear, etcetera.[331] As explained by Urry (2002), vegetarianism, and non-Western science and medicine are amongst those things seen as a contemporary cultural symbol elevating one's status in the West.[332] As explained by Cohen (2003), "Backpackers who have returned from the 'Orient' thus appear to serve to no small extent as agents of the 'Easternisation' of the contemporary West."[333] Sobocinska (2014), also discussed how religion in Asia was a feast for the senses and that Western travellers liked the smell of incense, the taste of dahl, the flower garlands and the physicality of yoga just as much as the spiritual enlightenment on offer.[334] Reinforcing Urry's comments, she explained, "Travellers

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[327] Bostjan Kravanja, 'On Conceptions of Paradise and the Tourist Spaces of Southern Sri Lanka', *Asian Ethnology*, Vol. 71, No. 2 (2012), 180.
[328] Ibid., 185.
[329] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*, 16.
[330] Hannam and Diekmann, *Tourism And India*, 85.
[331] Ibid.
[332] John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Second Edition* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 86.
[333] Erik Cohen, 'Backpacking: Diversity and Change', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (2003), 104-105.
[334] Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours*, 129.

often brought some of the sensual experience of Asia back home with them, and Asian influences increasingly infused Australian culture from the 1970s."[335]

6.8: Western attraction to Indian food, music and art:

6.8A: Food:

Several of the interviewees from the Overland Trail Generation sample group discussed Indian food and its lack of availability in the West as a lure. A number also mentioned Indian music, and Indian wildlife such as tigers and elephants. Many Westerners first taste of India involves eating Indian cuisine in their home countries.[336] One such interviewee was Rose Price, who stated, "I can even remember when we went to India that first day, I ate something that had coriander. I'd never had coriander in my life. All the tastes were new, because the diet in Australia at that time was pretty limited, it was meat and three veg. It opened up a whole new world of food."[337]

While vegetarianism was popular amongst the 'hippie movement'[338], very few Overland Trail Generation interviewees began their journeys as vegetarians. Alun Buffry was a notable exception.[339] Many interviewees, such as Jane (surname withheld) and Swami Shankarananda[340], became vegetarians along the way instead. Vegetarianism is the norm in India, being a predominantly Hindu state, with the town of Rishikesh even vegetarian by law.[341] Adrian (surname withheld) explained the practical reasons for being a vegetarian while trekking in Nepal: "On the treks you're vegetarian. If you want to eat yak they've got to kill a yak, you want to eat chicken they've got to kill a chicken, so you tend to generally be vegetarian."[342]

As expected, the Contemporary Backpacker group of interviewees were much more familiar with Indian food than their 1960s and 1970s counterparts. However this did not stop them from listing the food as a motivation for travelling in India. As Julie Klughiefer stated, the food, along with the pictures she had seen of India influenced her

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[335] Ibid.
[336] Hannam and Diekmann, *Tourism And India*, 85.
[337] Rose Price, interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, February 12, 2014.
[338] Philip Mandelkorn, in Joe David Brown (ed.), *The Hippies* (New York: Time Inc., 1967), 23.
[339] Buffry, *All About My Hat*, 21.
[340] Jane (surname withheld), interview with author; Shankarananda, interview with author (2014).
[341] Buffry, *All About My Hat*, 134.
[342] Adrian (surname withheld), interview with author.

to go.[343] Similarly, Brian Dorfling also explained that he had always loved Indian food and that it was part of the reason behind his first trip to India.[344]

6.8B: Music and art:

A number of 1960s and 1970s travellers cited Indian music as a lure for them to head East. Interviewee Remy Galet-Lalande travelled to Calcutta to study Indian classical music.[345] Galet-Lalande, influenced by renowned sitar musician Ravi Shankar, practiced the sitar for five to six hours daily while staying in Calcutta.[346] Max Flury (interviewed by Tomory), who learned how to play the sitar in Benares (Varanasi) explained how he and other Westerners would compete, by practicing excessively: "It was May or June, *incredibly* hot. I sweated it out there. The students were all competing furiously, with everyone trying to put in ten, twelve, fourteen hours."[347] Flury went on to explain that a sitar teacher would not take on a student if they didn't think the student had the commitment required to succeed.[348]

While not as infatuated by Indian classical music as Galet-Lalande and Flury, many interviewees still considered Indian music to be one of their motivations for travel. Adrian (surname withheld) explained he had become interested in Indian and Tibetan music,[349] while Rose Price stated, "you were influenced by the music and the clothes and the look if you like, the whole feeling of it."[350] Jean (surname withheld) expressed similar sentiments to Price: "The culture of that part of the world was also a draw. I'd started listening to Indian music and eating Indian food and I loved it."[351]

Interviewee 'Motya' played Western music, as opposed to Indian music, but explained that he was searching for transcendence, which he found through writing music, and that he wrote his better songs in India – mostly in Pondicherry.[352] He

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[343] Julie Klughiefer, interview with author, Panjim, Goa, India, April 12, 2016.
[344] Brian Dorfling, interview with author, McLeod Ganj, India, May 14, 2016. When interviewed for this project, Dorfling was on his second trip to India.
[345] Remy Galet-Lalande, interview with author, via phone, August 31, 2015.
[346] Ibid.
[347] Max Flury, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 211.
[348] Ibid., 212.
[349] Adrian (surname withheld), interview with author.
[350] Price, interview with author.
[351] Jean (surname withheld), interview with author, via email, June 15, 2014.
[352] 'Motya', interview with author.

explained, "I was inspired by India at an appropriate moment where my creative skills were such that they could be responsive to the environment around me – it lifted me."[353]

In the contemporary era, Korpela conducted a 2010 study of Western music students in Varanasi. As was also explained by Flury (interviewed by Tomory) when referring to practices in the 1960s and 1970s, traditionally sitar gurus did not take on short term students, however this has changed now as tourists bring in money – a fact ignored by Westerners in Varanasi because it confronts their self-image as serious authentic music students.[354] Korpela found that Western students dressed in a particular manner and carried their instruments around with them to 'look the part' of a serious student.[355]

No interviewees from the Contemporary Backpacker sample group of this study cited music as a primary influence on their decision to travel to India or Nepal, but many did consider it one of many influences. Had the interviewees been sourced in Varanasi however, it is possible that music would have been of more importance to them.

Eastern art was and still remains of minor interest to travellers. Kenji Babasaki (interviewed by Tomory), from Japan originally travelled to Nepal to experience the country itself, but eventually learned how to draw and then paint thangkas – a hobby which became his life.[356] He recalled, "For the first two years I worked [at drawing and painting] all day and sometimes at night, all the time. I was *so* energised."[357]

No Contemporary Backpacker interviewees dedicated themselves to art, however some appreciated it without being involved in it. Narissa Wall, of Canada, explained: "I've always been fascinated by Asian art and culture, and the architecture as well, because I just find it so different. I like comparing it to European and Western architecture and art. So I guess you could call it a lure of the East."[358]

6.9: Western attraction to the nature and natural features of the Indian Subcontinent:

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[353] Ibid.
[354] Korpela, 'A Postcolonial Imagination?', 1309.
[355] Ibid., 1308.
[356] Kenji Babasaki, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 69-71.
[357] Ibid., 71.
[358] Narissa Wall, interview with author, Pokhara, Nepal, May 2, 2016.

Nepal (2000), explained, "A large proportion of tourism in developing countries constitutes nature-based tourism, in particular, tourism in parks and protected areas, a significant number of which are located in mountainous regions."[359] Travellers from both the Overland Trail era and the contemporary era have cited the wild nature of Nepal and India, and a desire to be surrounded by it amongst their travel motivations. Hathi (1998) and Kumar (1998) both describe the wide variety of natural attractions of India, mentioning mountains, rivers, coastline, deserts and forests.[360] As explained by Bandyopadhyay and Morais (2005), the Indian government uses these natural attractions when representing India to foreign tourists.[361]

6.10: The Himalayas:

One of the most well-known and high profile natural attractions in India and Nepal are the Himalayas – the largest mountain range in the world. This awe-inspiring mountain range has continued to attract Western travellers through the 1960s and 1970s and into the contemporary era. Mitra (1998), described the Himalayas as one of India's major attractions despite other attractions competing with the Himalayas for the limelight.[362] Nepal however, is even more synonymous with the Himalayas in popular Western thought, with eight of the world's 14 mountains rising above 8000 metres situated in Nepal.[363] The tourist image of Nepal is intertwined with trekking and mountaineering themes,[364] while the popular Annapurna trekking circuit has been voted in the 12 best walks in the world by the US based magazine *Modern Maturity*.[365]

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[359] Sanjay K. Nepal, 'Tourism In Protected Areas: The Nepalese Himalaya', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (2000), 661.
[360] Tushar R. Hathi, 'Tourism And Indian Development In Search Of A New Perspective', in Kartik C. Roy and Clement A. Tisdell (Eds.), *Tourism In India And India's Economic Development* (Commack, New York: Nova Science Publishers Inc., 1998), 12; Subas C. Kumar, 'The Tourism Industry In India: Economic Significance And Emerging Issues', in Kartik C. Roy and Clement A. Tisdell (Eds.), *Tourism In India And India's Economic Development* (Commack, New York: Nova Science Publishers Inc., 1998), 23.
[361] Bandyopadhyay and Morais, 'Representative Dissonance', 1013.
[362] Amitava Mitra, 'Tourism Development In Hilly Regions Of North East India: A Study In Arunachal Pradesh', in Kartik C. Roy and Clement A. Tisdell (Eds.), *Tourism In India And India's Economic Development* (Commack, New York: Nova Science Publishers Inc., 1998), 176.
[363] Ghazali Musa; C.M. Hall and J.E.S. Higham, 'Tourism Sustainability and Health Impacts in High Altitude Adventure, Cultural and Ecotourism Destinations: A Case Study of Nepal's Sagarmatha National Park', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (2004), 307-308.
[364] Thapa, 'Tourism in Nepal', 123.
[365] Ibid., 135.

Many 1960s and 1970s travellers, including authors and interviewees, explained how the lure of the Himalayas was strong for them. Interviewee Rowland Butcher cited a desire to see the Himalayas as his travel motivation,[366] while interviewee Remy Galet-Lalande stated that his two reasons for travelling to India were to study classical Indian music and to see the sun rise on the Himalayas.[367] Galet-Lalande had seen the sun rise over the Alps and vowed to see it rise over the Himalayas six months later.[368] Author Jack Parkinson was also keen to trek in the Himalayas, bypassing Calcutta temporarily to fulfil his wish: "I did not stay in Calcutta this time around; I was saving that for later. It was getting into late summer, and I wanted to be in the Himalayas when the skies cleared and the best weather for high-altitude trekking came. I headed north by train immediately for the mountain country of Darjeeling."[369] Experiencing the mountains has been a constant motivation for the Overland Trail Generation and contemporary travellers alike.

6.11: Wildlife and national parks of the Indian Subcontinent:

Visits to Indian and Nepalese wildlife areas appear more common amongst the Contemporary Backpacker interviewees, however there were certainly travellers from the Overland Trail Generation who were also intrigued by Indian animals. It is possible that the books of Rudyard Kipling influenced their interest in Indian wildlife. Kipling will be discussed later this chapter. Pauline Holt, in her 2007 newspaper article, interviewed an Overland Trail Generation traveller named Tim, a keen ornithologist, who stated that he encountered elephants, leopards and tigers in Southern India, after making the journey with three friends primarily to see birds.[370]

Very few tourists visit India exclusively to spend time in national parks, however many include them as part of larger, more general trips to India.[371] The first national park created in India was Jim Corbett Tiger Reserve, created in 1936[372], however there

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[366] Rowland Butcher, interview with author, via email, October 7, 2015.
[367] Galet-Lalande, interview with author.
[368] Ibid.
[369] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*, 134.
[370] Pauline Holt, 'Looking back at the Hippie Trail', *Sunday Sun*, [Newcastle-upon-Tyne (UK)], 23 September, 2007, 38.
[371] Kevin Hannam, 'Tourism Management Issues in India's National Parks: An Analysis of the Rajiv Gandhi (Nagarahole) National Park, *Current Issues in Tourism*, Vol. 8, No. 2-3 (2005), 167.
[372] Kevin Hannam, 'Tourism and Forest Management in India: The Role of the State in Limiting Tourism Development', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and*

are now 89 national parks throughout India.[373] As explained by Hannam (2004), "A specific feature of the management of the national parks of India is the status accorded to one species, namely the tiger."[374] Protected areas with tiger habitat are designated as tiger reserves, of which there were 11 in the 1970s and 28 now.[375] The parks however, are underutilised. Many foreign tourists resent the prices of national park entry in India and especially the dual pricing system and therefore cut short their time in Indian national parks.[376] The predominant visitors to India's protected areas are now the Indian middle class.[377] Overland Trail Generation interviewee Peter Keynes visited Kanha National Park – a park in Central India with tigers,[378] while Overland Trail Generation interviewee Anna Kemp visited Kaziranga National Park[379] – a park in Eastern India famous for Indian rhinoceroses.[380] Interestingly, the author visited Jim Corbett Tiger Reserve in April 2016, and found not a single budget traveller to interview for this project! This indifference from contemporary backpackers towards Indian national parks appears due to the pricing of the parks rather than any indifference towards Indian wildlife. The enthusiasm contemporary backpackers have for Nepal's national parks supports this theory.

Nepal's national parks are much more affordable for budget travellers than those in India, attracting far more backpackers. Overland Trail Generation interviewee Irene Milburn spent much time at Royal Chitwan National Park in Nepal during her Overland Trail journeys, but she explained that it was unusual for hippies and budget travellers to visit national parks.[381] However several of the Overland Trail Generation interviewees had in fact visited Chitwan, including David Edwards, who recounted his

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Environment, Vol. 6, No. 3 (2004), 333; Abhijit Banerjee, 'Is wildlife tourism benefiting Indian protected areas? A survey', *Current Issues in Tourism*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (2012), 216; Hannam and Diekmann, *Tourism And India*, 71; Bernard, *With the Kama Sutra Under My Arm*, 65.

[373] Hannam and Diekmann, *Tourism And India*, 71; Hannam, 'Tourism and Forest Management in India', 333.

[374] Hannam, 'Tourism and Forest Management in India', 345.

[375] Banerjee, 'Is wildlife tourism benefiting Indian protected areas?', 213.

[376] Hannam and Diekmann, *Tourism And India*, 75-76; Hannam, 'Tourism Management Issues in India's National Parks', 175.

[377] Banerjee, 'Is wildlife tourism benefiting Indian protected areas?', 214.

[378] Peter Keynes, interview with author, via email, March 5, 2014.

[379] Anna Kemp, interview with author, Narooma, New South Wales, August 10, 2015.

[380] K.K. Barman and Bhubaneswar Goswami, 'Tourism In North Eastern India: Its Status, Visitors' Impressions, Problems And Prospects', in Kartik C. Roy and Clement A. Tisdell (Eds.), *Tourism In India And India's Economic Development* (Commack, New York: Nova Science Publishers Inc., 1998), 162; Reena Singh, *Satisfaction Level of Foreign Tourist Visiting India* (New Delhi: Mohit Publications, 2004), 75.

[381] Irene Milburn, interview with author, via Skype, July 14, 2014.

experiences of bull Indian rhinoceroses fighting in Sauraha Village on the edge of the park at night.[382] Despite the fact that houses were destroyed and the villagers fled, Edwards' wife Linda slept through the whole battle![383]

While the Overland Trail Generation did not see Royal Chitwan National Park as a 'must see' destination on their itineraries, in the contemporary era, the park is one of Nepal's major tourist attractions. Tigers and Indian rhinoceroses are the major attractions of the park, along with numerous other animals.[384] In 1974, only 836 tourist entry permits to enter the park were sold, while in 1999, that number had jumped to 90,000.[385] Currently, Chitwan receives more tourists than any other national park in Nepal.[386] Unsurprisingly, seven of the 80 interviewees from the Contemporary Backpacker sample group were interviewed at Sauraha – the village bordering Chitwan.

The Contemporary Backpacker sample group were far more inclined to list nature and wildlife as motivating factors for visiting Nepal and India than their Overland Trail Generation counterparts: Harry Potter, of Britain (interviewed at Chitwan) explained that he came primarily and specifically for the Himalayas.[387] Karen Cortoos, of Belgium (interviewed in Goa) stated that seeing nature and animals was the most important reason for her visit to India.[388] She specifically visited India on her trip to try to spot a wild snow leopard, and spent time in Kashmir looking for one.[389] Noticeably, both of these interviewees were interviewed away from the areas where they would find what they stated they were searching for: Potter was interviewed at Chitwan (in lowland Nepal), yet was attracted by the mountains; Kortoos was interviewed in Goa at the hottest time of year, yet was attracted by snow leopards – a Himalayan species.[390]

6.12: Opening up of new natural attractions to tourists:

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[382] David Edwards, interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, May 4, 2015.
[383] Ibid.
[384] Brad Curry et al., 'Modelling Impacts of Wildlife Tourism on Animal Communities: A Case Study from Royal Chitwan National Park, Nepal, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 9, No. 6 (2001), 517.
[385] Ibid., 514.
[386] Nepal, 'Tourism In Protected Areas', 663.
[387] Harry Potter, interview with author, Sauraha, Chitwan National Park, Nepal, April 30, 2016.
[388] Cortoos, interview with author.
[389] Ibid.
[390] Vivek Menon, *Indian Mammals: A Field Guide* (India: Hachette, 2014), 242-243; S.H. Prater, *The Book of Indian Animals* (3rd edn., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 69-70.

Political factors and other developments out of the control of travellers have also affected travel motivations of both the Overland Trail Generation and the Contemporary Backpackers – the obvious example being the current political turmoil in Afghanistan effectively closing that country to travellers. However while some destinations have become 'off limits', others have 'opened up' since the 1970s. One such destination are the North East states of India, primarily Sikkim: During the 1960s and 1970s, the Indian state of Sikkim was firmly closed to Western travellers, however the state is now marketing itself as a prime destination for nature tourism. The natural attractions of the North-East States (Sikkim is one) include national parks, lakes, rivers and mountains,[391] making North East India an ideal destination for nature tourism.[392]

7.1: Influential celebrities:

In the 1960s and 1970s, the East was promoted significantly through the works of a number of high profile writers, poets, musicians and spiritual leaders. Many were either from India or had spent time there learning their craft or 'finding enlightenment'. In an age before global mass communication and the internet, the influence of celebrities should not be underestimated. Interviewee Stephania (surname withheld), who was influenced by books and spiritual scriptures herself, explained that travellers on the trail were heavily influenced by authors and musicians.[393] Interviewee Chris Koller concurred, explaining, "I think the people I met were quite well read. They were always book people so you would talk books and change books. A lot of them were heavily into different kinds of music."[394] The list of individuals who influenced others' decisions to head to India is countless and could not possibly be included in full. Therefore, I have chosen to list only the most high profile and influential from a long list.

7.2: Ginsberg:

Poet Allen Ginsberg was the earliest high profile influence on the Overland Trail Generation. As Maclean states, "Allen Ginsberg was the bearded Beat poet whose

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[391] Supriya Dam, 'Growth of Tourism Industry in North East India with Special Reference to Sikkim', *Tourism Recreation Research*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (2013), 184.
[392] Barman and Goswami, 'Tourism In North Eastern India', in Roy and Tisdell (Eds.), *Tourism In India And India's Economic Development*, 172.
[393] Stephania (surname withheld), interview with author.
[394] Koller, interview with author (2014).

enduring anti-authoritarianism made him a spokesman for the generation."[395] In the San Francisco *Oracle* in 1967, Ginsberg wrote:

> I am in effect setting up moral codes and standards which include drugs, orgy, music and primitive magic as worship rituals – educational tools which are supposedly contrary to our cultural mores; and I am proposing these standards to you respectable ministers, once and for all, that you endorse publicly the private desire and knowledge of mankind in America, so to inspire the young.[396]

While Ginsberg's most famous poem *Howl*, was condemned by the parental generation of the time,[397] journalist Ralph J. Gleason wrote in *Rolling Stone* in 1970, "Ginsberg's poems speak to more people than all the SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] pamphlets put together."[398] As explained in Section 2.1 of this chapter, Ginsberg himself recognised the appeal of India on his and future generations of young Westerners, and announced triumphantly, "India will become the holy place of pilgrimage for the young!" He continued, "They will come like birds migrating to a promised land."[399] Ginsberg's prediction could not have been more accurate!

