

# SAMOSTALNA PUTOVANJA ŽENA – ISKUSTVA I PROSTORNE PRAKSE PUTNICA

## SOLO FEMALE TRAVEL – EXPERIENCES AND SPATIAL PRACTICES OF FEMALE TRAVELLERS

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Cilj ovoga rada je razmotriti ključne aspekte samostalnog putovanja žena koji se ističu u dosadašnjim znanstvenim istraživanjima s posebnim naglaskom na motivaciju samostalnih putnica, odnos roda i prostora, ograničenja i pitanje sigurnosti te strategije nošenja s rizicima. U analizi je korištena relevantna strana znanstvena literatura iz područja turizma, rodnih studija i feminističke geografije. Iako je motivacija za samostalno putovanje često povezana s osobnim razvojem, osnaživanjem i željom za upoznavanjem novih prostora, putnice se suočavaju s mnogobrojnim prostornim i društvenim ograničenjima. Kao odgovor na te izazove, razvijaju različite strategije prilagodbe kojima se nastoje oduprijeti strahu i rodnim stereotipima. Uočen je nedostatak istraživanja usmjerenih na analizu percepcije turističkih destinacija kao poželjnih i sigurnih ili nepoželjnih i nesigurnih za samostalne putnice te na identifikaciju ključnih čimbenika koji oblikuju te percepcije. Za dublje razumijevanje ovoga fenomena važno je uključiti sociodemografske podatke i prostorni kontekst čime se otvara prostor za daljnja istraživanja iz geografskih perspektiva. Buduća istraživanja mogu pridonijeti oblikovanju turističke ponude koja više odgovara potrebama i sigurnosti samostalnih putnica.

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:** samostalna putovanja žena, pregled literature, rod, prostorna ograničenja, strategije prilagodbe

The aim of this paper is to examine the key aspects of solo female travel highlighted in previous scientific research, with a particular focus on the motivations of solo female travellers, the relationship between gender and space, limitations and safety concerns, and strategies for mitigating risks. The analysis draws on relevant academic literature from the fields of tourism, gender studies, and feminist geography. Although motivations for solo travel are often linked to personal development, empowerment, and the desire to explore new places, female travellers face numerous spatial and social constraints. In response to these challenges, they develop various coping strategies aimed at resisting fear and gender stereotypes. However, there is a noticeable lack of research focused on analysing the perception of tourist destinations as either desirable and safe or undesirable and unsafe for solo female travellers, as well as on identifying the key factors that shape these perceptions. For a deeper understanding of this phenomenon, it is important to include sociodemographic data, along with the spatial context, which opens up opportunities for further research from geographical perspectives. Future studies may contribute to shaping a tourism offer that better meets the needs and ensures the safety of solo female travellers.

**KEYWORDS:** solo female travel, literature review, gender, spatial constraints, adaptation strategies

## UVOD

Samostalni putnici sve su važniji segment turističkog tržišta, a posebno je uočljiv trend porasta samostalnih putovanja žena (Ghadban i sur., 2023; Yang i sur., 2019). Bolje mogućnosti stjecanja obrazovanja i prilika za zaradu, višak slobodnog vremena i raspoloživih prihoda, zajedno s promicanjem globalnih putovanja i rastom individualizma, utječu na porast broja žena u turističkoj industriji (Bryson, 1994; Wilson & Little, 2005). Povećanje broja putnica posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća može se pripisati i povećanju dobi sklapanja braka i majčinstva, smanjenju stope nataliteta te više razvoda braka (Junek i sur., 2006; Laesser i sur., 2009). Te demografske i društvene promjene otvorile su nove mogućnosti za slobodno vrijeme i putovanja žena (Kim & Beck, 2009).

Sedamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća počelo se značajnije pisati o pojmu selektivnih oblika turizma koji, među ostalim, podrazumijevaju traženje „autentičnijeg“ i netradicionalnog odmora turista, a istovremeno i smanjenje popularnosti putovanja u okviru paket-aranžmana i povećanje broja individualnih putovanja (Cockburn-Wootten i sur., 2006; Ejupi & Medaric, 2022; Rabotić, 2013). U suvremenom, globaliziranom turističkom svijetu turisti se opisuju kao individualisti, fleksibilni, spontani, nepredvidljivi i ekološki osviješteni (Wilson & Harris, 2006). Samostalni putnici uglavnom očekuju opuštenu, riskantno i avanturističko iskustvo (Mani & Jose, 2020), a podaci pokazuju da je među njima više žena. Tako podaci agencije Road Scholar<sup>1</sup> pokazuju da do 30 % sudionika njihovih tura putuje samostalno, a čak 85 % samostalnih putnika čine žene, dok prema podacima Condor Ferries<sup>2</sup> žene nadmašuju muškarce u samostalnim putovanjima u omjeru 67 % prema 37 % (Condor

<sup>1</sup> Road Scholar je američka neprofitna organizacija sa sjedištem u Bostonu (Massachusetts) specijalizirana za obrazovne putne programe namijenjene prije svega starijim osobama. Organizacija nudi razne oblike putovanja, uključujući solo putovanja, avanture namijenjene samo ženama, obiteljska putovanja za bake i djedove i drugo.

<sup>2</sup> Condor Ferries bio je operater putničkih i teretnih trajektnih usluga između Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva, Guernseyja, Jerseyja i Francuske. Od ožujka 2025. godine operacije koje su se odnosile isključivo na Guernsey preuzeo je Brittany Ferries. Operater je svake godine prikupljao statistička izvješća o samostalnim putovanjima žena te ih objedinjavao u jedinstveni godišnje izvješće.

## INTRODUCTION

Solo travellers have become an increasingly important segment of the tourism market in recent times, with a particularly noticeable rise in the number of women travelling alone (Ghadban et al., 2023; Yang et al., 2019). Improved access to education and income opportunities, more free time and disposable income, along with the promotion of global travel and the rise of individualism, influenced the growing presence of women in the tourism industry (Bryson, 1994; Wilson & Little, 2005). The increase in female travellers over the past few decades can also be attributed to rising marriage and motherhood age, declining birth rates, and more frequent divorces (