7.3: The Beatles:

While Ginsberg was the first high profile influence, easily the most famous were the Beatles. In 1967, the Beatles, Mick Jagger and Marianne Faithful (along with other celebrities) became interested in Eastern mysticism and travelled to India in 1968 for meditation with Maharishi Mahesh Yogi in his ashram in Rishikesh.[400] Paul McCartney explained, "We wanted to try to expand spirituality, or at least find some sort of format for all the various things we were interested in: Allen Ginsberg, poetry, mantras, mandalas, tantra, all the stuff we'd seen."[401] Ginsberg visited Rishikesh in 1962 when it was almost unknown in the non-Hindu world, with very few Westerners joining the Hindu pilgrims.[402] In 1968 however, the Beatles stayed for five weeks, changing the

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[395] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 12.
[396] Allen Ginsberg, San Franciso *Oracle*, January 1967.
[397] Miller, *The Hippies and American Values*, 9.
[398] Ralph J. Gleason, "Fighting Fire with Fire: An End to Logic," *Rolling Stone*, 28 May 1970.
[399] Deborah Baker, *A Blue Hand: The Beats In India* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008), 198.
[400] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 203; Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 142; Green, *All Dressed Up*, 231-233.
[401] Paul McCartney, quoted in Rory Maclean, *Magic Bus: On The Hippie Trail From Istanbul To India* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 209-210.
[402] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 208-209.

trail, Western fashion and the Western perception of India quite suddenly.[403] Their stay popularised Rishikesh and Eastern religions.[404] The pyjamas and waistcoat given to them became adopted by flower children worldwide.[405] Maharishi Mahesh Yogi's mantra meditation became extremely popular in the West almost 'overnight'.[406]

The Beatles also brought India to the West through their music, with George Harrison incorporating the sitar and Indian influences into pop music.[407] Harrison had enthusiastically explored the philosophies and musical heritage of India.[408] He first heard the sitar in 1965 and played it in *Norwegian Wood*, popularising the instrument.[409]

The magnitude of the Beatles' influence was so great that it can even be seen 40 years later, when some of the Contemporary Backpacker sample group of interviewees also cited the Beatles as influential in their decision to visit India: Colm O'Neill and Abigail Hibbert (a couple), stated that the Beatles sojourn in Rishkesh influenced their choice of India as a destination,[410] while Nicolas Jones explained that he was influenced by the Beatles as well as their guru Maharishi Mahesh Yogi.[411] Hubert Gonthier-Blouin stated, "I'm a huge Beatles fan, so that was definitely there."[412]

7.4: Ravi Shankar:

While the Beatles were clearly the most famous Western musicians to influence potential travellers, the most significant Indian musician to Westerners of the Overland Trail era was sitar musician Ravi Shankar. Shankar had taught George Harrison how to play the sitar in 1965,[413] and was extremely popular in the West.[414] Numerous interviewees from the 1960s and 1970s sample group mentioned enjoying Shankar's

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[403] John Worrall, 'Chapter 8: Bad Roads', in *Travelling for Beginners: To Kathmandu in '72* (Amazon/Kindle: 2012), [no page numbers]; Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 208-209; Green, *All Dressed Up*, 233.
[404] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 195-196.
[405] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 211.
[406] Ibid.
[407] Craig McGregor, *People, Politics and Pop: Australians in the Sixties* (Sydney: Ure Smith Pty Limited, 1968), 74; Green, *All Dressed Up*, 231.
[408] Tony Barrow, *John, Paul, George, Ringo & Me: The Real Beatles Story* (Great Britain: Andre Deutsch, 2005), 57-58.
[409] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 209.
[410] Colm O'Neill, interview with author, Sauraha, Chitwan National Park, Nepal, April 29, 2016; Hibbert, interview with author.
[411] Nicholas Jones, interview with author, Panjim, Goa, India, April 12, 2016.
[412] Hubert Gonthier-Blouin, interview with author, Panjim, Goa, India, April 13, 2016.
[413] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 209.
[414] Baker, *A Blue Hand*, 148.

music, many, such as 'Motya'[415] having seen him play live in concert. Most also described familiarity with his music as part of their reason for becoming interested in India.

While music was a highly influential medium, books were equally influential. Phil (surname withheld), amongst many other interviewees, discussed the unofficial swapping system for paperbacks along the length of the Overland Trail.[416] The result of the constant book swapping between travellers was that most travellers eventually read the same books – some of which became highly influential. Rama Tiwari, the founder of Pilgrims Books, a large, well-known bookshop in Kathmandu, began his business in Varanasi selling books to Western travellers and was able to spread Eastern ideas through the ongoing trading of these books between travellers themselves.[417]

7.5: Hesse:

Of the books that travellers read whilst on the road and as inspiration before heading East, *Siddhartha* by Hermann Hesse, first published in 1951, was arguably the most widely read. Most interviewees from the Overland Trail Generation sample group had read the book. The story is about the life of 'Siddhartha', a Brahmin's son, unhappy and unfulfilled with his life who goes in search of inner peace, experiencing life as a holy man, as a follower of the Buddha, as a rich man and eventually as a father. The story documents the lessons Siddhartha learns through these phases of his life and his eventual awakening and enlightenment. The most significant scene in the story is when Siddhartha begins to understand life through watching the river, realising that while the water keeps flowing and moving, the river remains the same and does not flow away with the water.[418] Siddhartha's journey resembles the journey of many Westerners who travelled the Overland Trail: Western youngsters born into middleclass homes yet disillusioned with their own society were travelling East to experience spiritual growth and searching for answers from a multitude of teachers and experiences. While most 1960s and 1970s interviewees mentioned Hesse, interviewee Phil (surname withheld) stated that Hesse had the most profound influence of all.[419]

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[415] 'Motya', interview with author.
[416] Phil (surname withheld), interview with author.
[417] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 230-236.
[418] Hermann Hesse, *Siddhartha* (New York: New Directions Publishing Corporation, 1951), 101-102.
[419] Phil (surname withheld), interview with author.

Although German, Hermann Hesse spent the First World War in Switzerland because of his pacifist views and lived there for the rest of his life.[420] He was a self-professed Hindu,[421] and his pacifism would undoubtedly have been appealing to his followers who identified with the 'hippie' movement or broader counterculture. However Hesse also appealed equally to, and influenced, interviewee Brooks Goddard, who identified as a very 'straight' person.[422]

Hesse's other highly influential work was *The Journey To The East* (1932)[423] – a short novel about a group of seekers who undertake a pilgrimage to 'The East' in search of answers to their spiritual questions. While the journey in the novel is through a spiritual realm as well as a physical one, similarities with the Overland Trail are evident, as demonstrated in the following passage: "…numerous groups were simultaneously on the way, each following their own leaders and their own stars, each one always ready to merge into a greater unit and belong to it for a time, but always no less ready to move on again separately. Some went on their way quite alone."[424]

7.6: Kerouac:

The other highly significant writer to the Overland Trail Generation was Jack Kerouac. Kerouac was a good looking man, described by Salvador Dali as 'more beautiful than Marlon Brando',[425] and hugely influential to many travellers. Kerouac appealed to travellers' collective sense of adventure, through his novel *On The Road* (1957), and to those interested in Eastern religion and philosophy with *The Dharma Bums* (1959). This wide appeal to a multi-faceted audience made Kerouac a major influence to travellers with a wide variety of interests and motivations for travelling to India.

In his most famous book, *On The Road*, first published in 1957, Kerouac glamourized the life of a traveller, and portrayed everyday nine to five living as boring

[420] James Joll, *Europe Since 1870: An International History* (London: Penguin Books, 1973), 211.
[421] Liechty, 'Building the Road to Kathmandu', 21.
[422] Brooks Goddard, interview with author, via email, February 5, 2016.
[423] Liechty, 'Building the Road to Kathmandu', 21.
[424] Hermann Hesse, *The Journey To The East* (United State of America: H. Wolff, 1956), 22.
[425] Ann Douglas, 'Introduction', v-vi.

and soulless. The following paragraph epitomizes Kerouac's descriptions of the life people wanted to escape from:

> The cop who had been an Alcatraz guard was potbellied and about sixty, retired but unable to keep away from the atmospheres that had nourished his dry soul all his life. Every night he drove to work in his '35 Ford, punched the clock exactly on time, and sat down at the rolltop desk. He laboured painfully over the simple form we all had to fill out every night – rounds, time, what happened, and so on.[426]

Rose Price was inspired by Kerouac. She explained in her interview, "I loved Jack Kerouac, I loved that book *On The Road*, but that was [a] different sort of travelling … that feeling of not being bound to anything really."[427] Interviewee Chris Koller described the feeling more simply: "I think reading *On The Road* just made you restless."[428]

Had *On The Road* been written in the contemporary era, it would be considered extremely sexist and glorifying of an array of unacceptable behaviours. Gemie and Ireland (2017), noted, "It's hyper-masculinist approach to women and sexual relationships left many readers cold; others complained that Kerouac's attitude to black culture was patronising."[429] However, when questioned about the flaws of *On the Road,* interviewee 'Motya' described his unique view on the book, explaining that:

> The most important thing to do was to violate, to violate anything, any social moray, or any expected experience from the bourgeoisie or from ordinary America and the desire was to violate everything – anywhere, any time, any place, and that was what the virtue of the book was. If things were violated, then it would make people think. It would lead people into experiences which were illuminating that as a result of the fact that they were violated. What was given back was that they were pleasured and there was no pleasure to be had in that strange and amorphous, inert, eosinophilic environment.[430]

Gemie and Ireland emphasized that *On the Road* was the single most popular book amongst their interviewees.[431] They consider the book so important that they view 1957

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[426] Jack Kerouac, *On The Road* (USA: Penguin, 1957), 64.
[427] Price, interview with author.
[428] Koller, interview with author (2014).
[429] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 13.
[430] 'Motya', interview with author.
[431] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 13. While *On The Road* was the most widely read book amongst the interviewees from Gemie and Ireland's project, Hesse's *Siddartha* appears to have been slightly more popular amongst the Overland Trail Generation interviewees for this project. It is

as the year the Hippie Trail began, in part because of the publication of the book![432] While this may sound outlandish at first, literary works such as *On The Road* (and *The Journey To The East* by Hesse), helped link countercultural values to mobility.[433]

In *The Dharma Bums*, Kerouac again glamourized the life of a traveller, while once again portraying everyday life as dull and meaningless: "colleges being nothing but grooming schools for the middle-class non-identity which usually finds its perfect expression on the outskirts of the campus in rows of well-to-do houses with lawns and television sets in each living room with everybody looking at the same thing and thinking the same thing."[434]

7.7: Kipling:

The third highly influential writer to influence the Overland Trail Generation – albeit more subconsciously than Hesse and Kerouac, was Rudyard Kipling. Kipling was not considered 'fashionable' by the Overland Trail Generation – particularly not by those identifying with the counterculture. Many interviewees and authors had read Kipling's books as children and while some Overland Trail Generation travellers would undoubtedly cringe at the suggestion, Kipling has been mentioned by travellers far too many times to ignore. Interviewee Susie Gardner-Brown cited Kipling as an influence,[435] as did interviewee Dorothea Polonyi, who stated that Kipling had made her aware of India.[436] Author Basil Jay explained that cities had been made romantic through Kipling's poems.[437] Sobocinska (2014), stated that many travellers along the trail had been raised on Kipling's books and were lured to the trail by promises of adventure, explaining that references to *Kim* and *The Jungle Book* peppered letters written along the Overland Trail.[438] She considered that Kipling's books taught Australians to see Asia as a backdrop for white adventurers.[439] Robin Brown

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impossible to determine which of the two books was technically more popular or significant, however they were clearly the two most influential books read by Overland Trail Generation travellers.

[432] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 13.

[433] Scott Cohen, 'Reconceptualising Lifestyle Travellers: Contemporary 'Drifters', in Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann (eds.), *Beyond Backpacker Tourism: Mobilities and Experiences* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010), 71.

[434] Kerouac, *The Dharma Bums*, 35.

[435] Susie Gardner-Brown, interview with author, via email, May 17, 2015.

[436] Polonyi, interview with author.

[437] Basil Jay, *65 Days To Delhi: An Incredible Journey* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2012), 5.

[438] Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours*, 149.

[439] Ibid., 17-18.

(interviewed by Tomory) acknowledged that Kipling was not popular when he was a young man undertaking the trail, but that he appreciated his work later in life:

> The age we were then, we wouldn't have liked Kipling. Now I'm middle-aged, I understand him better. But I should point out that the special quality of his insight into India came from his being a hashish smoker. *Got that?* I found it out only recently. Even when he moved to America, he had regular shipments of Kashmiri coming in. Rereading Kipling now, I can see why he had better insight than any other writer on India.[440]

7.8: Ram Das:

Gurus, or spiritual teachers also had a strong influence on many Westerners. Arguably the most famous guru was Baba Ram Das (formerly Richard Alpert), author of the self-help book *Be Here Now* – which sold 300,000 copies in 1971, its year of publication.[441] Alpert had been Timothy Leary's right-hand man at Harvard University and was fired alongside Leary in 1963 in the scandals surrounding Leary's LSD experiments.[442] In 1968 he travelled overland to Kathmandu, converted to Hinduism and became Baba Ram Das[443] – the most famous and influential Hindu convert the United States has ever produced.[444]

Interviewee Rod Deering described Ram Das as a huge influence[445], while interviewee Chris Koller participated in a ten day meditation course with him.[446] As mentioned in Section 2.13 of this chapter, interviewee Swami Shankarananda was inspired by Ram Das and explained that meeting him at a dinner party in Chicago was the pivotal moment in his decision to travel to India to find a spiritual teacher.[447]

7.9: Bhagwan Rajneesh:

Another guru with a large influence was Mohan Chandra Rajneesh, commonly known as Bhagwan Sree Rajneesh.[448] By the early 1970s, Bhagwan had attracted 200,000 devotees, many from the United States and Europe.[449] Interviewee Nanette

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[440] Brown, quoted in, Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 9.
[441] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, xiii.
[442] Liechty, 'Building the Road to Kathmandu', 19.
[443] Ibid.
[444] Ibid., 23.
[445] Deering, interview with author.
[446] Koller, interview with author (2014).
[447] Shankarananda, interview with author.
[448] Green, *All Dressed Up*, 229.
[449] Ibid.

Schapel remembers the many Bhagwan followers, known as 'Orange People' in India in the 1970s, and while she did not become a follower, she did travel to Puna (the site of Bhagwan's ashram) to see what the attraction was.[450] Bhagwan became so popular in the West that he began attracting a different type of audience altogether to India.[451] As David Williams (interviewed by Tomory) recalls:

> In the beginning everyone at the [Bhagwan] ashram had travelled, they were either old India people or had at least *some* notion of what India was about, but now planeloads of Germans, having 'taken the colour' – Bhagwan's disciples wore variations on the sannyasin's traditional saffron – in Germany, were flying into Bombay, going straight to Pune, and never really going anywhere else.[452]

Bhagwan was known for his open attitudes towards sexuality, and was often nicknamed 'The Sex Guru'.[453] Author Ann BeCoy described a naked encounter with Bhagwan, where he attempted to 'raise her kundalini' (awaken her spiritual energy), and was unable to decide whether he was a pervert or genuinely helping her.[454] Although Bhagwan did not make any sexual advances on her, she found the experience disturbing and confusing.[455] The result of Bhagwan's popularity was his vast personal wealth, which included his fleet of Rolls-Royces and his less than gentle bodyguards, both of which provoked comment.[456]

7.10: Those that influenced contemporary backpackers:

While the Overland Trail Generation were generally inspired by high profile celebrities, including those that have just been discussed, Contemporary Backpacker interviewees did not generally share this same inspiration from celebrities. Even those contemporary interviewees who were inspired by celebrities were usually more inspired by Overland Trail era celebrities such as the Beatles, rather than their contemporary counterparts.

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[450] Schapel, interview with author.
[451] Williams, quoted in Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 117.
[452] Ibid.
[453] Sarina Singh, et al., *India* (Singapore: Lonely Planet Publications Pty Ltd, 2015), 804; Green, *All Dressed Up*, 229.
[454] BeCoy, *Memoirs of A Hippie Girl in India*, 112-115.
[455] Ibid.
[456] Green, *All Dressed Up*, 229.

Yet Contemporary Backpacker interviewees did have influences of their own. One surprising finding from my fieldwork interviewing the backpackers was how many of them were actually inspired by their parents and other family members who had undertaken the Overland Trail in the 1960s and 1970s, and even post-trail to India in the 1980s. Hannah Chapman, was heavily influenced by stories from her father about Nepal.[457] She stated, "Nepal has always been on the bucket list. I was partly inspired by my dad, who spent quite a lot of time in the Himalayas climbing and what not when he was younger and pretty into trekking, so it seemed like a good time."[458] William Lowe explained that one of the main reasons he visited India was because his mother had travelled to India before he was born, and that his uncle also visited India.[459] Aine Nicholson explained that her father had visited Nepal in the 1970s and that his visit had been influential in her decision to visit Nepal too.[460]

The findings from the Contemporary Backpacker interviewees are partially supported by the findings of Caprioglio O'Reilly's fieldwork undertaken between 2000 and 2002, where she interviewed thirty backpackers 'on the road'.[461] She stated (in 2006), "Seventeen out of the 30 interviewed on the road cited the influence of friends and family who had travelled before them. Media representations were also commonly mentioned, including travel programs and wildlife documentaries on television, movies, and novels such as Alex Garland's *The Beach* and Kerouac's *On the Road*."[462]

8: Practical appeals of the Indian Subcontinent; affordability and possibility:

8.1: Affordability of the Indian Subcontinent:

Yet another important lure of the East, and one which does not share the romanticism of spirituality, religion and music, was that the East was an extremely cheap place to live and travel. People migrate in search of better or easier lifestyles.[463] As Overland Trail Generation interviewee Kate Powley emphasized, "being in the East was so cheap, that if all travellers from that era were totally honest, they would have to admit that that

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[457] Hannah Chapman, interview with author, Kathmandu, Nepal, April 27, 2016.
[458] Ibid.
[459] William Lowe, interview with author, Mapusa, Goa, India, April 13, 2016.
[460] Aine Nicholson, interview with author, Kathmandu, Nepal, April 26, 2016.
[461] Camille Caprioglio O'Reilly, 'From Drifter To Gap Year Tourist: Mainstreaming Backpacker Travel', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (2006), 1002.
[462] Ibid., 1009.
[463] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (4th edn., UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) 4.

factor played a big part in their travel choices."[464] Author Eight Finger Eddie, had no qualms admitting this, adamantly stating that he could live in India on very little money and never have to work again.[465] Liechty (2005), explained: "With strong Western currencies and readily available jobs, people could spend a few months waitressing or working in a factory at home, and then spend the rest of the year hanging out in the East."[466] Author Ronald Ritter explained that this was how he lived, describing himself as "…the iconic, itinerant hippie traveller of the sixties and early seventies."[467]

One Overland Trail Generation interviewee who openly admitted to the lure of affordability was Irene Milburn: "The west is expensive – in the east you can travel much further on the same amount of money."[468] Another to openly admit to cost being a factor was Chris Koller, who explained, "You could stay for a dollar a night or you could eat for a dollar a day. So the money had elastic on it … you'd never [before] been able to go into any restaurant you wanted and eat anything you wanted and not have to worry about the bill."[469] He then elaborated, "Basically it was like you could go somewhere and spend twice the amount of time and have more fun for half the amount of money. I think a lot of people wouldn't say that, but I found that the cheapness was really important. Everyone got competitive with each other about how cheap they could get a hotel or whatever."[470] Teas, in her 1988 study of travellers in Kathmandu, also experienced travellers gloating to each other about how cheaply they could live.[471] Liechty (2005), referred to this status seeking as 'onedownsmanship'.[472]

Interviewee Kevin Platts also mentioned low costs as a motivation, suggesting that one could 'burn money' in the South of France or simply live cheaply in India.[473] Author and interviewee Dave Barrett shared this view: "A few of these [other travellers] were looking for some kind of deeper spirituality, but most seemed happy with being somewhere they could live cheaply without the restrictions of having to work 9 to 5 and

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[464] Kate Powley, interview with author, via email, June 16, 2014.
[465] Eight Finger Eddie, *My Rise to Relative Obscurity*, 119.
[466] Liechty, 'Building the Road to Kathmandu', 22.
[467] Ronald Ritter and Sussan Evermore, 'Introduction', in *The Hippie Traveler Finding The Little Buddha* (self published on Kindle, 2016), [no page numbers].
[468] Milburn, interview with author.
[469] Koller, interview with author, (2016).
[470] Ibid.
[471] Teas, 'I'm studying monkeys. What do you do?', 38.
[472] Liechty, 'Building the Road to Kathmandu', 22.
[473] Kevin Platts, interview with author, Mornington, Victoria, June 23, 2015.

where they could enjoy the freedom to indulge in drugs and enjoy the exotic surroundings."[474] Interviewee Dorothea Polonyi also summed up the cost factor as one of many motivating factors: "We were looking for adventure, for the exotic, for the different, and it had to be cheap."[475]

Travelling with some particularly frugal characters, interviewee Kate Powley explained that affordability allowed travellers extended trips with long stays.[476] Author Jack Parkinson demonstrated this point through his stories about Werner, a German traveller who was absolutely obsessed with saving money at all costs.[477]

Nepal in particular was known, and even marketed as a cheap destination. As Smith (1981) explained, "Visas were easily obtained in New Delhi by virtually all who applied; the cost of living in Nepal was minimal; and the opportunity to 'experience' direct association with Eastern religions all combined to make of Nepal a veritable pilgrimage centre."[478] Wheeler and Wheeler, in their guidebook, also used the low costs as a positive marketing point: "Nepal has become so famous as a hippie haven that people hardly realise that it has so much to offer … Kathmandu itself must rate as one of the dirtiest holes in Asia – but a cheap and fascinating hole. Every other building is a temple and every other day a festival."[479]

Much has been written about the importance of affordability to backpackers. Westerhausen (2002) emphasized the need for a budget if one wanted a long trip.[480] Similarly, Vogt (1976) concluded that the availability of cheap lodgings were a defining factor as to why some destinations were more popular than others,[481] while Speed (2008) discussed the emphasis on bargain hunting displayed by backpackers.[482] Korpela (2010), in her Varanasi based study also pointed out that the backpacking infrastructure

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[474] Dave Barrett, interview with author, via email, December 6, 2015.
[475] Polonyi, interview with author.
[476] Powley, interview with author.
[477] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*, 215-222.
[478] Smith, 'Uncontrolled Tourism', 5.
[479] Wheeler and Wheeler, *Across ASIA on the cheap*, 58.
[480] Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach*, 54.
[481] Jay W. Vogt, 'Wandering: Youth And Travel Behaviour', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1976), 36.
[482] Clare Speed and Annabel Hartnell, 'Are Backpackers Ethical Tourists?', in Kevin Hannam and Irena Ataljevic (eds.), *Backpacker Tourism: Concepts and Profiles* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2008), 66.

in Varanasi is well developed, with cheap Western food, and cheap accommodation.[483] Routledge, in his 2000 study of Goa, explained: "Contrary to the glorification of the hippy experience in India by writers such as Odzer (1995), the reality was a little more prosaic. Hippies were attracted to India by the cheap price and easy access to drugs … and the disparities in wealth between their native countries and India, which enabled them to stay in the country for long periods of time on relatively little money."[484] Ironically, and almost proving Routledge's point, author and self-confessed 'Goa Freak', Cleo Odzer relayed the story of a food fight between herself and her friends on the sea voyage from Bombay to Goa, stating, "In poverty-stricken countries the rich could live like sovereigns."[485]

Naturally, many interviewees from the Contemporary Backpacker sample group also cited affordability as a motivation. Jean Louw stated that budget was an important factor for her when selecting Nepal as her destination.[486] Ben Horn explained how the low costs of India would lengthen his and his wife's trip: "If you took the same time off in the UK with the money we have, you'd run out of money very quickly."[487] Christian Schneider, of Germany was very definitive in his answer when asked why he selected Nepal as his destination, stating, "I came to Nepal because it's cheap."[488]

8.2: Travel was possible for young Westerners:

Along with affordability came possibility. Maclean explained that the 1960s were a time when ordinary people did extraordinary things.[489] While their parents did not generally have the option to travel, the Overland Trail Generation held the view that there was no reason why travel to the East shouldn't be possible. Sobocinska (2014), explained:

> The social and economic contexts in Europe, the United States and Australia were also favourable. Economic reconstruction efforts had begun to bear fruit in Britain, the United States and Australia from the late 1950s until the 1970s. Young people from all classes had an unprecedented capacity to

[483] Korpela, 'A Postcolonial Imagination?', 1300.
[484] Paul Routledge, 'Consuming Goa: Tourist Site as Dispensable Space', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 35, No. 30 (2000), 2652.
[485] Cleo Odzer, *Goa Freaks: My Hippie Years in India* (New York: Blue Moon Books, 1995), 111.
[486] Sarah Louw, interview with author, Gandruk, Gandruk Loop Trek, Nepal, May 4, 2016.
[487] Ben Horn, interview with author, Palolem, Goa, India, April 16, 2016.
[488] Christian Schneider, interview with author, Landruk, Gandruk Loop Trek, Nepal, May 3, 2016.
[489] Maclean, *Magic Bus*, 267-268.

> accrue surplus income, and importantly, they felt secure in the knowledge that they could find a job upon return.[490]

Cohen (1973) also noted that the relative affluence of the modern West made competition for occupational careers less urgent and less challenging.[491] Tony Wheeler elaborated about the bigger picture:

> The coming of age of the post-war baby boomers was part of the package – suddenly there were all these young people looking for new horizons. Then there was sex, drugs and rock'n'roll and the feeling that perhaps all of those things were more interesting in India or Morocco or almost anywhere away from home. At the same time, a travel boom was about to take off. In the 1960s, jets had made air travel more reliable; now the Boeing 747s, which first went into service in 1970, along with other wide-bodied aircraft, were about to make travel cheaper and more accessible.[492]

Possibility was also a factor in specific countries. Naturally, the Overland Trail Generation took advantage of the newly opened destinations such as Nepal, and as explained by Smith (1981), foreign visitor numbers to the country expanded 700% from 6179 in 1962 to 45,970 in 1970 and later jumped again to 156,123 in 1978.[493] Thapa (2004) expanded on these statistics, advising that the number had reached 500,000 by 2001.[494] Nepal (2007), examined this phenomenon in relation to trekking in the Annapurna Conservation Area – Nepal's most popular international trekking destination, explaining that sales of trekking permits have increased from 14,332 in 1980, to 35,800 in 1990, to over 65,000 in 2000.[495]

As discussed in Section 6.12 of this chapter, new possibilities and destinations are opening up constantly for new generations of travellers, with the North East States in India the latest 'new' destination.

9: Conclusion:

9.1: India was fashionable:

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[490] Sobocinska, 'Following the "Hippie Sahibs", 3.
[491] Cohen, 'Nomads from Affluence', 94.
[492] Wheeler and Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story*, 231.
[493] Smith, 'Uncontrolled Tourism', 5.
[494] Thapa, 'Tourism in Nepal', 118.
[495] Sanjay K. Nepal, 'Tourism And Rural Settlements: Nepal's Annapurna Region', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (2007), 861-862.

The motivating factors discussed throughout this chapter point to the fact that during the 1960s and 1970s, various aspects of India and Nepal and their societies had become fashionable in the West. Interviewee Kevin Platts described India as the cool place to go,[496] a statement also made by interviewee and author Tony Wheeler in his interview,[497] while Liesches Muller (interviewed by Tomory) described the phenomenon as follows:

> If you were really hip – it was like being the first to wear a minidress – you went to India. India was seriously fashionable. Most of us had no clue about yoga and spirituality, not in the sixties. (In the seventies people did, because by then we'd come back and told them about it.) We didn't know much about what India was, beyond it being an attraction, but we did know it had an ancient culture. China was the only other competitor, but it was communist.[498]

While Muller saw China as a possible alternative, Tomory suggested that Mexico could also have played this role, but explained that India was simply too fashionable: "For Californians attracted to exotic thrills of countercultural sort, shamans, lost beaches, dire transport, psychoactive drugs and 'Third World' prices were all available in the near abroad, in Mexico and environs. But so far, the passion and the fashion was for the particular attractions of the East…"[499] Even Kerouac's large section of *On The Road* devoted to travel in Mexico did not sway the fashion away from India.

In 1979, Indian journalist Gita Mehta published *Karma Cola: Marketing The Mystic East*, a book entirely devoted to how India had become so fashionable in the West. At the very beginning of the book, Mehta states, "As the sitar wiped out the split-reed sax, and mantras began fouling the crystal clarity of rock and roll lyrics, millions of wild-eyed Americans turned their backs on all that amazing equipment and pointed at us screaming, 'You guys! You've got it!"[500]

When describing the phenomenon of India becoming highly fashionable, Colaabavala made the interesting comparison with the Western fascination with Japan at the end of the 19th Century: "It was not a gesture without precedent, the same thing

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[496] K. Platts, interview with author.
[497] Tony Wheeler, interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, January 27, 2014.
[498] Liesches Muller, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 11-12.
[499] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, xiii.
[500] Mehta, *Karma Cola*, 6.

had happened at the close of the 19th century when the West "discovered" Japan and was strongly influenced at all levels by her art."[501]

The Contemporary Backpacker sample group of interviewees did not make mention of the fact that India was fashionable, however this is understandable considering that much of what had made India fashionable in the 1960s and 1970s, such as spirituality, yoga, Hinduism, Buddhism, Indian music, etcetera, are now commonplace in the West and taken for granted. This issue is discussed further in Chapter 9, Section 4.

9.2: 'Timeless India' is still fashionable:

The lure of the East and the search for 'all things India' remains as strongly entrenched in the motivations of contemporary travellers as it had for those in the 1960s and 1970s. While both sets of interviewees identified strongly with the lure of the East, the specific lures within this overarching heading differed slightly between the two groups. While the Overland Trail Generation were interested in virtually anything the 'mystic East' had to offer, the Contemporary Backpacker group were seeking more specific aspects of India and Nepal. One prime example is that of yoga teacher training courses – unheard of for the Overland Trail Generation, yet prevalent in the interviews with the contemporary backpackers.

Another example was that of the search for a guru. While both groups identified spirituality as a key travel motivation, the search for a guru was common amongst the Overland Trail Generation group yet non-existent amongst the Contemporary Backpacker group. Other lures such as religion, food, nature, affordability, authenticity and Oriental exoticism have remained equally popular through both eras.

The other major difference between the lures of the two groups of interviewees, is that the Overland Trail Generation were more likely than the Contemporary Backpacker group to have been consciously influenced by high-profile celebrities such as musicians, writers and spiritual leaders. Interestingly, those interviewees from the Contemporary Backpacker group who did cite influence from celebrities actually drew their inspiration from the celebrities of the Overland Trail era, rather than contemporary celebrities. Instead of following celebrities, the Contemporary Backpacker group drew

[501] Colaabavala, *Hippie Dharma*, 58.

inspiration from their parents and older family members – some of whom had undertaken the Overland Trail in their younger days.

These differences between the two groups however are very minor. The two generations of travellers have much in common with one another, namely due to their shared interest in India. A deep and 'timeless' continuity exists within independent budget travel circles in India unlike that of independent budget travel circles elsewhere. Major differences affecting both travel and the world in general, such as the rise of social media, the development of information technology and the growing interest in celebrity culture are of little or no interest to much of the backpacker scene within the Indian Subcontinent. These modern phenomena simply don't appear important to many backpacking Westerners there. Instead, their interest lies in the longstanding attractions of India described in this chapter and these attractions have generally remained constant since the days of the Overland Trail. While backpacking in the contemporary era is a common and mainstream phenomenon, backpacking *specifically in India and Nepal* remains a unique phenomenon with its own set of 'rules' and norms which don't always follow the trends appearing in backpacking generally. The outlook of Westerners backpacking in India appears slightly different to that of backpackers elsewhere. In a nutshell, while some people chose to go backpacking for no apparent or obvious reason, very few travel *specifically to India* for no reason.

The lure of the Indian Subcontinent, and of the East in general was and still is *the* major factor influencing travellers to travel to India and Nepal, both in the days of the Overland Trail and in the contemporary era of backpacking.

CHAPTER 7:
TRANSIT

1.1: Introduction:

While push and pull factors involving disillusionment with the West and lures of the East played important roles in the mindset of some travellers, other more practical considerations also influenced decisions to undertake the Overland Trail. One such motivation, notably common amongst British and Antipodean travellers was transit. The Overland Trail essentially linked Europe with Australasia in an era when air travel was particularly expensive.

As Overland Trail Generation interviewee Leigh Copeland explained, airfares between Australia and Europe in 1970 – 1971 (controlled by the International Air Traffic Authority) were the equivalent of $6000 in today's money.[1] The foreward of the first ever *Lonely Planet* guidebook advocated the Overland Trail as a practical and enjoyable option for those travelling between Australasia and Europe:

> The Asian overland trip has become so popular in the past five years that there's almost a groove worn in the face of the map. Few people realise that for about the same cost as jumping on a plane in Sydney today and off in London tomorrow they could spend several highly enjoyable months, see a whole cross section of cultures and get to London![2]

2.1: Antipodeans travelling to Britain:

Rather than searching for the 'authentic' or the 'exotic', the travel motivation for many Antipodeans was to travel along the Overland Trail to reach Britain.[3] Wilson,

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[1] Leigh Copeland, interview with author, via email, July 7, 2014.
[2] Tony Wheeler and Maureen Wheeler, *Across ASIA on the cheap: a complete guide to making the overland trip with minimum cost and hassle* (Sydney: Lonely Planet, 1973), 1.
[3] Sharif Gemie and Brian Ireland, *The Hippie Trail: A History, 1957-78* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 12.

Fisher and Moore (2008) explained that in the 1960s, London had become the 'swinging capital of the world' for young people, and a tradition of travel to London for young Australians and New Zealanders became established.[4] The following samples were typical of Australian interviewees:

Phil (surname withheld), saw the Overland Trail as an adventurous way to travel to Europe,[5] explaining "London's the epicentre of English culture. Everyone seemed to want to go there, because of historical and language easiness… Everybody was on the road, everybody, but going both ways. We went across [on land] and flew home, but a lot of people ended up coming home that way."[6] Alexandra Copeland explained "In 1972 most of the travellers making the overland trip were Australians and New Zealanders getting to and from Europe as cheaply as possible."[7] She explained London's appeal too: "I had grown up in a time when for Australians London was the centre of the Universe. I loved the BBC news, and wanted to hear Big Ben in real life."[8] Judith McKinley emphasized the perception that London was more progressive than Australia: "This was in the sixties, often creative Australians were doing that, you had to get out, had to go to London."[9]

Interviewees were not the only ones to emphasize the Australasian obsession with London. Numerous authors mentioned Australians heading to Britain in their own travel accounts: Ronald Ritter (from Australia) explained, "I was full of adventure and wanted to reach England by traveling the hippie trail overland from Australia. It was a time in history when young people took their backpacks to see the world."[10] Noela Steinfort (also from Australia) stated, "The only reason we were in Delhi was to find a bus that would take us cheaply and quickly to London."[11]

2.2: Travellers in transit viewed differently by other travellers:

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[4] Jude Wilson, David Fisher and Kevin Moore, 'Van Tour' and 'Doing a Contiki': Grand 'Backpacker' tours of Europe', in Kevin Hannam and Irena Ateljevic (eds.), *Backpacker Tourism: Concepts and Profiles* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2008), 116.
[5] Phil (surname withheld), interview with author, Apollo Bay, Victoria, July 9, 2014.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Alexandra Copeland, interview with author, via email, July 7, 2014.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Judith McKinley, interview with author, Daylesford, Victoria, December 8, 2015.
[10] Ronald Ritter and Sussan Evermore, *The Hippie Traveler Finding The Little Buddha* (Kindle: 2016), 21.
[11] Noela Steinfort, *We've Been There!* (Melbourne: Allure Publishers, 2005), 277.

Australians and New Zealanders travelling in transit to Britain and Europe were not always viewed in the same light by other travellers. Naturally, like others, they identified to varying different degrees with countercultural ideals. Some were heavily involved in the counterculture while others were more conformist. Interviewee Paul Fraser (from Britain) explained, "Coming the other way of course were the Aussies and New Zealanders going overland to Europe, but many of these were fairly straight people, having an adventure, but in no way dropping out of society or taking mind altering drugs."[12] Author Patrick Marnham also mentioned Australians travelling to Europe in transit only eating their own food, doing everything their own way and not 'risking' experiencing anything of the local culture in the countries they travelled through.[13]

While many Australians travelled the Overland Trail exclusively to arrive in Britain or Europe, it must be noted that transit to Europe was far from a universal motivation for Australians in general. As noted by Sobocinska (2014), in 1968, for the first time, more Australians travelled to Asia than to Europe – a trend which has continued ever since.[14] This important statistic indicates that while many Australians were in transit through Asia to Europe, many others were travelling in Asia primarily to experience Asia itself.

2.3: Britons travelling to Australasia:

A number of formerly British, now Australian interviewees, such as David Lovejoy, Kevin Platts and Tony Wheeler, undertook journeys along the trail purposefully or incidentally living and working permanently in Australia. Lovejoy was well aware of the popularity of the trail, but didn't meet a lot of travellers undertaking it. He explained, "It was quite odd that I hadn't met more travellers before, as the 'overland' trip from London to Oz was very popular."[15] Author and interviewee Dave Barrett described the lifestyle of those foreigners who were living and working in Australia at the time:

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[12] Paul Fraser, interview with author, via email, May 25, 2016.
[13] Patrick Marnham, *Road To Katmandu* (London: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2005), 87-88.
[14] Agnieszka Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours: Australians In Asia* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2014), 10.
[15] David Lovejoy, *Between Dark and Dark: A Memoir* (Mullumbimby: Echo Publications, 2005), 98.

> A whole migrant community of young people drifted around the continent from city to city, finding work where they could and when they needed the money, but generally just enjoying life. Like young people throughout Westernised civilisation they were disillusioned by the rat race, and were retracing their origins in search of themselves and a better way of living.[16]

3.1: Other nationalities in transit:

Of course, Antipodeans and Britons were not the only nationalities to use the Overland Trail as a transit route. Travellers of all nationalities wishing to visit Europe and Australia had this option at their disposal. Author Paul Theroux described three such travellers he encountered on a train travelling through Iran on his 1973 journey along the trail. The travellers were a Canadian couple and a cockney boy from East London.[17] Theroux, in his typical disparaging tone, commented, "but what interested me about these three was that they were, like so many others, going to Australia the cheapest way, via Afghanistan and India, living like the poorest they were among, eating vile food, and sleeping in bug-ridden hotel rooms, because they were rejecting a society they saw to be in decay."[18] The comments of Barrett and Theroux reveal that 'transit' and 'disillusionment with home' were not mutually exclusive travel motivations.

4.1: Overland bus companies and their role:

As a result of its popularity as a transit route, the Overland Trail was well serviced with bus companies making the journey from London to Kathmandu and back. Gemie and Ireland (2017) suspect that most travellers of the trail travelled by bus.[19] However, only fourteen of the seventy interviewees from the Overland Trail Generation sample group of this project travelled on these buses for part or all of their journey. Author and interviewee John Worrall, who travelled with the bus company Hughes Overland,[20] regretfully described his bus journey as insular, with the passengers rarely socialising

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[16] Dave Barrett, *Christmas in Kathmandu* (Bath: DEVA B Publications, 1992), 241-242.
[17] Paul Theroux, *The Great Railway Bazaar: By Train Through Asia* (London: Penguin Books, 1975), 85.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*, 3.
[20] John Worrall, 'Chapter 1: 30th September 1972', in *Travelling for Beginners: To Kathmandu in '72* (Amazon/Kindle: 2012), [no page numbers].

with locals or other travellers.[21] He also described the bus companies as representing the corporatization of the trail.[22] Author Michael Hall described the bus companies as follows:

> Magic Buses had originated in the 1960s to cater for the growing number of young people – hippies, 'freaks' and shoestring travellers – who were 'on the road', seeking adventure, companionship and a sense of untrammelled freedom. Some were owned by former hippie-travellers who felt it an ideal way to subsidise their freewheeling lifestyle, and were the forerunners of the adventure-tour companies which would later emerge.[23]

5.1: The Overland Trail as an extension of travel in Europe:

As well as being a transit route, the Overland Trail sometimes became an extension (either planned or unexpected) of a general trip around Europe for many Antipodeans. As explained by Wilson, Fisher and Moore (2008), "For decades there has been a tradition of young New Zealanders and Australians going to Britain and Europe on extended travel trips."[24] Many Australian interviewees travelled around Europe during the late 1960s and 1970s. They only became interested in the Overland Trail through these travels in Europe and their subsequent curiosity about neighbouring regions. Interviewee Chris Koller was particularly impressed by the travellers whom he encountered returning from India: "I had been to Istanbul the previous year and had seen some amazing men and women get off buses with Afghan coats and long hair."[25] Koller was curious as to what lay beyond Istanbul and was inspired by those with whom he met and spoke.[26]

6.1: Contemporary backpackers and transit:

Unlike their Overland Trail Generation counterparts, transit was almost never a motivation for the Contemporary Backpacker sample group interviewed in this study.

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[21] John Worrall, 'Chapter 8: Bad Roads', in *Travelling for Beginners: To Kathmandu in '72* (Amazon/Kindle: 2012), [no page numbers].
[22] Ibid.
[23] Michael Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail: travelling across Asia 1976-1978* (Northern Ireland: Island Publications, 2007), 11.
[24] Wilson, Fisher and Moore, 'Van Tour' and 'Doing a Contiki', in Hannam and Ateljevic (eds.), *Backpacker Tourism*, 114.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.

The most obvious reason for this is that airfares are now cheaper than ever before.[27] Only one of the eighty contemporary backpackers interviewed was using the Indian Subcontinent as a stopover between Britain and Australia, and even in this case, transit was far from his major motivation for visiting India and Nepal.[28]

6.2: Other destinations of contemporary backpackers:

The Contemporary Backpacker sample group did however visit other countries on their trips as well as India and/or Nepal. Of the eighty interviewees, forty five visited at least one other country (other than India or Nepal) on the same trip, while one said that it was unclear where he would go after India.

Many of the Contemporary Backpacker sample group included India and/or Nepal as part of a trip to Asia in general, particularly with the countries in South East Asia. The most popular destination to include alongside India/Nepal was Thailand, with 17 of 45 visiting this country. Other popular destinations in South East Asia were Vietnam (12), Cambodia (11), Laos (7), Malaysia (6), Myanmar (5) and Indonesia (5). As for India's neighbours, eight of the sample group visited China during their trip while seven visited Sri Lanka.

Heading further afield, eight interviewees from the Contemporary Backpacker sample group were visiting Europe and eight were visiting Africa. Six were including New Zealand on their trips and five were including Australia. The national group to visit the most other countries on their trips were clearly the British. Three of the five travellers visiting Australia were British, as were four of the six visiting New Zealand. The second most widely travelling of the national groups were the Australians, however while the British visited Indochina in large numbers, the Australians were visiting Sri Lanka, Thailand and Malaysia during their trips.

These data findings are consistent with those from previous studies on Western travellers in Asia. As Westerhausen (2002), stated:

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[27] Camille Caprioglio O'Reilly, 'From Drifter To Gap Year Tourist: Mainstreaming Backpacker Travel', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (2006), 1008.
[28] Brendan Tapley, interview with author, Pokhara, Nepal, May 7, 2016.

> Whereas many travellers look to Asia as their primary destination, others treat it as a portion of a wider journey touching both non-Western and Western countries such as Australia and New Zealand. Conversely, Australians and New Zealanders on their way through Asia frequently head to Britain and continental Europe at the end of their time in Asia.[29]

7.1: Conclusion:

Due to cost factors, transit, unlike the other five major travel motivations of the Overland Trail Generation, is no longer a common travel motivation amongst contemporary backpackers. Like their Overland Trail Generation counterparts, contemporary backpackers do however include India and Nepal as segments of larger trips through Asia and sometimes of Europe, Australia and lands further afield.

[29] Klaus Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach: An Ethnography of Modern Travellers in Asia* (Bangkok: White Lotus Co, Ltd., 2002), 41.

Table 5: Other countries visited by Contemporary Backpacker Interviewees (by nationality) during their India/Nepal trips.*

	Nationality of traveller:							
	British	Australian	Canadian	American	French	German	Other	Total
Country visited in Asia:								
China	3	1	1		1		2	8
Sri Lanka		4		1			2	7
Myanmar	2	1			1		1	5
Thailand	7	3	2	1	2		2	17
Malaysia		3			1		2	6
Singapore		2			1			3
Indonesia	2				1		2	5
Laos	5				1		1	7
Cambodia	6	1			1		3	11
Vietnam	7	2			1		2	12
Philippines				1			2	3
"Asia" (unspecified)					3		1	4
In Other regions:								
Europe	2	2	2		1		1	8
Africa	2	2	2	1	1			8
Australia	3						2	5
New Zealand	4			1			1	6
North America	1		1				2	4

*Only countries attracting at least three visitors from the sample group have been included in this table. Other, more obscure destinations were also visited by various interviewees.

CHAPTER 8:
ADVENTURE

1.1: Introduction:

A major reason for travelling the Overland Trail, yet one which rarely features in the collective narrative of the trail, was simply to have an adventure and 'see the world'. In the 1960s and 1970s, travellers may not have known as much about their destinations as they do in the modern era of internet and global communications. With less known about destinations, a great sense of adventure prevailed for travellers of the Overland Trail Generation. Alby Mangels, who would later become a high-profile documentary film maker, had a deep curiosity about the world and a strong sense of adventure. He recollected, "I had a desperate urge to travel and used to stare at the stars from my bedroom window at night, and wonder what they would look like on the other side of the earth."[1]

2.1: Adventure instead of the 'Mystic East':

Rather than seeking the mystic attractions the East could offer, several authors have explained their prime motivation for travelling was adventure. Michael Hall, for example, stated: "The hippies of the 1960s had found themselves sharing the route to India with an assortment of backpackers who were venturing forth not from any esoteric imperative but simply lured by the adventure of travelling. Now, in the mid-1970s, backpackers like ourselves far outnumbered any hippie contingent."[2] Dave Barrett concurred: "Most of the people we met, and we were no exceptions, were not travelling in the existential meaning of the word, with no roots anywhere but on their backs. We had homes that were waiting for us at the beginning and at the end of our journeys. We were just chasing a little adventure, following a dream, or simply after a more

[1] Alby Mangels, *World Safari* (Adelaide: Savvas Publishing, 1986), 8.
[2] Michael Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail: travelling across Asia 1976-1978* (Northern Ireland: Island Publications, 2007), 53.

interesting route from A to B."[3] Sobocinska (2014) also emphasized this point, stating, "As more and more young Westerners descended on Asia, the earnest seekers were steadily outnumbered by those looking only for fun and adventure…".[4]

Numerous interviewees from the Overland Trail Generation sample group also emphasized a sense of adventure as being a major factor in their decision to undertake the journey, with many describing it as far more important than push factors based on disillusionment with the West or pull factors based on the lure of the East. Alex Kaplan specifically explained his travel motivations: "I had worked for over 3 years without a break and it was time. Many of my friends also took the journey. We weren't seeking enlightenment, but rather the experience of other cultures, perspectives and people."[5] Rod Deering recalled, "I probably had the feeling, like a lot of people in those days, that Australia was a bit behind the times and that Europe was more progressive and so I wasn't searching, I wasn't really escaping, I was just having an adventure."[6] Bruce Thomas expanded on this concept:

> I think that the motivations of Aussies and Kiwis on the Overland may have differed somewhat from those of the British and Europeans. But overall, I think that the 'lure of the East/disillusionment with the West' theory is overdone. Most of us were simply looking for adventure far from the constraints of home – just like backpackers today – and in the 1960s and 1970s the Overland was the greatest adventure of the time.[7]

Similarly, many interviewees distanced themselves from the 'hippie' label and explained during their interviews that adventure was the driving force behind their journeys far more than any desire to be part of the counterculture. Alun Buffry explained: "The word hippie is thrown around more nowadays as if it was some sort of ideal or philosophy based on drugs and dirtiness. It was just people, mostly young people, exploring the world with little money, aim or security and maybe not much wisdom either. It was hard, dirty, confusing, dangerous and not all even survived."[8]

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[3] Dave Barrett, *Christmas in Kathmandu* (Bath: DEVA B Publications, 1992), 48-49.
[4] Agnieszka Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours: Australians In Asia* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2014), 131-132.
[5] Alex Kaplan, interview with author, via email, September 11, 2016.
[6] Rod Deering, interview with author, Apollo Bay, Victoria, March 28, 2014.
[7] Bruce Thomas, interview with author, via email, June 3, 2016.
[8] Alun Buffry, interview with author, via email, October 23, 2015.

While many authors and interviewees specifically emphasized their travel motivation was adventure rather than a push by the West or a pull from the East, many made no mention of these stereotypical push and pull factors. They simply discussed their seeking of an adventure in its own right. Michael Hall had been interested in seeing the world for many years before he undertook his journey, explaining, "From my early teens my daydreams had been filled with images of foreign lands and ancient cultures. At weekends I scoured Belfast's second-hand bookshops for titles on world travel and the exploits of explorers and adventurers, longing for a time when I too could head off to far-flung destinations."[9] Guidebook founder Rick Steves had similar goals, explaining he had always wanted to cross the Khyber Pass, and that this goal drove his motivation.[10] Interviewee Deena Atlas explained she was looking for an adventure after leaving a ten year marriage,[11] while (as mentioned in Chapter 5, Section 3.2), Alby Mangels began his travels out of fear of getting married and settling down,[12]

3.1: Seeking adventure beyond Europe:

As explained in brief in Chapter 7, Section 5.1, a number of travellers began their quest for adventure by travelling in Europe. They then concluded a greater level of adventure could be found in Asia. For example, author Billy Wells originally travelled to Spain, before returning to Britain where he felt bored and made the decision to leave and see the world.[13] Guidebook founder Rick Steves also stated eloquently that Europe could no longer fuel a travel flame,[14] hence he also undertook the Overland Trail. *Lonely Planet* founder and interviewee Tony Wheeler expressed very similar sentiments to Steves: "But those European trips had only whetted my appetite. Travelling across Asia would be the real thing."[15]

4.1: Hitchhiking:

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[9] Hall, *Following the Hippie Trail*, 12.
[10] Rick Steves, 'Istanbul to India by Bus: Rick's Excellent Asian Adventure', http://www.ricksteves.com/watch-read-listen/read/articles/istanbul-to-india-by-bus, accessed on 2 October 2016, 7.
[11] Deena Atlas, interview with author, via email, June 18, 2014; Deena Atlas, interview with author, via email, May 5, 2015.
[12] Mangels, *World Safari*, 8.
[13] Billy Wells, *Snapshots of the Hippy Trail* (London: Lulu Enterprises, 2008), 35.
[14] Steves, 'Istanbul to India by Bus', 8.
[15] Tony Wheeler and Maureen Wheeler, *The Lonely Planet Story: Once While Travelling* (Great Britain: Crimson, 2008), 7.

Synonymous with adventure during the 1960s and 1970s was the phenomenon of hitchhiking. Author Billy Wells described the prevalence of hitchhiking throughout Europe during the 1960s and 1970s, describing it as 'An era of freedom of the road'.[16] After arriving in Malaysia from Singapore, author Ronald Ritter specifically avoided using public transport in order to hitchhike for a short section of his trip for the experience of doing so.[17] Interviewee Paul Fraser stated hitchhiking was his original motivation to travel the trail: When asked about the lure of the East, Fraser explained, "The lure of hitchhiking, which I loved, got me to Istanbul … where I learnt I could carry on into the East."[18] Interviewee Hans Roodenburg felt that the Overland Trail would be a suitable challenge after having undertaken extensive hitchhiking over a long period of time. He recalled: "my main motivation was that doing the Hippie Trail would be the crown on my career as a long-distance hitchhiker/backpacker, which had begun in the early sixties and had so far culminated in a trip all around the Mediterranean a few years before the Hippie Trail adventure."[19]

5.1: Adventure writers:

As explained in Chapter 6, Section 7.1, many travellers from the Overland Trail Generation were heavily influenced by high profile writers, musicians and spiritual leaders. While some of these high profile influences advocated following spiritual paths, others were followed for their emphasis on and glorification of adventure. Two writers stand out clearly as highly influential to the Overland Trail Generation: Kerouac and Kipling.

5.2: Jack Kerouac:

As discussed in Chapter 6, Section 7.6 regarding the "Lure of the East", Kerouac's writing also influenced the "Adventure" cohort of the Overland Trail Generation. His most famous work, *On The Road* was purely about the search for adventure: Kerouac

[16] Wells, *Snapshots of the Hippy Trail*, 200.
[17] Ronald Ritter and Sussan Evermore, 'A Border Mystery', in *The Hippie Traveler Finding The Little Buddha* (self published on Kindle, 2016), [no page numbers].
[18] Paul Fraser, interview with author, via email, May 25, 2016.
[19] Hans Roodenburg, interview with author, via email, February 21, 2014.

glorified the riding of freight trains during the Depression years as is evident by the following passage:

> 'During the depression,' said the cowboy to me, 'I used to hop freights at least once a month. In those days you'd see hundreds of men riding a flatcar or in a boxcar, and they weren't just bums, they were all kinds of men out of work and going from one place to another and some of them just wandering. It was like that all over the West. Brakemen never bothered you in those days.[20]

While Kerouac romanticised his descriptions of places such as bus stations, his description of the police station (see Chapter 6, Section 7.6) was uninviting, and resembling of everything to which the freedom lover does not aspire.[21] More importantly though, were the feelings of his characters towards travelling, and the freedom of being on the road. For example: "all I wanted to do was sneak out into the night and disappear somewhere, and go and find out what everybody was doing all over the country."[22] As explained by Liechty (2005), many travellers were simply inspired by Kerouac's desire to be 'on the road'.[23] This was as important to them as the destination itself.[24]

5.3: Rudyard Kipling:

While Kerouac's books were blatant in their advocacy of adventure, Kipling's books influenced travellers more subtly, with travellers not necessarily being aware of the extent that they were influenced by Kipling – many had read Kipling as children while they read Kerouac as teenagers or young adults. Sobocinska (2014) explained this influence:

> This widespread association between Asia and adventure had been cultivated by the literary genre of colonial adventure, which was a mainstay of English-language juvenile fiction throughout the early decades of the twentieth century. References to Rudyard Kipling's stories regularly appeared in diaries, travel accounts and subsequent recollections of Hippie Trail travellers.[25]

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[20] Jack Kerouac, *On The Road* (USA: Penguin, 1957), 22-23.
[21] Ibid., 64-66.
[22] Ibid., 65.
[23] Mark Liechty, 'Building the Road to Kathmandu: Notes on the History of Tourism in Nepal', *Himalaya, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2005), 22.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Agnieszka Sobocinska, 'Following the "Hippie Sahibs": Colonial cultures of travel and the Hippie Trail', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer 2014), 3.

5.4: *First Overland*:

While Kipling had been widely read for decades, the colonial adventure genre was updated for the new generation with the release of *First Overland*, a book discussed extensively by Sobocinska (2014):[26] *First Overland*, published in 1957 in Britain and 1959 in Australia, tells the 1955 story of six young British men driving two Land Rovers from Britain to Singapore, portraying the journey as an adventurous one.[27] The 'explorers' conscientiously adopted formal Expeditionary practices, such as naming the expedition the (rather grandiose) 'Oxford-Cambridge Far Eastern Expedition', and visited High Commissions, missionary hospitals, tea plantations and British Clubs across the Indian Subcontinent, making use of governmental, commercial and social networks established under British colonialism, and unsurprisingly were showered with hospitality and kindness at these stops.[28] The purpose of the expedition was to discover if travel between Britain and Singapore exclusively by road was possible, and the book concluded with extensive step by step instructions for any reader interested in making the journey themselves.[29] While it is unknown if any of the Overland Trail Generation interviewees in this project were influenced by, or aware of *First Overland*, the book was available for British and Australian potential travellers to make use of and was popular in both countries.[30]

6.1: Historical adventure travel; tramping and drifting:

Historically, travel for the sake of adventure has been a widespread phenomenon, which has continued to this day. The Middle Ages in both Europe and the Middle East saw the emergence of adventurers and explorers,[31] and as explored by Adler (1985), independent travel for pleasure (as opposed to for work or religious pilgrimage) was once dominated by young European aristocrats during the Grand Tour of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but gradually democratised through the egalitarian travel movement known as 'Tramping', which itself later became

[26] Ibid., 3-4.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Tim Slessor, *First Overland: London – Singapore by Land Rover* (First published George G. Harrup & Co. Ltd., 1957. Re-published Andrews UK Limited/digital edition, 2015); Sobocinska, 'Following the "Hippie Sahibs", 4.
[30] Sobocinska, 'Following the "Hippie Sahibs", 3.
[31] Reena Singh, *Satisfaction Level of Foreign Tourist Visiting India* (New Delhi: Mohit Publications, 2004), 4.

romanticised and adopted by the middle class rather than its traditionally working class adherents.[32] During the 1930s in the USA, between 100,000 and 250,000 boys under the age of 21 were 'on the road'.[33] A study conducted in 1939 of 5000 of them found that their level of education was higher than average and most wanted simply to see the country.[34]

Cohen (2003), proposed that the 'tramps' described by Adler (1985) were the inspiration or model for the 1960s travellers whom he referred to as 'drifters', who were subsequently the inspiration for contemporary backpackers.[35] Cohen did note however, that the chronological division between these groups is not exceptionally strict.[36]

7.1: Comparisons with contemporary 'adventurers':

The Contemporary Backpacker sample group of interviewees had relatively similar attitudes towards travelling to have an adventure as their Overland Trail Generation counterparts. Many cited the feeling that travelling in India or Nepal was challenging in some form or another. Jonny Lyons stated, "I wanted to challenge myself for sure. It would've been very easy for me to go to Thailand or one of these places that are a bit more developed and cater towards tourists. But I feel like India is for Indian people first and for tourists second, so there's still a challenge in that adventure is still there, so that's part of it."[37] Mia Lemmers also attested to the idea that she needed a challenge, explaining, "Mostly it was this kind of feeling that I was getting too comfortable in Vancouver. It's such an easy city and there was a big push that if I didn't just get out I would probably just never leave."[38]

When asked during her interview why she made the trip, Pascale Rioux explained, "Because I love travelling. And actually after five years of working you're allowed to take a year off from my job, so that's what I did, and I just decided I'm going to travel

[32] Judith Adler, 'Youth On The Road: Reflections on the History of Tramping', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (1985), 335-337.
[33] Ibid., 344.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Erik Cohen, 'Backpacking: Diversity and Change', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (2003), 96.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Jonny Lyons, interview with author, Panjim, Goa, India, April 13, 2016.
[38] Mia Lemmers, interview with author, Pokhara, Nepal, May 2, 2016.

for this year."[39] Rioux's answer is remarkably similar to Overland Trail Generation interviewee Alex Kaplan's answer, which is quoted in Section 2.1 of this chapter. This continuity indicates that adventure is a timeless travel motivation for those with the means to undertake extended journeys.

Unlike the Overland Trail Generation interviewees, the Contemporary Backpacker interviewees were asked whether or not adventure had been a travel motivation. Of the 80 interviewees, 72 (90%) stated that adventure was certainly a motivating factor. Most stated this emphatically and without even having to consider their answer first.

7.2: Differing interpretations of the term 'Adventure':

Interestingly, of the 8 interviewees who stated that adventure was not a motivating factor, 4 were German. This point is significant because only 7 Germans were interviewed amongst the Contemporary Backpacker sample group, meaning that 57% of Germans interviewed in this group did not consider adventure to be a travel motivation. Amongst the other major national groups interviewed in this group, 100% of Australians, Americans and Canadians, 93% of British, 86% of French and 90% of other (miscellaneous) Europeans all considered adventure to be a motivation for undertaking their trips. This surprising statistic indicates that the concept of *adventure* may have different connotations in Germany or in the German language – perhaps referring to more specific activities such as adventure sports or other outdoor pursuits. Without including the German participants, the number of Contemporary Backpacker interviewees to identify adventure as a travel motivation rises to 95% (69-4).

7.3: Authors discussing 'Adventure':

Adventure as a travel motivation was not only rife amongst the Overland Trail Generation and Contemporary Backpacker interviewees alike, but remains so with authors who have travelled in recent years. Author Brian Rix, who travelled with his wife Shirley by motorcycle from London to Melbourne (via the same route as the Overland Trail) in 2003, stated: "It made me reflect on why Shirl and I are doing this. There is certainly the desire to have adventure and experience other cultures, but there is also a deep-seated fear of the 'if onlys' – the regrets you have to contend with when

[39] Pascale Rioux, interview with author, McLeod Ganj, India, May 14, 2016.

your life is nearing its end and you haven't achieved all you wanted to. There may be no tomorrow, so you have to live life to its fullest."[40]

8.1: How adventurous was the Overland Hippie Trail?

While so many interviewees, from both the Overland Trail Generation and Contemporary Backpacker groups, listed adventure as a travel motivation, the questions as to 'How adventurous was it?' and 'How adventurous is it?' have been asked and debated. As far back as 1964, Boorstin described the term 'adventure' as bland and overused, stating that it was once meant to mean 'an unusual, stirring, experience, often of romantic nature', but had become something contrived, that someone is trying to sell to the traveller.[41] Ironically, many interviewees from the Overland Trail Generation sample group viewed contemporary travel in this same manner, considering their own trips to be adventurous, but those of contemporary travellers as contrived or trivialised – in the same way that Boorstin had described modern travel in 1964 as compared with 'adventurous' travel from earlier eras.

Author Rory Maclean, when romanticising the Hippie Trail, questioned the modern concept of guidebooks, describing contemporary travellers as less adventurous due to their travel being supposedly more heavily influenced by those guidebooks and the tourist industry in general:

> We may go further, faster, but have Lonely Planet and Guide du routard in fact limited our horizon by describing one road towards it? Fewer kids now take the risk of staying in an unknown flea-pit or accepting the hospitality of strangers. We still move through an alien society against which our identity can be cast into relief, but often we talk only to other Westerners at safe, familiar spots.[42]

Sobocinska (2014) however, has argued vigorously that the Overland Trail itself was also far more integrated into the mainstream tourist industry than many of those who undertook the journey admit or even realise:

> Although many travellers liked to think that they were pioneers, the Hippie Trail was in fact increasingly integrated into the tourist industry. Hippie

[40] Brian Rix, in Shirley Hardy-Rix and Brian Rix, *Two for the Road: 56,671km, 27 countries, one dream* (Sydney: Macmillan, 2005), 9.
[41] Daniel Boorstin, *The Image or What Happened to the American Dream* (USA: Penguin, 1961), 86.
[42] Rory Maclean, *Magic Bus: On The Hippie Trail From Istanbul To India* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 151.

> Trail travellers shared transport, infrastructure and many of the same experiences as mainstream tourists, who were discovering Asia around the same time. Moreover, an 'alternative' travel industry, specially targeted towards young budget travellers, flourished along the Hippie Trail.[43]

Sobocinska summarised the previous point, explaining that guidebooks sufficed since adventure in its purist form was almost impossible to come by: "Lonely Planet guides targeted a self-consciously sophisticated readership that longed for exploration and adventure, but recognised that their dreams were improbable in a rapidly modernising world."[44] In both of her works on the Overland Trail, Sobocinska has often cited the statements of Richard Neville, and has analysed his views and comments. Neville explained in *Playpower*, that young Westerners often viewed the Overland Trail as their last chance to see the world before it became too generic, Western and commercialised.[45]

Maclean's view over-romanticises the travels of the Overland Trail Generation, overplaying the adventurous nature of their journeys, while underestimating the adventurous aspects of contemporary backpacking. Sobocinska, on the other hand, while clearly a more balanced view, underestimates the adventurous nature of travel along the Overland Trail, emphasizing only the tourist infrastructure of the enclaves and more popular locations along the route, making no mention of the numerous other places along the splintering trails which were not legendary enclaves.

9.1: Conclusion:

After considering the views and comments from authors who undertook journeys along the Overland Trail, and Overland Trail Generation interviewees, as well as Contemporary Backpacker interviewees, and contemporary writers and academics, it appears that adventure has been and still is a primary motivation for most independent travellers travelling in India and Nepal, during both the Overland Trail and current eras. While travellers and authors have a tendency to romanticise travel from past eras and to trivialise travel in the era they are writing or travelling in, the motivations of travellers have generally always involved adventure, and continue to do so.

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[43] Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours*, 150.
[44] Sobocinska, 'Following the "Hippie Sahibs", 4.
[45] Richard Neville, *Playpower* (London: Paladin, 1971), 179.

Cohen (2003), stated, “While the drifter remains the model for the backpacker, few backpackers seek to realise it in practice, or show great concern for profoundly ‘authentic’ experiences of sites, events or people on their trip.”[46] The data from both groups of interviewees tells a different story however: While the Overland Trail Generation sample group of interviewees were not specifically asked about adventure being a travel motivation, many volunteered the idea that it was a primary motivation of theirs.

The Contemporary Backpacker sample group of interviewees were asked about adventure, with 90% of them agreeing that adventure was very much a travel motivation of theirs. As explained in Section 7.2 of this chapter, possible linguistic interpretations may have prevented 90% jumping to 95%. In conclusion, it appears that adventure was and still is a primary travel motivation for almost all independent travellers travelling specifically on the Indian Subcontinent, regardless of which era they have travelled in.

[46] E. Cohen, ‘Backpacking: Diversity and Change’, 98.

CHAPTER 9:
STATUS

1.1: Introduction:

Closely linked with the motivation of adventure, was the travel motivation of status. By travelling the trail, one would earn status amongst peers, both in their home society and among fellow travellers. As explained by counterculture historian Jonathon Green, one traveller described "the 'sheep effect': your friends had gone, you didn't want to be seen as lagging behind in the hipness stakes".[1] Status as a motivation is equally prevalent amongst contemporary backpackers, as it was amongst the Overland Trail Generation. This chapter contains fewer quotes from interviewees (from both the Overland Trail Generation and Contemporary Backpacker sample groups) than the other findings chapters. This is unsurprising as interviewees would likely be less willing to recognise or admit that attaining increased status was a travel motivation.

1.2: Status through the eyes of difference audiences:

When discussing status as a motivation for travel, it is important to recognise the different types of status earned, or more specifically, to ask the question "In who's view has the traveller earned status?" As has become evident from the interviewees from both the Overland Trail Generation and Contemporary Backpacker sample groups, as well as from authors who undertook the Overland Trail and academics writing specifically about backpacking, there are three major audiences in who's view a traveller may attain status: one's peers, one's fellow travellers, and general society in one's home country.

[1] Jonathon Green, *All Dressed Up: The Sixties and the Counterculture* (Great Britain: Pimlico, 1999), 225.

Based on both the findings of the author, and the relevant literature, the following table, shows that different travel achievements earn increased status to the traveller depending on who is judging the possible increased status:

Table 6: Status attained by travelling in the eyes of different audiences

Theory/Assertion	**One's peers**	**General society in one's home country**	**One's fellow independent travellers**
Travel earns status	Yes	Yes	Only when compared with non-travellers
Independent Budget Travel earns status	Yes	Yes	Yes, but only limited status
Travel to India earns status	Yes	Yes	Yes, if one travels independently
Independent Budget Travel to India earns status	Yes	Yes	Yes

While travel will earn status from one's peers and usually from society in one's home country, it only earns limited status in the eyes of one's fellow independent budget travellers, as travel then becomes an expectation rather than an achievement.

Independent budget travel (like travel generally) once again earns one status in the eyes of one's peers back home, however the status is channelled through the eyes of other independent travellers doing the same thing. In this case, a hierarchy of travellers exists where one earns status by fulfilling specific achievements based loosely on an unwritten code of honour adhered to in independent travel circles.

Travel to India also earns one status from one's peers back home, but in the eyes of one's fellow independent travellers, it only earns status if undertaken independently. For example, no achievement is recognised if one lodges in five star accommodation or travels as part of a tour in the eyes of most independent budget travellers – even if this travel has occurred in India. Travel to India as an independent budget traveller however, fulfils all criteria and thus earns an increase in status for the traveller through the eyes of fellow travellers and those back home alike.

Therefore, completing the Overland Trail to India (or Nepal) in the 1960s or 1970s could be considered the pinnacle of increasing one's social status – especially amongst those in one's subcultural group or amongst those who valued and appreciated travel and/or the fashionable aspects of Indian culture becoming popular in the West during that era. While in Crete, Greece, early in her Overland Trail journey, and amongst many Western travellers, author Renee Rogers noted, "there is a whole sub-culture operating with varying levels of status accorded based on experiences and background. For example, successfully traveling on to India is [sic] high status."[2]

2.1: Status in the eyes of others:

Several prominent authors have argued that travel earns status in Western middle class circles. Turner and Ash (1975), explained that people are now being judged more than ever before by their active pursuits and leisure persona rather than by their work role, arguing that while watching television is seen as a demeaning activity, travel is valued, with the suntan an outward sign of one's initiative to travel.[3] MacCannell (1976) wrote that in the modern (Western) world, an individual is seen as morally superior if they travel.[4] Urry (2002), explained that travel is a marker of status and that those who don't travel lose status.[5] Desforges (2000) noted that through travelling, those that travel are setting themselves apart from an 'other' who they see as lacking in knowledge, culture or sophistication.[6] He explained that by travelling to long-haul destinations one gains cultural capital or demonstrates that they have taste.[7] Urry (2002) concurred, emphasising that certain destinations such as the Far East are popular because they convey taste and superior status.[8] Munt (1994) and Caprioglio O'Reilly (2006) both considered that these travel practices are a symbol of, and reinforce, middle

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[2] Renee Rogers, Letter to parents, June 7, 1977, in 'The Journey Begins', in *Letters from the Hippie Trail: Overland Travel from Europe through Asia 1977-1982* 2nd ed. (USA: Kindle, 2016), [no page numbers].
[3] Louis Turner and John Ash, *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (London: Constable, 1975), 14.
[4] Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory Of The Leisure Class* (New York: Shocken Books, 1976), 159.
[5] John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Second Edition* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 5.
[6] Luke Desforges, 'Traveling The World: Identity and Travel Biography', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (2000), 939-940.
[7] Ibid., 938.
[8] Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 42.

class (Western) lifestyle.[9] Munt argued that the increased status attained through these travel practices is conditional on the destination which must be seen as satisfactory to the middle class by being progressive or exotic, rather than a high profile destination popular with the 'crass' lower classes such as Disneyland or a seaside resort.[10] As Urry (2002), explained, seaside resorts are seen as tasteless and uncivilised amongst Western middle class circles.[11]

2.2: A 'club of travellers':

Desforges (1998) and (2000) referred to those who have travelled and possess these attitudes as a 'club of people who have travelled', citing the travellers he has interviewed as evidence of this outlook.[12] Referring to one of his interviewees, he explained: "Their trips form a mutual social bond in that both value and respect the knowledge and experiences gained through travel, which serves to distinguish them from others who Ceri [Desforges' interviewee] sees as lacking in knowledge about the world."[13] Contemporary Backpacker interviewee Forest Jacobs also touched on Desforge's 'club of travellers' analogy, demonstrating how through travel, he found a mutual connection with colleagues at home. He stated, "I would say that it's inspiring. I work with 150 people in my team and the second I said that I was going on a trip, all these stories came out from other peoples' adventures as well. So status symbol? I think it's more of a lifestyle, and then maybe it connects you with certain people."[14]

Specific cultures display specific travel habits. Different 'achievements' while travelling earn status in different cultures. Desforges (1998) explained that if travellers share the same cultural values as their audience, then there is a basis for distinction after having travelled in a specific manner.[15] For example, while the Western middle class consider exotic destinations within the developing world to be tasteful, for young

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[9] Ian Munt, 'The 'Other' Postmodern Tourism: Culture, Travel and the New Middle Classes', *Theory, Culture & Society*, Vol. 11 (1994), 119; Camille Caprioglio O'Reilly, 'From Drifter To Gap Year Tourist: Mainstreaming Backpacker Travel', *Annals of Tourism Research,* Vol. 33, No. 4 (2006),1013.
[10] Munt, 'The 'Other' Postmodern Tourism', 119.
[11] Urry, *The Tourist Gaze,* 85.
[12] Luke Desforges, 'Checking Out The Planet': global representations / local identities and youth travel', in Tracey Skelon and Gill Valentine (eds.), *Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures* (London: Routledge, 1998), 185; Desforges, 'Traveling The World', 940.
[13] Desforges, 'Checking Out The Planet', 185.
[14] Forrest Jacob, interview with author, Sauraha, Chitwan National Park, Nepal, April 30, 2016.
[15] Desforges, 'Checking Out The Planet', 186.

tourists from the United Arab Emirates, visiting Europe is a perceived status symbol and is a key driver for their choice of Europe as a destination.[16] Young UAE tourists pursue luxury travel to conform and be accepted by others within their social circles such as friends and family.[17]

While young tourists from the UAE earn status amongst their peers by travelling in luxury, young Westerners do the opposite, earning status by travelling independently and as cheaply as possible through *independent budget travel* (backpacking). This emphasizes the importance of viewing a transnational phenomenon (travel) through national perspectives as well as through a transnational lens. As explained by Stephenson Schaffer (2004), backpacking has become a rite of passage for young middle class and upper middle class Americans, comparable with the Grand Tour of the 1800s.[18]

To several Overland Trail Generation interviewees, a travel culture also existed in Australian society, with international travel traditionally a popular and widespread pastime. Chris Koller explained that Australians have always aspired to visit as many countries as possible, to be worn as 'badges of honour', earning them added status amongst their peers.[19]

Sobocinska (2014) argued that the Overland Trail specifically was pivotal in establishing Asia (as opposed to already popular Europe) as a new destination where Australian travellers could 'collect countries' and undertake this rite of passage: "The Hippie Trail was extremely significant in the history of Australian travel to Asia. It introduced the notion of Asian travel as a rite of passage for young Australians and established much of the infrastructure and culture of 'alternative' tourism in Asia."[20] Interviewee Kerry Wonka attested to this view, explaining that he felt elite after having visited more countries than most people he met: "It gave me a feeling of elitism among travellers, many of whom I met on the trail who were only able to visit a few countries

[16] Girish Prayag and Sameer Hosany, 'When Middle East meets West: Understanding the motives and perceptions of young tourists from United Arab Emirates', *Tourism Management*, Vol. 40 (2014), 37.
[17] Ibid., 42.
[18] Tracey Stephenson Shaffer, 'Performing Backpacking: Constructing "Authenticity" Every Step of the Way, *Text and Performance Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (2004), 140.
[19] Christopher Koller, interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, January 30, 2014.
[20] Agnieszka Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours: Australians In Asia* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2014), 159.

for a short period."[21] Author and interviewee, John Worrall, described feeling smug about travelling, and knowing that his 'Friday night pub friends' back in England hadn't been to Istanbul, he decided to write them some 'look at me' postcards to show off to them.[22]

2.3: Connection between social media use and travellers' perception of status:

While postcards were a norm for Overland Trail Generation travellers, modern technology – and social media in particular, has made a difference in how and when status is communicated amongst contemporary backpackers. As explained by Guerreiro, Cambria and Nguyen (2019), "…social interactions among all travellers are being restyled by new communication practices such as social media and mostly accomplished through Internet and mobile phone."[23]

Social media is a platform allowing travellers to satisfy their need to share their travel experiences and what impresses them.[24] Feelings, thoughts and imaginings about a place, as well as representations of oneself, can be communicated through snapshots, videos, texts, emojis or emoticons.[25] As explained by Munar and Jacobsen (2014), "Photographs or short videos sent from mobile phones act increasingly as the new postcard."[26] Weblogs (also known as blogs) have also become increasingly influential due to their user friendliness and costless, easy access.[27]

Social media is also a technology of power: it enables individuals and their social groups to stimulate engagement and exert influence, both within their social groups and

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[21] Kerry Wonka, interview with author, via email, February 4, 2016.
[22] John Worrall, 'Chapter 6: Turkish Delight', in *Travelling for Beginners: To Kathmandu in '72* (Amazon/Kindle: 2012), [no page numbers].
[23] Claudia Guerreiro, Erik Cambria and Hien T. Nguyen, 'Understanding the Role of Social Media in Backpacker Tourism', *2019 International Conference on Data Mining Workshops (ICDMW)*, (2019), 532.
[24] Christian Persson, Johanna Fernholm and Alan Pomering, 'Backpacker Tourism: Social Media Influences and Sustainability Aspects', *CAUTHE 2019: Sustainability of Tourism, Hospitality & Events in a Disruptive Digital Age: Proceedings of the 29th Annual Conference*, (2019), 419; Guerreiro, Cambria and Nguyen, 'Understanding the Role of Social Media in Backpacker Tourism', 532.
[25] Ana Maria Munar and Jens Kr. Steen Jacobsen, 'Motivations for sharing tourism experiences through social media', *Tourism Management*, Vol. 43 (2014), 47; Niels Frederik Lund, Scott A. Cohen and Caroline Scarles, 'The power of social media storytelling in destination branding', *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, Vol. 8 (2018), 275; Guerreiro, Cambria and Nguyen, 'Understanding the Role of Social Media in Backpacker Tourism', 532.
[26] Munar and Jacobsen, 'Motivations for sharing tourism experiences through social media', 47.
[27] Guerreiro, Cambria and Nguyen, 'Understanding the Role of Social Media in Backpacker Tourism', 532.

beyond.[28] Storytelling through this technology of power attains one influence and recognition within one's social network.[29] The values and practices of their audience also affect what they present on social media.[30] The travel destination then becomes part of the traveller's self-representation and they use it to establish what they would like to be seen as.[31]

The major advantage of social media as a communication tool (for displaying status or otherwise), is that the tourism experience can now be communicated immediately, in 'real time' rather than with a delay as was the case with retrospective modes of the past such as through postcards and stories told face to face.[32] This 'real time' recording and sharing of experiences allows the traveller to attain recognition and higher status immediately. The other major advantage of modern technology is that travellers can now maintain relationships with those at home while travelling.[33] Similarly, one can now participate in the culture of backpacking from home via social media.[34]

While social media use is now normal for travellers, its existence and use in attaining social recognition is not as important as one might think: Munar and Jacobsen's 2014 study of travellers to Mallorca, Spain, found considerable ambivalence to social media from their interviewees, with nearly half uninterested in sharing their experiences on social media or travel websites.[35] Only ten percent stated that they wished to increase their recognition by discussing their trips on websites or social media.[36] Similarly, Amaro, Duarte and Henriques (2016), found only fifteen percent of the travellers they interviewed to be fully engaged social media users.[37] Munar and Jacobsen found that traditional postcards were equally popular as 'new postcards' (photos and videos) and

[28] Lund, Cohen and Scarles, 'The power of social media storytelling in destination branding', 274.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid., 276.
[31] Ibid., 277.
[32] Munar and Jacobsen, 'Motivations for sharing tourism experiences through social media', 46; Persson, Fernholm and Pomering, 'Backpacker Tourism', 418.
[33] Munar and Jacobsen, 'Motivations for sharing tourism experiences through social media', 47.
[34] Guerreiro, Cambria and Nguyen, 'Understanding the Role of Social Media in Backpacker Tourism', 532.
[35] Munar and Jacobson, 'Motivations for sharing tourism experiences through social media', 51.
[36] Ibid., 50 and 52.
[37] Suzanne Amaro, Paulo Duarte and Carla Henriques, 'Travelers' use of social media: A clustering approach', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 59 (2016), 9.

that old and new technologies overlap, and compliment one another, rather than being mutually exclusive.[38]

2.4: Changing perceptions of backpacking over time:

Caprioglio O'Reilly (2006) emphasized changing perceptions of backpacking between the Overland Trail era and the current era: "Once a marginal and unusual activity undertaken by hippies and adventurous drop-outs, it has now become a widely accepted rite of passage for young people."[39] She elaborated that backpacking is now associated with ideals of freedom, fulfilment and personal development, and is seen as an enjoyable part of one's education.[40] Backpacking as a general rite of passage for young Westerners has been discussed extensively by Erik Cohen (2003), who advocated that a backpacking trip is seen by many in society as a way for young people to show society that they have grown up and can live independently.[41]

Contemporary Backpacker interviewee Jonny Lyons also felt that his trip would be seen favourably. By undertaking the trip, he would earn respect from much of his home society. He elaborated:

> I did think about this before, because I'm essentially taking a career break so I personally don't want to go back after three or four months and for them to just think I had a holiday. Whereas I think if you say "I went to India, I was travelling on my own", that comes with a certain degree of honour and people understand that there's challenges to that and it's almost a personal challenge.[42]

3.1: Status in the eyes of fellow travellers:

While a trip to India in itself earns many travellers status amongst their peers, attaining status through the eyes of other travellers depends on *how* one travels. Independent budget travel or backpacking earns social capital amongst one's peers,

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[38] Munar and Jacobsen, 'Motivations for sharing tourism experiences through social media', 52.
[39] Caprioglio O'Reilly, 'From Drifter To Gap Year Tourist', 998.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Erik Cohen, 'Backpacking: Diversity and Change', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (2003), 102-104.
[42] Jonny Lyons, interview with author, April 13, 2016.

especially when they value travel and what it has to offer.[43] To earn added status, the traveller must adhere to a 'code of conduct' based on a series of established values and traditions prevalent amongst independent budget travellers since the era of the Overland Trail. Several scholars have described these values and traditions, which include travelling for long periods, inexpensively and in an 'appropriate' level of discomfort.[44] Teas (1988) explained the phenomenon as a travellers' hierarchy.[45] She considered that travelling overland from Europe to India on public transport constituted an automatic acceptance into traveller society.[46] Sorenson (2003) coined the term 'Road Status' to describe this hierarchy, also noting that the ability to communicate one's hardship, experience and cheap travel properly increased one's 'Road Status'.[47]

3.2: Codes of honour amongst travellers:

Welk (2004), described these established traditions as a code of honour, rather than a set of rules or obligations, explaining them as a bond between travellers and a major source of social prestige within the scene and back home.[48] Welk formulated what he referred to as the five badges of honour recognised as 'the pillars of backpacker society': 1. To travel on a low budget, 2. To meet different people, 3. To be or to feel independent and open minded, 4. To organise one's journey individually and independently, and 5. To travel for as long as possible.[49] By adhering to Welk's 'pillars', travellers increase their status amongst their fellow travellers. While all five are undoubtedly viewed as important expectations amongst most backpackers, Pillars 1 and 5 appear to have the potential to earn the traveller far more status than the others.

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[43] In this context, the term 'social capital' includes social networks and connections between individuals, as well as the intangible shared norms and ideas developed through these connections which have repercussions for how individuals interact with others. For further information, see, Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 2000; Caprioglio O'Reilly, 'From Drifter To Gap Year Tourist', 1012.
[44] Anders Sorensen, 'Backpacker Ethnography', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (2003), 856; Natan Uriely, Yuval Yonay and Dalit Simchai, 'Backpacking Experiences: A Type and Form Analysis', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (2002), 534; Peter Welk, 'The Beaten Track: Anti-Tourism as an Element of Backpacker Identity Construction', in Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (eds.), *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2004), 79; Jane Teas, 'I'm studying monkeys. What do you do? Youth and travellers in Nepal', *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers*, No. 67-68 (1988), 36.
[45] Teas, 'I'm studying monkeys. What do you do?', 36.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Anders Sorensen, 'Backpacker Ethnography', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (2003), 856.
[48] Welk, 'The Beaten Track', in Richards and Wilson (eds.), *The Global Nomad*, 79-80.
[49] Ibid, 80.

3.3: Travelling for as long as possible:

By following *Pillar 5: To travel for as long as possible*, travellers easily earn status simply through continuing to travel. Kravanja (2012) considered the length of one's trip to be the equal most important factor in pushing one up the backpacker hierarchy, along with the number of places visited on previous trips.[50] As author Franz Wisner explained, referring light-heartedly to backpackers as an army, "In conventional armies, stars and bars identify rank. The Packer hierarchy is maintained through the first topic broached – years on the road, or, more specifically, "How long you been out?"[51] Both Teas (1988) and Wisner have advocated that a traveller typically earns added status after a period of three months.[52] Teas found that once one has remained on the road for nine months, their status as a traveller can no longer be questioned.[53] Similarly, Wisner, despite his observations occurring 17 years after those of Teas, described anything over two years as the top of the pecking order.[54]

3.4: Travelling on a low budget:

Several academics have argued that strict adherence to *Pillar 1: To travel on a low budget*, also increases a traveller's status amongst their fellow travellers – an assertion made both before and after Welk coined the '5 pillars' concept.[55] Sorenson (2003) even considered travelling on a low budget to be the most important element of Road Status.[56] He explained, "While the intention is often explained as a matter of not paying more than "locals", what really matters is not paying more than other backpackers."[57] Sorenson's quote is important as it emphasizes that while travelling on a budget is

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[50] Bostjan Kravanja, 'On Conceptions of Paradise and the Tourist Spaces of Southern Sri Lanka', *Asian Ethnology*, Vol. 71, No. 2 (2012), 192.
[51] Franz Wisner, *Honeymoon with My Brother: A Memoir* (United States: Bantam, 2005), 142.
[52] Teas, 'I'm studying monkeys. What do you do?', 36; Wisner, *Honeymoon with My Brother*, 142.
[53] Teas, 'I'm studying monkeys. What do you do?', 36.
[54] Wisner, *Honeymoon with My Brother*, 142.
[55] Pamela J. Riley, 'Road Culture of International Long-Term Budget Travelers', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (1988), 320; Torun Elsrud, 'Time Creation in Travelling: The taking and making of time among women backpackers', *Time & Society*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1998), 313-314; Klaus Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach: An Ethnography of Modern Travellers in Asia* (Bangkok: White Lotus Co, Ltd., 2002), 54; Regina Scheyvens, 'Backpacker Tourism and Third World Development', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (2002), 147; Denise Kain and Brian King, 'Destination-Based Product Selections by International Backpackers in Australia', in Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (eds.), *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2004), 201; Sorenson, 'Backpacker Ethnography, 856; Teas, 'I'm studying monkeys. What do you do?', 36.
[56] Sorenson, 'Backpacker Ethnography', 856.
[57] Ibid.

important, it is even more important to *be seen to be* travelling on a budget. This was evident when Riley (1988) discussed arguments between backpackers and hoteliers over paying $1.50 per night for a room instead of $1 more, which would lose face with other travellers and is humiliating for backpackers.[58]

3.5: Travelling in discomfort:

Similarly, Teas (1988), and Kain and King (2004) emphasized how travelling cheaply but in discomfort increases one's status. Teas explained that one acquired added status travelling third class or even on top of the bus rather than first class or in the bus.[59] Kain and King (2004) noted that sleeping on an airport bench instead of in a hotel had the same effect.[60] Teas summarised, "Anything that is cheap and uncomfortable is better than anything that is expensive and comfortable."[61] Scheyvens (2002) even explained that travellers sometimes visit Indonesia to compete with others over how cheaply they can travel rather than to see the sites.[62] Hannam and Diekmann (2011) summarised that the more bargains a backpacker finds, the more status they gain as an 'experienced traveller'.[63] Author Cleo Odzer also described this phenomenon but with a political twist: "Poverty was okay if you were a traveller; then it made it a statement: I'm a rebel in search of a better world. I'm a flower child protesting capitalist values. I'm not part of your system."[64]

As can be seen from Teas' statement about travelling on top of the bus, experiencing hardship or adversity also earns status.[65] As Westerhausen (2002) explained, "Past adversity becomes a source of future glory in the subcultural context."[66] This adversity is particularly strong currency when telling stories about one's trip to one's peers after returning home from travelling – a concept discussed in Sections 3.7 and 4.6 of this chapter.

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[58] Riley, 'Road Culture of International Long-Term Budget Travelers', 323.
[59] Teas, 'I'm studying monkeys. What do you do?', 36.
[60] Kain and King, 'Destination-Based Product Selections by International Backpackers in Australia', in Richards and Wilson (eds.), *The Global Nomad*, 201.
[61] Teas, 'I'm studying monkeys. What do you do?', 36.
[62] Scheyvens, 'Backpacker Tourism and Third World Development', 147.
[63] Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann, *Tourism And India: A Critical Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 92.
[64] Cleo Odzer, *Goa Freaks: My Hippie Years in India* (New York: Blue Moon Books, 1995), 12-13.
[65] Riley, 'Road Culture of International Long-Term Budget Travelers', 320; Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach*, 98.
[66] Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach*, 98.

The status earned by backpackers through saving money, travelling for as long as possible, experiencing hardship etcetera, are based on the idea of backpackers experiencing an 'authentic' travel experience. Backpackers however, are not the only type of tourist to seek authenticity in their travel experience.[67] While the package tourist, or 'mainstream' tourist earns status from staying at the prestigious or most expensive hotel, the 'traveller' or backpacker, earns it from finding good value when travelling.[68]

3.6: Travelling in search of authentic experiences:

An additional 'pillar' of backpacker society discussed by Welk (2004), but not given 'pillar' status, is the concept of experiencing something unique, or more specifically, visiting a location 'off the beaten track': Exclusive experiences, including solitude, are sought in order to stand out from the norm. They buy prestige in the marketplace for cultural vanities.[69] The way to earn this is by travelling to a remote place or a place 'off the beaten track' – even if it is a place popular with local tourists rather than Westerners.[70]

Binder (2004) also discussed the idea of doing something distinctive to earn status.[71] An example can be found in destination choice: As Binder explained, Thailand and Australia were once considered exotic or distinctive, whereas now they are viewed as regular stops. Cambodia and Burma [Myanmar] now appear distinctive.[72]

One travel writer who regularly discusses (and celebrates) travellers' badges of honour is Peter Moore. Moore explained how he earned huge status amongst other travellers for having made it into Afghanistan in the 1990s when the country was all but closed to tourism.[73] He experienced this same feeling of high status amongst his

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[67] Chaim Noy, 'This Trip Really Changed Me: Backpackers' Narratives of Self-Change', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (2004), 85.
[68] Riley, 'Road Culture of International Long-Term Budget Travelers', 320.
[69] Welk, 'The Beaten Track', in Richards and Wilson (eds.), *The Global Nomad*, 81.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Jana Binder, 'The Whole Point of Backpacking: Anthropological Perspectives on the Characteristics of Backpacking', in Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (eds.), *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2004), 106.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Peter Moore, *The Wrong Way Home: London to Sydney the Hard Way* (Great Britain: Bantam, 1999), 209.

fellow backpackers when he mistakenly believed he had been issued with a visa to Sudan during a trip to Africa, due to the difficulty of obtaining that visa.[74] In his light hearted (1997) book about the ironies of backpacking, Moore expanded on this, asking and answering the question 'Are visas a badge of honour?' He continued, "In some circles, wankier circles to be sure, visas are considered a badge of honour. It sounds pathetic, but at any given time you will come across groups of grown people showing off stamps that are no more sophisticated than the ones they used to get in primary school."[75] He continued by explaining that a visa for an obscure country earns a traveller "brownie points as a guru traveller".[76]

3.7: Travelling 'off the beaten track' and the 'risk' involved in doing so:

Status is also earned by visiting places 'off the beaten track' within any given country. As explained by Noy (2004), words regularly used by backpackers included: real, genuine, pure, virgin, original, primitive, wild and untouched.[77] Kravanja (2012), noted that 'true paradise'' or 'dangerous paradise' is the only type of paradise worth seeking to some travellers as it makes for a topic of conversation to narrate to other travellers.[78] Westerhausen (2002) stated that what is more important to travellers than finding paradise is to stay one step ahead of mass tourism.[79] Elsrud (2001) examined the status earned through perceived 'risk' taking by travellers through destination choice. She related the story of a man who 'risked' travelling around in local villages where there were no other Westerners – demonstrating a fear of the unknown because he felt more at risk by being around locals instead of backpackers or other Western tourists.[80] She explained:

> His story does not contain actual risks, but it has plenty to say about mythology at work. Not only does it contain a distasteful myth suggesting the "unreliability" and possible "savagery" of "the locals" as if they were brutal by simply existing, the story also betrays a very common (Western)

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[74] Peter Moore, *Swahili For The Broken-Hearted: Cape Town to Cairo by any means possible* (Australia and New Zealand: Bantam, 2002), 152.
[75] Peter Moore, *No Shitting in the Toilet: The travel guide for when you've really lost it* (Australia and New Zealand: Bantam, 1997), 98.
[76] Ibid., 99.
[77] Noy, 'This Trip Really Changed Me', 85.
[78] Kravanja, 'On Perceptions of Paradise and the Tourist Spaces of Southern Sri Lanka', 181.
[79] Ibid., 182.
[80] Torun Elsrud, 'Risk Creation In Traveling: Backpacker Adventure Narration', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (2001), 606.

> cultural value and norm taken for granted; in order to win, you must risk something.[81]

4.1: Status from travelling specifically to India:

While independent budget travel is seen to earn status for the traveller in the eyes of many, independent budget travel specifically to India (in both the era of the Overland Trail Generation and in the present era) is seen to increase one's status even amongst fellow travellers. Carmel Lyons (interviewed by Tomory) noted the arrogance of many travellers coming home from India that she encountered in Afghanistan: "In Kabul you saw all the people on their way back from India. The fashion was prayer shawls, the whole look, pyjamas and beads and drifting fabrics and waistcoats and bare feet and harem pants. And god, they were arrogant: "Coming from? Iran? Oh, how *interesting*."[82]

4.2: Perceptions of India compared with other destinations:

In the contemporary era, several scholars have argued that a visit to India has become the height of backpacker achievement, with travellers often viewing India as a challenge or duty where they can 'earn their stripes' rather than a pleasurable experience.[83] To explain this perception, Westerhausen (2002) offered a useful comparison between backpacking in India and backpacking in Thailand. He explained that although travellers travel different itineraries, it is unusual for backpackers in Asia not to visit one (or both) of Thailand and India – the two countries at the heart of numerous established transport routes through the region.[84] Westerhausen noted that Thailand has surpassed India in popularity amongst travellers as it is seen as one of the easiest countries to travel in independently, due to relatively comfortable living conditions, modern infrastructure, easy access to communication lines with the West, availability of quick assistance in the case of emergencies, and options for those wanting sand, sea

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[81] Ibid.
[82] Carmel Lyons, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 42.
[83] Mari Korpela, 'A Postcolonial Imagination? Westerners Searching for Authenticity in India', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 8 (2010), 1300-1301; David Wilson, 'Paradoxes Of Tourism In Goa', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (1997), 55; Elsrud, 'Risk Creation In Traveling', 608, Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach*, 34.
[84] Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach*, 34.

and parties.[85] By comparison, India is seen as difficult to travel in due to the lack of the aforementioned services, the extreme contrasts to life in the West, mass poverty, poor infrastructure, crowding and political instability.[86] Regardless of actual accuracy of these perceptions, Thailand is regarded as an easier or 'softer' option for travellers. Furthermore, the presence of tourists in India is largely irrelevant to the lives of the vast majority of the population in India: In Thailand, locals outnumber tourists 9-1, whereas in India locals outnumber tourists approximately 400-1.[87] This comparison shows that India and Thailand represent different ends of the backpacking subcultural spectrum.[88] Westerhausen concluded, "In the one-upmanship of Asia's traveller culture, individuals are frequently not considered "true travellers" until they have experienced and braved the colourful chaos of the subcontinent."[89]

While backpacking through India is seen within the backpacking community as difficult, tough, and worthy of a trip for an experienced traveller, travel in the West is seen as 'soft', too easy and suitable only for 'amateurs'. As Desforges (2000) explained, travelling beyond Europe is imagined to be providing new experiences for one's travel biography.[90] Elsrud (2001) described the differences between travel in India and travel in Europe through the perceived risks of each. She explained that risk is considered 'riskier' depending on perception of it, noting that a bus ride in India is perceived as riskier than a bus ride in England or Germany.[91] While the bus trip in India can be admired by travellers and peers back home alike, the bus ride through England or Germany is viewed as standard or dull.

4.3: Symbols of India purchased and worn to display status:

The status earned by travelling through India manifests itself in real terms through symbols such as the clothing one has purchased in India (or in other nearby countries) and through the stories one can tell after returning to the West. Symbols are signs that have a shared meaning to members of a group, which allow people to anticipate the

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[85] Ibid., 34-35.
[86] Madhu Agrawal, Himanshu Choudhary and Gaurav Tripathi, 'Enhancing Buddhist tourism in India: an exploratory study', *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (2010), 478; Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach*, 35.
[87] Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach*, 35.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Desforges, 'Traveling The World', 937.
[91] Elsrud. 'Risk Creation In Traveling', 603.

actions of others and to modify their own behaviours accordingly.[92] While travel to India earned status during the 1960s and 1970s, clothing purchased in India subsequently became a status symbol. Diski noted that being seen and one's self-image were particularly important to young people during the 1960s.[93] Interviewee and author David Tomory agreed, stating that showing off was important in the hippie scene, as was being outrageous.[94] While the comments from Diski and Tomory are general in nature, this theme is particularly notable when discussing those who undertook journeys to India. Turner and Ash (1975) noted that fashion is linked to tourism, and that in that era, clothing from India and Afghanistan was fashionable.[95] As explained by Sobocinska (2014), "On the Hippie Trail, clothes were also a marker of status that spoke to claims of being a traveller, rather than a tourist."[96] Similarly, Abigayle Carmody (interviewed by Sobocinska), elaborated on the special meaning of the clothing: "they [the clothes] were saying, "I've travelled and I've had great experiences and I've got a bigger, broader view of the world than Australia."[97]

While the fashion of the Overland Trail Generation travellers was very noticeable, the fashion of Contemporary Backpackers is every bit as specific and continues to serve as a status symbol amongst travellers. Author Franz Wisner described the backpacker 'dress code' of the mid-2000s brilliantly:

> They cringe at the thought, but Packer wear is more uniform than military dress whites. Tevas or other rubber-soled sandals are the base. Add socks if you're German. Cargo pants or zip-off Gore-Tex trousers are next. Orange and purple for Europeans, black and blue for the Americans. T-shirts … are obligatory. Five points if the shirt displays the logo of an obscure product or outdated television show … Ten points for advertising an organisation that cares. Anything with "Save our…" or "Concerned Citizens…" will do. Bonus round for shirts promoting a remote destination inaccessible to the tour buses: "The Mystic Mayan Mines of Myanmar."[98]

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[92] Russell R. Currie, Tamara Campbell-Trant and Sheilagh Seaton, 'Joining the in-crowd: symbols for backpacker identity', *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2011), 48.
[93] Jenny Diski, *The Sixties* (London: Profile Books LTD, 2009), 13-14.
[94] David Tomory, interview with author, via email, February 26, 2016.
[95] Turner and Ash, *The Golden Hordes*, 132.
[96] Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours*, 130.
[97] Abigayle Carmody, quoted in Agnieszka Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours: Australians In Asia* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2014), 129-130.
[98] Wisner, *Honeymoon with My Brother*, 141.

Saldana (2002), in his study of the rave culture in Goa, also described the fashion of a specific subculture of travellers – ravers at dance parties on Goan beaches:

> The hard core of Goa ravers have their own postmodern fashion, which is something in between acidhouse, skate and hippie: fluorescent, brightly coloured, tie-dye textiles; images of psychedelia, comics and Eastern culture; lots of zips and pockets and plastic; piercings, tattoos, dreadlocks, shaven heads, hats, beads, bare feet, anklets; and last but not least, huge groovy sunglasses. Not that everyone dresses like this; it's a very heterogeneous scene. Still, you can easily judge from the freakiness of clothing who's a proper freak and who's merely *en passant*.[99]

What is notable here, is the hierarchy amongst travellers based on their dress sense. 'Proper freaks' sit higher up on the Goa rave culture hierarchy than regular travellers who are just passing through and experiencing a Goa rave as part of a larger trip. As stated in earlier chapters, many Overland Trail Generation interviewees identified as 'Goa Freaks' and made a point of differentiating themselves from other, regular travellers. The following innocent sentence by author and 'Goa Freak' Cleo Odzer, reveals a lot: "As the season progressed, the hippies, backpackers, and tourists began to leave, and the Goa Freaks who still had money began to run low."[100]

4.4: Dressing in local clothing to display status:

Dressing in local clothing in order to identify with locals (or to be seen to be doing so in the eyes of other backpackers) is also quite common. Muzaini (2006), interviewed several backpackers who claimed to wear local clothing such as Thai fishermen pants in order to identify with locals.[101] However, as explained by 'Rozie' (interviewed by Muzaini), the more that backpackers try to look like locals, the more they end up looking like foreigners.[102]

4.5: Suntans:

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[99] Arun Saldanha, 'Music tourism and factions of bodies in Goa', *Tourist Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2002), 52.
[100] Odzer, *Goa Freaks*, 293.
[101] Hamzah Muzaini, 'Backpacking Southeast Asia: Strategies of "Looking Local", *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (2006), 153.
[102] Ibid.

Saldana described the suntan as the embodiment of subcultural capital.[103] Suntans do not happen overnight and therefore are viewed as visual proof that a traveller has been on the road for an extended period. Suntans as a sign of status are not a new phenomenon however. Since the 1920s, suntans have been a sign of middle class affluence, carried back home as a trophy after a holiday.[104] As explained by Turner and Ash (1975), "Suntan is in every sense a cult with its own obsessive ritual, its sacrifices, its specialised costume and implements."[105]

4.6: Storytelling:

As explained by Noy (2004), storytelling occurs during and after a trip, with both backpacking veterans and would-be backpackers.[106] Noy explained that part of the travelling experience involved narrating travel stories to other would-be backpackers at home, after one's trip has finished.[107] Binder (2004) noted that backpacking gave travellers a sense of being a star for people back home and having something to talk about and show off about.[108] However, a vital key to the value of travel as a form of social capital, is the audience – and whether or not they see the value in travel. As explained by Desforges (1998), "The audience is central to the transformation of travel into cultural capital, setting the terms of the narrative travellers can use to recount their trip."[109] Contemporary Backpacker interviewee Jenny Wren described the different attitudes of her friends at home in Britain and their views on her travelling:

> Yeah well most of my friends would never like to go backpacking because they're very materialistic and settling down and getting married and stuff. So I think they think "Well done, we're proud of you for going off and being brave" and that kind of thing, but I don't think they envy me really, because they wouldn't choose to do it if they could. But then, yeah of course a few of my other friends say "Oh wow, I'm really jealous. I wish I would be doing that." But people are very tied down at work.[110]

5.1: Conclusion:

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[103] Saldana, 'Music tourism and factions of bodies in Goa', 52.
[104] Turner and Ash, *The Golden Hordes*, 78-81.
[105] Ibid., 81.
[106] Noy, 'This Trip Really Changed Me', 81.
[107] Ibid., 95.
[108] Binder, 'The Whole Point of Backpacking', in Richards and Wilson (eds.), *The Global Nomad*, 105-106.
[109] Desforges, 'Checking Out The Planet', in Skelton and Valentine (eds.), *Cool Places*, 189.
[110] Jenny Wren, interview with author, McLeod Ganj, India, May 14, 2016.

In conclusion, status has certainly remained a travel motivation for independent budget travellers, with interviewees from both the Overland Trail Generation and Contemporary Backpacker sample groups travelling to increase their status. Status as an achievement earned through travel however, depends entirely upon the audience of the traveller, with one's peers, one's society and one's fellow travellers all viewing and judging the level of achievement, and consequently the level of prestige earned, differently. While travel generally earns one status within middle class Western society, normally only independent travel will increase one's status in the view of other independent travellers. Travel specifically to India however, was usually seen to increase one's status – by fellow travellers, peers back home and society in general, due to the perceived difficulties and annoyances experienced by travellers in the Indian Subcontinent. In both the Overland Trail era and the present era, independent travellers have viewed India as the 'jewel in the crown' of authentic travel destinations, with a trip to India being worn as a badge of honour, and flaunted in the presence of other travellers and non-travellers alike. Overland Trail Generation interviewee Tom Grunfeld described this achievement concisely: "I feel that I experienced something unique. I feel as I accomplished something difficult."[111]

Richard Gregory, who travelled during the Overland Trail era explained, "For me, it was challenging, liberating, educational, fun, sometimes tough, a rite-of-passage experience that remains vivid to this day. I went out a boy and came back a man. Sort of. I'm certainly glad I did it."[112] Similarly, Contemporary Backpacker interviewee Aiden Doran, commented, "I try not to get into hierarchy of travelling or whose doing better, and you do come across that a lot and people seem to think the more you rough it the better you are, but I suppose it does add merit and it's great just to be able to say to yourself "I did that, unaided", albeit with the use of wifi and internet."[113] Both of these travellers (and others) emphasized the responsibilities involved in undertaking an independent journey to India, and that they had 'earned their stripes' by making the journey, indicating that status, as a travel motivation was and still is alive and well amongst the Overland Trail Generation and contemporary backpackers alike.

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[111] Tom Grunfeld, interview with author, via email, February 3, 2017.
[112] Richard Gregory, 'The Hippie Trail 1974 – The Journey Home', http://www.richardgregory.org.uk/history/hippie-trail-07.htm, accessed on 1 October 2016.
[113] Aidan Doran, interview with author, Palolem, Goa, India, April 14, 2016.

CHAPTER 10:
FAMILIARITY

1.1: Introduction:

The final major motivation for travel to India and Nepal during the 1960s and 1970s, and one which has continued into the modern era, is familiarity with the Indian Subcontinent – particularly for travellers from Britain and British Commonwealth countries. This familiarity, still prevalent among contemporary backpackers visiting India, originates from many sources, including transnational links between Britain and India during the British Colonial era, modern cultural links between Britain and its former colonies, Catholicism in Goa, and potential travellers studying India at university, visualising India through film, and becoming familiar with India through the stories of other travellers.

As discussed more extensively in Chapter 1, Section 2.5, while familiarity as a motivation may seem closely related to 'The Lure of the East', the two are actually polar opposites of each other. The Lure of the East refers to that making India different from the West, and familiarity refers to the shared commonalities between India and the West.

2.1: Connections between India and Britain:

As explained by interviewee and author Tony Wheeler: "India had had a long history with England so there was no question that living in England you knew something about India. And of course the Beatles were there and Indian music. I'd heard Ravi Shankar play, and [so] India was fashionable."[1]

[1] Tony Wheeler, interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, January 27, 2014.

The transnational links between Britain and India through the British Colonial Era proved and still prove, to be positive practical considerations for many would be travellers. As explained by Korpela (2010), "India is a popular travel destination nowadays partly because of its colonial past, as a result of which, among other things, English is widely spoken and the railway network is extensive."[2]

Numerous authors and Overland Trail Generation interviewees noted the links between Britain and India, explaining that these links made them somewhat familiar with India. Author Basil Jay explained that he definitely had an idea about India through the British connection,[3] while interviewee and author John Worrall explained that he presumed his sense of familiarity with India was because of the British Commonwealth link.[4]

Overland Trail Generation travellers often noticed and commented on the similarities between the Indian Subcontinent and their Commonwealth homelands upon arrival on the Indian Subcontinent. Colin Middleton (interviewed by Tomory), wrote in his diary upon entering Pakistan: "A British feel to Peshawar. Cricket bats, English cars, street signs … Captain Somebody, Psychiatrist; Captain Somebody Else, Dental Surgeon. Very old packets of Gold Leaf cigarettes. Like being taken back in time. Very strange."[5] These similarities however, were incidental conveniences rather than actual travel motivations, and should not be confused as such. Author Ronald Ritter however, specifically noted that he was excited by experiencing the history of the British Raj in Darjeeling, explaining: "I had high expectations as history tells me the aristocratic English spent their Indian summers in relative coolness while the rest of the masses suffered in the extreme heat. There were so many tales of the British Raj which delighted and excited the hippie traveler."[6]

Contemporary Backpacker Aidan Doran, of Ireland, explained that he 'bought in' to the shared culture between Britain and India due to his exposure to Britain through its

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[2] Mari Korpela, 'A Postcolonial Imagination? Westerners Searching for Authenticity in India', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 8 (2010), 1300.
[3] Basil Jay, *65 Days To Delhi: An Incredible Journey* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2012), 536-537.
[4] John Worrall, 'Chapter 12: Death In The Afternoon', in *Travelling for Beginners: To Kathmandu in '72* (Amazon/Kindle: 2012), [no page numbers].
[5] Colin Middleton Diary, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 46.
[6] Ronald Ritter and Sussan Evermore, 'On The Train to Darjeeling', in *The Hippie Traveler Finding The Little Buddha* (self published on Kindle, 2016), [no page numbers].

shared culture with Ireland, and that this was a factor in his decision to travel to India. He noted, "particularly from my part of the world where you're exposed to a lot of the UK media and obviously there's a big history there with India so it's very much romanticised with that sort of media coming over, and so I kind of bought into it so I've always wanted to come here and here I am."[7]

2.2: Familiarity with British Colonial India:

Numerous Overland Trail Generation travellers' wanted to visit places where their parents or grandparents had worked. Janet Macleod Trotter (interviewed by Holt) explained: "I always had a romantic notion of going to India because my grandparents had worked there in the 1920s and 1930s. My grandfather worked for the Indian Forestry Service and they lived out in Northern India and the Punjab. My grandmother went out to marry him in Lahore [now in Pakistan] and I wanted to go and see where they had been married."[8]

Interviewee Michael Mayers explained that his father had served in India in the military and that he therefore had knowledge about the region.[9] Mayers' family had a history of military men serving in India, and his familiarity with the country during his upbringing is obvious: "My father served in the army in India, so did my uncles and father in law. Their views were totally non-political, very Kipling, lots of his poems and sayings were quoted when they talked about India. Also they had lots of respect for the North West Frontier tribes."[10] David Tomory had also become familiar with India as a child through his family. He summarised: "I had three generations of family experience, as it were: my father told me stories. He'd spent his first few years there. I knew some Indian history, especially of the Independence struggle; I knew my Kipling, and some Indian writing."[11]

Like Tomory, interviewee Bruce Hamilton also reflected favourably on the India he had learned about in his childhood through his family, explaining that his mother was

[7] Aidan Doran, interview with author, Palolem, Goa, India, April 14, 2016.
[8] Janet Macleod Trotter, quoted in Pauline Holt, 'Looking back at the Hippie Trail', *Sunday Sun*, [Newcastle-upon-Tyne (UK)], 23 September, 2007, 38.
[9] Michael Mayers, interview with author, via email, July 4, 2014.
[10] Ibid.
[11] David Tomory, interview with author, via email, February 26, 2016.

born in India and that he felt a kindred Colonial connection existed.[12] He elaborated: "It's a nostalgic thing I suppose, to the days of the Raj, and my grandfather was there running a tea plantation in Assam, and his father in law was in the Assam Light Horse."[13]

While the familiarity with India and subsequent interest in the country from the Overland Trail Generation is to be expected, a number of Contemporary Backpacker interviewees also emphasized their familiarity with India due to family connections from the Colonial era – despite the fact that a generation had passed since the Overland Trail Generation had expressed similar sentiments. A number of these interviewees discussed their grandparents time in India: Yasmin Gill-Carey emphasized that she wanted to see India because her grandmother was born in India.[14] Karsten Provan also explained that his grandparents had lived in India during the 1940s and 1950s.[15]

While family connections from the Colonial Era were quite common for Overland Trail Generation travellers, others were attracted to the novelty of various romanticised remnants from the Colonial Era. Interviewee Bruce Hamilton explained that he loved the Colonial train system and the British infrastructure of India: "Yeah, it was that traditional colonial stuff, and I loved things like the train system and stuff like that. You've got the old locomotives and stuff over there which I think is fantastic. And stuff that's built by the British, and bridges and stuff."[16] He also stated that he liked how the Indians were 'more British than the British' and really wanted to speak English with travellers.[17] He noted, "Some of the old [Indian] gentlemen with their walrus moustaches and that, it could be old British gentlemen."[18]

2.3: Cultural connections between India and the British Commonwealth:

Familiarity with everyday aspects of life was also prevalent for Overland Trail Generation travellers from Britain and British Commonwealth countries. Some major similarities between India and Commonwealth countries included a common language,

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[12] Bruce Hamilton, interview with author, Bega, New South Wales, August 11, 2015.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Yasmin Gill-Carey, interview with author, Agra, India, April 19, 2016.
[15] Karsten Provan, interview with author, Sauraha, Chitwan National Park, Nepal, April 30, 2016.
[16] Hamilton, interview with author.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.

driving on the left hand side of the road, cricket, the availability of British food in India, and Indian food in Britain itself. Interviewee Kevin Platts described some of the similarities: "The British connection with India, which did make things a lot easier in India in the sense that many people spoke English … You'd even stop at a railway café and get cutlets and potatoes and things like that. It was quite strange."[19] Tony Wheeler even described Indian food as a British national cuisine even back in the Overland Trail era.[20]

In contrast, interviewee Swami Shankarananda, originally from the United States, but now living in Australia, described the connections Australia shared with India and how the United States did not have this same shared connection:

> It's become clear to me, having spent a long time in Australia, that Australia was always much closer to India, partly because of the British Empire, and also cricket. Australians were aware that the Australian cricket team played in India and the Indian cricket team came here to play. But in the US we have almost no connection, because there's no shared vocabulary like cricket.[21]

2.4: Cricket:

As a shared bond between the people of the countries of the Indian Subcontinent and the British Commonwealth, cricket has been discussed by travellers from the Overland Trail Generation and the modern era alike. Interviewee and author David Lovejoy explained, "India was much closer culturally than the countries we travelled through like Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. I remember demonstrating a cricket shot to an appreciative Indian customs officer in Amritsar."[22]

In the modern era, the cricket connection between the Indian Subcontinent and other countries of the British Commonwealth is still prevalent. Author Peter Moore, who undertook the journey in the mid-1990s, wrote extensively about the local obsession with high profile Australian cricketer David Boon, who had just retired from cricket at the time of Moore's trip, explaining that whenever someone established that he (Moore)

[19] Kevin Platts, interview with author, Mornington, Victoria, June 23, 2015.
[20] Tony Wheeler, interview with author, via email, February 29, 2016.
[21] Swami Shankarananda, interview with author, Mount Eliza, Victoria, March 1, 2016.
[22] David Lovejoy, interview with author, via email, June 29, 2015.

was Australian, David Boon would be the topic of conversation.[23] Similarly, authors Brian Rix and Shirley Hardy-Rix, who travelled the same route by motorcycle in 2003, experienced the same obsession with then Australian cricket captain Ricky Ponting. Hardy-Rix explained, "When you mention Australia to a cricket fan in Pakistan, their reply is just two words: 'Ricky Ponting'. They love him. The bond of sport breaks down barriers."[24] The present author (Grant Szuveges) also experienced the shared 'cricket connection' when travelling through India and Nepal in 2005. That trip coincided with 'The Ashes' cricket series – the biannual series of matches played between England and Australia. During that trip, the matches were on television throughout both countries with backpackers from Australia, Britain and New Zealand often taking a keen interest. Despite this strong 'cricket connection', none of the Contemporary Backpacker interviewees interviewed for this particular project mentioned cricket when discussing possible familiarity with India.

2.5: Enfield motorcycles:

While cricket linked India with citizens of British Commonwealth countries, many interests and pastimes common throughout the world could also be explored in India, often with a uniquely Indian version available. For example, motorcycle enthusiasts are generally familiar with Enfield Motorcycles, which are prevalent in India and are a well-known legacy of the British Colonial Era. Power and Berenato (2004/2005) briefly explained their history:

> It's a bike of British design, a two-wheel tank that during colonial times was imported from England. In the 1950s, a factory opened in Chennai (also known as Madras), and Enfield's engineers decided to stick with a proven thing. For more than 30 years, they barely changed a bolt on the machine, churning thousands of near-identical Enfields off their assembly line, year after year … The advantage of such continuity is having thousands of mechanics across the country who know how to fix almost any problem that arises.[25]

Travelling through India and Nepal on an Enfield is a relatively popular alternative to travelling on trains or flying, although no interviewees from the Contemporary

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[23] Peter Moore, *The Wrong Way Home: London to Sydney the Hard Way* (Great Britain: Bantam, 1999), 178-180.
[24] Shirley Hardy-Rix, in Shirley Hardy-Rix and Brian Rix, *Two for the Road: 56,671km, 27 countries, one dream* (Sydney: Macmillan, 2005), 178-179.
[25] Matthew Power and Thomas Berenato, 'Lost Highway of the Himalaya', *National Geographic Adventure*, Vol. 6, No. 10 (Dec 2004/Jan 2005), 1.

Backpacker Sample Group in this particular project were using this mode of transport predominantly. Author Brian Rix, a keen motorcycle enthusiast even purchased a 1966 535 Enfield in Delhi in 2003, while travelling in India, and had it shipped home to Australia.[26]

2.6: British cuisine in India and Nepal:

Traditional British food such as porridge is common in India and Nepal and can be ordered in restaurants throughout both countries. Kathmandu was particularly well known for its Western cuisine – especially its pies. Liechty (2005), explained:

> For a lot of visitors, food and restaurants were some of the most notable and memorable parts of their Nepal experience. Just one example comes from a journal entry from November 1968 that a British visitor has posted on his personal web page … Having gotten off the bus from London he raves about how he went to the Camp Hotel Café and had steak and chips for the first time since leaving England four months earlier. Later he wandered down to Pig Alley and gorged himself on apple and apricot pie.[27]

The Jomsom Trek in the Nepalese Himalayas is often referred to as the 'Apple Pie Trail' due to sleeping huts along the route serving apple pie – another traditionally British dish.[28] In reference to this type of comfort and familiarity, author Jack Parkinson explained that, "For an alleged wild frontier, Himalayan travel has some very homely touches."[29] Another culinary legacy of the British Raj is 'high tea', as emphasized by modern author Trisha Bernard, who took high tea in Udaipur, Rajasthan.[30]

2.7: British houseboats of Kashmir:

An additional well-known legacy of the British Colonial era which have become a tourist attraction are the houseboats of Srinagar, Kashmir. As explained by Power and Berenato (2004/2005):

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[26] Shirley Hardy-Rix and Brian Rix, *Two for the Road: 56,671km, 27 countries, one dream* (Sydney: Macmillan, 2005), 240-242.
[27] Mark Liechty, 'Building the Road to Kathmandu: Notes on the History of Tourism in Nepal', *Himalaya, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2005), 23.
[28] Bradley Mayhew, Lindsay Brown and Wanda Vivequin, *Nepal* (6th edn., Hong Kong: Lonely Planet Publications Pty Ltd, 2003), 316.
[29] Jack Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven: Rites of Way on the Overland Route* (Port Melbourne: Government of South Australia through Arts South Australia, 2001), 171.
[30] Trisha Bernard, *With the Kama Sutra Under My Arm: My Madcap Misadventures Across India* (New York: Sterling, 2008), 232.

> During the 19th century, the local ruler forbade the British from owning property in Srinagar, so they came upon a very British solution: They built hundreds of beautiful, ornately carved Victorian houseboats in the middle of the lake, with floating gardens alongside, and had themselves paddled about in elegant gondolas called shikaras. The boats are the city's biggest attraction.[31]

Kashmir itself had been romanticised by the British since the 1800s,[32] with the British considering the Vale of Kashmir to be the 'jewel in the crown' of their empire.[33] Several interviewees from both the Overland Trail Generation and Contemporary Backpacker sample groups were familiar with Kashmir and several included it as part of their itineraries, some staying in the aforementioned houseboats.

3.1: Familiarity with contemporary India through film:

In the contemporary era, films also attract audiences to particular places. India's film industry is the largest in the world, and as explained by Hannam and Diekmann (2011), many Westerners first experience India through film.[34] In the modern era, Indian films portray an accurate snapshot of everyday life in India, with Westerners becoming familiar with India through the big screen. For example, *Lion* (2016), set largely in Kolkata, provides realistic visual images of life in India.[35]

4.1: Familiarity with, and connections with Portuguese Goa:

While the British legacy in India provided familiarity to travellers from the British Commonwealth, as explained by Wilson (1997) the Portuguese legacy in Goa provided a sense of familiarity to Europeans.[36] Familiarity of religion existed in Goa, a Christian enclave, despite many travellers having rejected Christianity for Eastern faiths. As David Williams (interviewed by Tomory) recalled, Goa had been in Portuguese hands and had a Western culture which welcomed the hippies.[37] This is also ironic because of

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[31] Power and Berenato, 'Lost Highway of the Himalaya', 2.
[32] Rafiq Ahmad, 'Orientalist imaginaries of travels in Kashmir: Western representations of the place and people', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (2011), 173; Power and Berenato, 'Lost Highway of the Himalaya', 2.
[33] Power and Berenato, 'Lost Highway of the Himalaya', 2.
[34] Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann, *Tourism And India: A Critical Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 36.
[35] Garth Davis (dir.), *Lion* (The Weinstein Company, 2016).
[36] David Wilson, 'Paradoxes Of Tourism In Goa', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (1997), 56.
[37] David Williams, quoted in David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 124.

how unwelcome they had become in some parts of the West. Interviewee Nanette Schapel explained that arriving in Goa for Christmas was important to many travellers, who celebrated Christmas with beach parties and falling asleep naked on the beach under the stars.[38] This amusing anecdote ironically combines Christianity, nudity and collective tourism in an exotic location!

Author Jack Parkinson described arriving in Goa as like arriving among friends, due to meeting other travellers he had met earlier on the trail and the ease with which he met others in Goa itself.[39] He described the daily routine:

> There were arrivals and departures most days, and each morning, eight or ten people would linger over a communal breakfast of homemade jams and crusty bread to discuss the day's agenda. Impromptu groups were formed on the spot to pursue favourite activities. The beach, the markets, a visit to the Portuguese cathedral or another of the local sights, or sometimes simply a hammock and a good book under a shady tree in the garden were the best possibilities on any given day.[40]

Parkinson's description of the lifestyle of travellers in Goa demonstrates Goa's role as a major traveller enclave. Like all major traveller enclaves, those travelling along the Overland Trail were familiar with it, even before travelling there. As explained by Tomory, "At first Goa was a place people stopped into for Christmas, for relief from the rigours of travel. Then it was settled, and as a resort settlement like, for instance, St Tropez, it acquired A Season."[41]

5.1: Familiarity with India through the 'traveller grapevine':

Familiarity with locations such as Goa, and other popular parts of India, whether formerly under British control or not, was often the result of the 'traveller grapevine'. As explained by Sobocinska (2014), "As the first-hand accounts of trusted friends or relatives, travel stories are often taken as trustworthy sources of information about foreign places and people."[42] These stories spread quickly between travellers and would

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[38] Nanette Schapel, interview with author, Melbourne, Victoria, February 22, 2014.
[39] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippie Heaven*, 222-223.
[40] Ibid.
[41] David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996), 140.
[42] Agnieszka Sobocinska, *Visiting The Neighbours: Australians In Asia* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2014), 8.

be travellers through the 'traveller grapevine' via email, Facebook, letters, postcards, video footage, discussion at dinner parties etcetera.[43]

Only the mediums for spreading travel stories have changed since the days of the Overland Trail. While email and social media are common mediums for travellers to 'educate' others about the countries they visit in the contemporary era, this 'education' was given through slide nights in the days of the Overland Trail. Slide nights showing one's travel photos were a normal part of Australian middle class life in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s and Australians became familiar with Asia through watching their friends slides and listening to their travel stories.[44] In the contemporary era, the speed with which the travel experience is relayed to those back home has accelerated. As explained by Paris (2010), due to modern technology backpackers are now immersed in multiple networks simultaneously: "Backpackers have fully adapted the new communication tools into their travel activities, thus giving rise to a new virtual mobility. Travellers can now be in two places at once, their physical location either at home or on the road, and the virtual location."[45] While Paris focuses primarily on the traveller and their ability to broadcast their experiences, his comment also demonstrates how this modern method of sharing experiences exposes the audience to a destination no less than slides at a 1970s slide night would have.

Familiarity with a location through the 'traveller grapevine' has been examined in previous studies of backpackers also. Murphy (2000), in her 1995 study of backpackers in Australia, found that the most important information source about the destination for her sample group of travellers to respond to her questionnaire, were people who had travelled to the country previously, with 'word of mouth' recommendations listed as an information source by 89.5% of respondents. Information from guidebooks was listed by 70.6% of respondents, and general knowledge was listed by 67%.[46] Respondents to Murphy's survey were asked to rank categories (of information sources) in importance out of 5, and recommendations from other travellers scored the highest average in

[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid., 100.
[45] Cody Paris, 'The Virtualization of Backpacker Culture: Virtual Mooring, Sustained Interactions and Enhanced Mobilities', in Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann (eds.), *Beyond Backpacker Tourism: Mobilities and Experiences* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010), 43.
[46] Laurie Murphy, 'Australia's Image as a Holiday Destination – Perceptions of Backpacker Visitors', *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (2000), 32-33.

importance, scoring a 4.3/5 average – clearly the highest average amongst all 12 categories to choose from.[47]

Murphy's study also brings to attention another form of familiarity with a country: While only 25.5% of respondents to her questionnaire ticked the category 'Previous travel to the country', respondents on average rated this category 4/5. This category is particularly important when discussing India as a travel destination, due to the large percentage of independent travellers who return to the country multiple times. As explained by Korpela (2010), some backpackers make travel to India a lifestyle and only return home to work and earn money to keep going back to India.[48] One such traveller is Contemporary Backpacker interviewee Bruce Scott, from Britain, who stated, "I've been coming since 1990, and yes, it's a lifestyle choice for me, and I love the culture in India, so I spend half of my time here and half of my time in the UK."[49] Travellers such as Scott often make others, such as family and friends familiar with India and Nepal through their stories and frequent trips.

Familiarity with India through the tales of other earlier travellers was rife in the 1960s and 1970s and has continued into the modern era. Liesches Muller (interviewed by Tomory) stated that Westerners travelled to India in the 1970s because those who had made the journey in the 1960s told them about it.[50] Muller's full quote can be found in Chapter 6, Section 9.1. Interviewee Bruce Thomas was also familiar with India but through the writings of earlier travellers. He noted, "As a schoolboy during the late 1950s/early 1960s I had read several books by people who had already made the journey and I resolved to do the same."[51]

6.1: Familiarity with India through the tourist industry:

Familiarity with any travel destination also comes from exposure to the tourist industry, and familiarity with India and Nepal during the days of the Overland Trail and in the modern era are no exception. In 2001 and 2002, tourists voted Nepal the second most popular country behind New Zealand in surveys conducted by UK based travel

[47] Ibid.
[48] Korpela, 'A Postcolonial Imagination?', 1301.
[49] Bruce Scott, interview with author, Delhi, India, April 11, 2016.
[50] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, 11-12.
[51] Bruce Thomas, interview with author, via email, June 3, 2016.

magazines and newspapers.[52] The fact that Nepal was voted into this position by travellers themselves (rather than by the tourist industry) gives the destination credibility in the eyes of independent travellers. Conversely, the 'pushing' of a destination by the travel industry or academics (rather than travellers themselves) does not necessarily give a destination the same credibility. The following example, from *Development of Tourism in India* by Hanumanthu Lajipathi Rai (1993), describing 'similarities' between the United States and India is almost comical in the eyes of travellers:

> North American clients will find themselves unexpectedly at home in India: they share a common language and a common passion for democracy and free discussion that erases much of the strangeness. The hospitality and humour of the people is very homelike indeed, and care and preparation, the combination of the familiar and exotic should make India a prime destination.[53]

While the statement may be technically true regarding the common language and common passion for democracy, it fails to recognise that these factors are not necessarily what potential tourists are seeking from a destination. Swami Shankarananda's quote from Section 2.3 of this chapter about the lack of familiarity with Indian culture in the United States when compared with Australia's shared culture with India demonstrates more viable and tangible forms of familiarity which are felt by tourists in everyday situations when travelling. While Shankaranda's quote is based on his lived experiences in Australia, India and the United States, the quote from Lajipathi Rai appears to be 'wishful thinking'.

7.1: Lack of familiarity with India:

While familiarity with various aspects of Indian or Nepalese culture was, and still is, common for travellers travelling to the Indian Subcontinent, it was far from universal. While some travellers knew much about India's colonial legacy, shared culture with Commonwealth countries or what it offered as a destination, others knew very little, yet still made the journey anyway. One such traveller was Overland Trail Generation interviewee Tom Grunfeld, who explained, "Not only did I not have any experience with any of the countries that I travelled through but I probably could not

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[52] Brijesh Thapa, 'Tourism in Nepal', *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, Vol. 15, No. 2-3 (2004) 133-134.
[53] Hanumanthu Lajipathi Rai, *Development Of Tourism In India* (Jaipur: Printwell, 1993), 65-66.

place them on a map if asked to. Nor had I ever met anyone from any of these countries."[54]

8.1: Conclusion:

Familiarity with the destination, like all motivating factors influencing travellers to travel the Overland Trail to India and/or Nepal was not universal, and was a more heavily motivating factor for some travellers than for others. While motivating factors such as disillusionment with the West or the lure of the East attracted travellers based on their level of interest or identification with the counterculture, and motivations such as transit attracted travellers based on their final destinations, familiarity as a travel motivation was generally present in travellers depending on where they originated from. Travellers from Britain, Australia and New Zealand were far more likely to have felt a sense of familiarity based on British cultural connections with India and Britain's colonial legacy in India, than travellers from other parts of the West.

While familiarity has remained a travel motivation for those who travel independently to India and Nepal, there appears to be no apparent change in the level of exposure to India displayed between the Overland Trail Generation and contemporary backpackers. The type of familiarity with India has also remained consistent across the generations of travellers: Travellers from British Commonwealth countries are still familiar with the links between India and Britain. Contemporary travellers still have exposure to India through film, food, cricket, written publications and the travel industry. Familiarity through word of mouth is equally prevalent amongst contemporary travellers as it was during the Overland Trail days. The means of communication have changed though. The rise of information technology and of social media in particular, have exposed potential travellers to aspects of India and Indian culture more rapidly. 'Word of mouth' is spreading faster than ever before. However, while the Overland Trail Generation did not receive instant updates from those travelling in India through social media, they still received equivalent updates (albeit at a slower pace) via letters, postcards, slide nights, information boards in traveller enclaves and actual 'word of mouth' conversations.

[54] Tom Grunfeld, interview with author, via email, February 3, 2017.

CHAPTER 11:
CONCLUSION

1.1: Introduction:

As demonstrated through the chapters of this thesis, the travel motivations of those who undertook the Overland Hippie Trail during the 1960s and 1970s can be divided into six basic yet not entirely exclusive categories: Disillusionment with the West, the Lure of the East, Transit, Adventure, Status and Familiarity. Overlap between these six core categories was frequent with travellers identifying regularly with multiple categories. While two of these categories: Disillusionment with the West and Intrigue with the East formed the basis of a widespread collective narrative, the other four categories of travel motivation were equally valid yet far less widely acknowledged. Travel undertaken for transit, adventure, status and out of a familiarity with India was equally common as travel undertaken due to push and pull factors from the West and East respectively.

2: Main findings of this thesis:

2.1: Major similarities and differences between the travel motivations of Overland Trail Generation travellers and contemporary backpackers:

Contemporary backpackers travelling in India and Nepal in the 2010s share five of these six travel motivations with their 1960s and 1970s counterparts. While transit between Europe and Australasia is no longer a reason for contemporary backpackers to travel to the Indian Subcontinent, backpackers continue to travel to India and Nepal out of disillusionment with their home societies in the West, because they are interested in the East, because they seek adventure and increased status, and due to familiarity with the region.

While contemporary backpackers and travellers from the Overland Trail Generation travelling to India and Nepal share five of the same travel motivations, their reasons for these motivations are not necessarily the same, and in some cases, are far from similar! While travel for adventure, increased social status, or familiarity with the region has not changed greatly between the two groups, the sources of contemporary backpackers' disillusionment with the West and their intrigue with the East have changed over the past forty to fifty years.

While the Overland Trail Generation were often disillusioned with Western politics, contemporary backpackers are not so disillusioned with politics. Both groups however, were disillusioned with Western lifestyles, and both travelled to India to experience alternatives.

Similarly, and unsurprisingly, both groups felt intrigued by the East, with most travellers in both groups citing the Lure of the East as a travel motivation. On closer inspection however, the sources of this intrigue are slightly different between the two groups, with the groups interested in different aspects of India. The Overland Trail Generation were interested in virtually any aspect of the 'mystic East', whereas the contemporary backpackers find more specific aspects of the East interesting. For example, numerous interviewees from the Contemporary Backpacker group of interviewees cited yoga teachers training as a lure of India, whereas this was not an option for the Overland Trail Generation. Not one of the Contemporary Backpacker group however, cited the search for a guru as a travel motivation, yet this was a relatively normal motivation for the Overland Trail Generation interviewees.

The Overland Trail Generation also appear to have been far more heavily influenced by celebrities than their contemporary backpacking counterparts. When the Contemporary Backpacking group did cite the influence of celebrities, they usually cited the celebrities popular with the Overland Trail Generation, such as The Beatles, rather than contemporary names. Instead of following celebrities, the Contemporary Backpacker interviewees generally drew inspiration from family members who had travelled to India and Nepal – some of whom had travelled the Overland Hippie Trail when they were younger.

2.2: More similarities than differences:

While there are differences in the detail, the basic travel motivations of independent budget travellers travelling in India and Nepal, in both the Overland Hippie Trail era, and the contemporary 'modern backpacking' era, are similar. Contemporary travellers are equally disillusioned with the West as the Overland Trail Generation, and equally intrigued with the Indian Subcontinent. They also share the same sense of adventure as their Overland Trail Generation counterparts, the same goal of attaining higher status and similar levels of familiarity with the region.

The Overland Trail left an enduring legacy on the phenomenon of backpacking on the Indian Subcontinent. While backpacking has evolved rapidly throughout the world and continues to do so, backpacking on the Indian Subcontinent has not always moved in the same directions and followed the same trends as the wider backpacking phenomenon. After contrasting travel motivations, continuities endure regarding travelling on the Subcontinent across the two eras.

Backpackers in India and Nepal are far more similar to their Overland Trail era predecessors than others in other backpacking hotspots (such as Europe, South East Asia and Australasia) are to theirs. A sense of timelessness exists in the Indian backpacking scene, which is noticeable through the activities and outlooks of backpackers travelling there in the contemporary era.

3.1: Contributions to academic knowledge provided by this thesis:

As explained in Chapter 1, Section 3.1, this thesis has addressed several gaps in the study of the Overland Hippie Trail and of contemporary backpacking on the Indian Subcontinent:

3.2: A truly transnational study:

Firstly, a critical non-romanticised academic of the history of the Overland Hippie Trail *in its entirety*, and from a transnational perspective, has yet to be published. The closest so far is Gemie and Ireland's 2017 British-centric account.[1] This thesis provides

[1] Sharif Gemie and Brian Ireland, *The Hippie Trail: A History, 1957-78* (Manchaster: Manchester University Press, 2017).

an important, new *transnational lens* from which to view this transnational social phenomenon. Unlike Gemie and Ireland's account, this thesis gives equal attention to travellers travelling to India from Australasia as well those travelling East from Britain and Europe.

3.3: A study of the unique travel subculture on the Indian Subcontinent:

Secondly, a critical academic oral history comparing the Overland Hippie Trail with contemporary backpacking *specifically on the Indian Subcontinent* and *focusing specifically on their travel motivations* has yet to be written. The backpacking subculture in India is unique, and unlike any other around the world. The uniqueness of this scene (based on who is *not* travelling there) makes backpacking on the Indian Subcontinent different. While studies have analysed backpacker motivations, there have been none focusing specifically on the motivations of backpackers in India and Nepal. While Gemie and Ireland (2017), and Tomory (1996) have analysed the travel motivations of *some* of the travellers travelling the Overland Hippie Trail, their study does not compare their motivations with those of contemporary travellers.[2] This thesis aims to add this contrast and comparison to the existing academic knowledge.

3.4: An intergenerational study:

Thirdly, no *thorough study* has compared and contrasted the travel motivations of different generations of independent budget travellers specifically in India and Nepal across a period of sixty years. This thesis provides the first such comparison with a snapshot of the travel motivations of 150 travellers (70 from the Overland Trail era, and 80 from the contemporary era).

4.1: Limitations of this thesis:

While this thesis adds valuable data to the limited academic knowledge of the Overland Hippie Trail and of contemporary backpacking on the Indian Subcontinent, it does have obvious limitations:

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[2] David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (London: Thorsons, 1996); Gemie and Ireland, *The Hippie Trail*.

4.2: An Australian based study:

Firstly, while this project was a transnational study, everybody involved in it, including myself as the researcher, my interviewees and all authors who have written about the Overland Hippie Trail or the backpacking phenomenon are all from *somewhere*. As an Australian, my research has been undertaken from an Australian perspective as well as from a transnational one. Subsequently, Australians have been overrepresented in this study. Native English speakers have also been overrepresented. A study undertaken by a native French speaker for example, and with primarily native French speaking interviewees may produce data with different results.

4.3: India's size makes a more thorough study difficult:

Secondly, India is a very large and diverse country and backpackers were interviewed in only four locations within India. Numerous other locations suitable for this type of research exist in India which could produce important findings. The findings from such research may not necessarily support the findings of this study. Being a smaller country, Nepal was covered more thoroughly than India. However, there are still other locations within Nepal which could also produce different findings to those of this study.

4.4: A small snapshot of travellers:

Finally, only 150 travellers were interviewed for this project: 70 from the Overland Trail era and 80 from the contemporary era. This very small data sample is a qualitative *snapshot* of travellers and their travel motivations rather than a largescale quantitative study with thousands of sets of data.

5.1: New discussion points and suggested areas of further study:

Hampton (2010) has pointed to a need for more comparative studies of backpackers across different regions of the world.[3] I agree. Moreover, I suggest future studies could

[3] Mark P. Hampton, 'Not Such a Rough or Lonely Planet? Backpacker Tourism: An Academic Journey', in Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann (eds.), *Beyond Backpacker Tourism: Mobilities and Experiences* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010), 19.

also compare backpackers across different eras as well as across different locations. More studies between travellers in the contemporary era and their 1960s/1970s counterparts in different parts of the world might produce interesting results – Australia and Western Europe could be suitable starting points. A study comparing backpackers of the 1990s with contemporary backpackers in post-communist Central Europe (Hungary, Czech Republic, Poland etcetera) would also produce fascinating results.

As I noted in Chapter 1, Section 6.2, while India attracts many backpackers, certain types of backpacker appear absent in India – namely Westerners who find the culture shock too daunting, as well as 'yob tourists' attracted to destinations with renowned drinking cultures. Studies comparing different types of backpackers with differing interests may uncover clues as to why particular types of backpacker visit particular locations. The results of such studies would assist tourism planning, particularly if a specific type of backpacker was sort after in a location.

Finally, studies comparing and contrasting India and Nepal with one another are a logical continuation of this project. For the purposes of this project I generally discussed India and Nepal as a collective unit – notably in contrast to the West. There are noticeable and important differences however between India and Nepal (both in relation to travel and more widely). A study of these differences could assist tourism planning in both countries. A comparison of national park tourism in the two countries may be a starting point. I touched upon this briefly. Sri Lanka might also be compared and contrasted with India and Nepal. Like India and Nepal, Sri Lanka has a thriving backpacker scene and enough comparable attractions to produce relevant and useful data. Its close proximity to India results in many travellers visiting both countries on the same trip. Being a very large and diverse country, studies comparing backpacking in different parts of India are also warranted. Travellers seek different experiences from different regions in India. For example, McLeod Ganj is known for spiritual pursuits, while Goa is known for its beaches and naturally attracts different types of travellers.

6.1: Final Conclusion:

In conclusion, the modern phenomenon of backpacking began with the Overland Hippie Trail to India and Nepal in the 1960s and 1970s. While backpacking is rapidly evolving elsewhere and has become a thoroughly mainstream pursuit, the culture of the

Overland Trail and its travellers has lived on in India and Nepal as contemporary-era backpackers follow in the footsteps of their Overland Trail Generation predecessors.

APPENDIX ONE: INTERVIEWS

Overland Trail Generation interviews:

‘Adele’, via email, February 13, 2014.
‘Adrian’, Melbourne, Victoria, February 5, 2014.
‘Adrian’, Melbourne, Victoria, February 23, 2016.
Albero, Giuseppe, via email, August 16, 2015.
Anonymous, Malmsbury, Victoria, March 24, 2014.
Anonymous, Malmsbury, Victoria, February 8, 2016.
Atlas, Deena, via email, June 18, 2014.
Atlas, Deena, via email, May 5, 2015.
Attrill, Alex, Melbourne, Victoria, February 4, 2014.
Barrett, Dave, via email, December 6, 2015.
‘Bill’, Apollo Bay, Victoria, July 9, 2014.
‘Bill’, Apollo Bay, Victoria, February 16, 2016.
Boehm, Steve, via email, July 23, 2015.
Buffry, Alun, via email, October 23, 2015.
Butcher, Rowland, via email, October 7, 2015.
Copeland, Alexandra, via email, July 7, 2014.
Copeland, Alexandra, via email, March 12, 2016.
Copeland, Leigh, via email, July 7, 2014.
Copeland, Leigh, via email, March 12, 2016.
Deering, Rod, Apollo Bay, Victoria, March 28, 2014.
Deering, Rod, Apollo Bay, Victoria, February 16, 2016.
Derrick, Paul, via email, March 15, 2014.
Derrick, Paul, via email, October 18, 2015.
Edwards, David, Melbourne, Victoria, May 4, 2015.
Fraser, Paul, via email, May 25, 2016.
Friedman, Robert, via Skype, July 1, 2014.
Friedman, Robert, via Skype, August 5, 2015.
Galet-Lalande, Remy, via phone, August 31, 2015.
Gardner-Brown, Susie, via email, May 17, 2015.
Glenn, Tom, via email, May 7, 2017.
‘Goa Girl’, via email, June 9, 2014.
‘Goa Girl’, via email, August 27, 2015.
Goddard, Brooks, via email, February 5, 2016.
Grunfeld, Tom, via email, February 3, 2017.
Hamilton, Bruce, Bega, New South Wales, August 11, 2015.
Josephine Hawkins, via email, March 26, 2014.

Josephine Hawkins, via email, May 20, 2015.
Hay, Debbie, Melbourne, Victoria, February 22, 2014.
Hay, Debbie, Melbourne, Victoria, February 27, 2016.
‘Jane’, Apollo Bay, Victoria, July 9, 2014.
‘Jane’, Apollo Bay, Victoria, February 16, 2016.
‘Jean’, via email, June 15, 2014.
‘Jean’, via email, July 5, 2015.
Kaplan, Alex, via email, September 11, 2016.
Kemp, Anna, Narooma, New South Wales, August 10, 2015.
Keynes, Peter, via email, March 5, 2014.
Keynes, Peter, via email, March 8, 2016.
Koller, Christopher, Melbourne, Victoria, January 30, 2014.
Koller, Christopher, Melbourne, Victoria, March 17, 2016.
Laleve, Clare, via email, August 4, 2015.
‘Laurie’, via email, June 27, 2014.
‘Laurie’, via email, February 4, 2016.
Lovejoy, David, via email, June 29, 2015.
Malderner, Chouchou, via email, June 24, 2014.
Mayers, Michael, via email, July 4, 2014.
Mayer, Michael, via email, July 23, 2015.
McKinley, Judith, Daylesford, Victoria, December 8, 2015.
‘Megan’, via email, June 16, 2014.
Mikkelsen, Sara, via email, May 27, 2015.
Milburn, Irene, via Skype, July 14, 2014.
Milburn, Irene, via Skype, October 23, 2015.
Miller, George, via email, Janurary 28, 2016.
Minaldi, Alberto, via email, September 7, 2015.
‘Motya’, Melbourne, Victoria, April 1, 2014.
‘Motya’, Melbourne, Victoria, January 28, 2016.
‘Phil’, Apollo Bay, Victoria, July 9, 2014.
‘Phil’, Apollo Bay, Victoria, February 16, 2016.
Platts, Kevin, Mornington, Victoria, June 23, 2015.
Platts, Maxine, Mornington, Victoria, June 23, 2015.
Polonyi, Dorothea, Bega, New South Wales, August 11, 2015.
Powley, Kate, via email, June 16, 2014.
Powley, Kate, via email, February 4, 2016.
Price, Rose, Melbourne, Victoria, February 12, 2014.
Price, Rose, Melbourne, Victoria, February 10, 2016.
Roodenburg, Hans, via email, February 21, 2014.
Roodenburg, Hans, via email, June 29, 2015.
Rosen, Judah, via Skype, May 6, 2015.
Schaeper, Karin, via email, August 16, 2015.
Schapel, Nanette, Melbourne, Victoria, February 22, 2014.
Schapel, Nanette, via phone, March 1, 2016.
Scott, Gus, via email, May 25, 2014.
Shankarananda, Swami, Mount Eliza, Victoria, February 12, 2014.
Shankarananda, Swami, Mount Eliza, Victoria, March 1, 2016.
Shechter, Alice, via email, January 29, 2017.
Smith, Deb, via email, March 4, 2014.
‘Stephania’, via email, May 28, 2014.

‘Stephania’, via email, May 22, 2015.
Thomas, Bruce, via email, June 3, 2016,
‘Tim’, via email, May 12, 2014.
‘Tim’, via email, February 25, 2016.
Tomory, David, via email, July 26, 2014.
Tomory, David, via email, February 26, 2016.
Tozzi, Mira, via email, August 3, 2015.
Van Boggelen-Heutink, Ellen, via email, May 29, 2017.
Wheeler, Tony, Melbourne, Victoria, January 27, 2014.
Wheeler, Tony, via email, February 29, 2016.
Whelan, Mick, via email, July 1, 2014.
Wonka, Kerry, via email, February 4, 2016.
Wood, Graeme, via email, December 15, 2015.
Worrall, John, via email, May 27, 2014.

Contemporary Backpacker interviews:

Anta, Paula, Palolem, Goa, India, April 16, 2016.
Arnaut, Veky, Pokhara, Nepal, May 2, 2016.
Baker, Alex, Panjim, Goa, India, April 13, 2016.
Be, Adrien, Sauraha, Chitwan National Park, Nepal, April 28, 2016.
‘Beatriz’, Palolem, Goa, India, April 15, 2016.
Brin, Julia, Sauraha, Chitwan National Park, Nepal, April 30, 2016.
Cadoux, Hannah, Delhi, India, April 11, 2016.
Chapman, Hannah, Kathmandu, Nepal, April 27, 2016.
Chapman, Lora, via email, April 11, 2016.
Clot, Valerie, McLeod Ganj, India, May 12, 2016.
Coles, Samantha, Palolem, Goa, India, April 14, 2016.
Cortoos, Karen, Palolem, Goa, India, April 16, 2016.
Crow-Willard, Emma, Delhi, India, April 25, 2016.
‘Daniel’, Kathmandu, Nepal, April 27, 2016.
Dennett, Sophie, Agra, India, April 19, 2016.
De Oliviera, Ana, Kathmandu, Nepal, April 26, 2016.
Doran, Aidan, Palolem, Goa, India, April 14, 2016.
Dorfling, Brian, McLeod Ganj, India, May 14, 2016.
Egan, Leah, Delhi, India, April 10, 2016.
Fairhurst, Kim, Agra, India, April 18, 2016.
‘Franco’, McLeod Ganj, India, May 13, 2016.
Gaddam, Siva, Jinudanda, Gandruk Loop Trek, Nepal, May 5, 2016.
Gerstner, Natasha, McLeod Ganj, India, May 12, 2016.
Gaillard, Lilian, McLeod Ganj, India, May 10, 2016.
Gill-Carey, Yasmin, Agra, India, April 19, 2016.
Gonthier-Blouin, Panjim, Goa, India, April 13, 2016.
Harmsworth, Catherine, Agra, India, April 18, 2016.
Hayward, Nicola, Landruk, Gandruk Loop Trek, Nepal, May 3, 2016.
Henchoz, Melanie, Delhi, India, April 24, 2016.
Hibbert, Abigail, Sauraha, Chitwan National Park, Nepal, April 29, 2016.
Holdrinet, Marie-Isabelle, Pokhara, Nepal, May 6, 2016.
Horn, Ben, Palolem, Goa, India, April 16, 2016.
Humbrescht, Christian, McLeod Ganj, India, May 13, 2016.

Hwang, Monica, Jinudanda, Gandruk Loop Trek, Nepal, May 5, 2016.
Isel, Nicolas, Delhi, India, April 24, 2016.
Jacob, Forrest, Sauraha, Chitwan National Park, Nepal, April 30, 2016.
'Jona', McLeod Ganj, India, May 12, 2016.
Jones, Nicholas, Panjim, Goa, India, April 12, 2016.
Jones, Vanessa, via email, August 10, 2016.
Kaeks, Phillipp, McLeod Ganj, India, May 12, 2016.
Kirkby, Grace, Palolem, Goa, India, April 15, 2016.
Klughiefer, Julie, Panjim, Goa, India, April 12, 2016.
Leclerc, Andreanne, McLeod Ganj, May 14, 2016.
Leitch, Zach, McLeod Ganj, India, May 12, 2016.
Lemmers, Mia, Pokhara, Nepal, May 2, 2016.
'Lisa', Anjuna, Goa, India, April 13, 2016.
Lofstrom, Henriette, Delhi, India, April 24, 2016.
Louw, Sarah, Gandruk, Gandruk Loop Trek, Nepal, May 4, 2016.
Love, Chris, McLeod Ganj, India, May 11, 2016.
Lowe, William, Mapusa, Goa, India, April 13, 2016.
Lyons, Jonny, Panjim, Goa, India, April 13, 2016.
'Martina', Delhi, India, April 12, 2016.
Mier, Mariano, Flight from Delhi, India to Goa, India, April 12, 2016.
Monque, Liz Shiriana, McLeod Ganj, India, May 12, 2016.
Nemec, Maja, McLeod Ganj, May 14, 2016.
Nicholson, Aine, Kathmandu, Nepal, April 26, 2016.
O'Halloran, Liam, Kathmandu, Nepal, April 25, 2016.
O'Neill, Colm, Sauraha, Chitwan National Park, Nepal, April 29, 2016.
'Oliver', Delhi, India, April 11, 2016.
Pilbin, Helen, Palolem, Goa, April 16, 2016.
Potter, Harry, Sauraha, Chitwan National Park, Nepal, April 30, 2016.
Provan, Karsten, Sauraha, Chitwan National Park, Nepal, April 30, 2016.
Quist-Johansen, Hjalte, Kathmandu, Nepal, April 26, 2016.
Riestra, Cristina, Flight from Delhi, India to Goa, India, April 12, 2016.
Rioux, Pascale, McLeod Ganj, India, May 14, 2016.
Robinson, Max, via email, July 12, 2016.
Ronca, Giuliano, Agra, India, April 18, 2016.
'Sam', Palolem, Goa, India, April 15, 2016.
Schneider, Christian, Landruk, Gandruk Loop Trek, Nepal, May 3, 2016.
Schnieder-Kruger, Anna, McLeod Ganj, India, May 13, 2016.
Scott, Bruce, Delhi, India, April 11, 2016.
Smith, Adam, Kathmandu, Nepal, April 27, 2016.
Sunshine, Allana, via email, May 28, 2016.
Tapley, Brendan, Pokhara, Nepal, May 7, 2016.
Thomas, James, Delhi, India, April 11, 2016.
Uhlendahl, Jana, Delhi, India, April 10, 2016.
Walker, Charlie, Pokhara, Nepal, May 7, 2016.
Wall, Narissa, Pokhara, Nepal, May 2, 2016.
Wren, Jenny, McLeod Ganj, May 14, 2016.
Young, Emily, Kathmandu, Nepal, April 25, 2016.

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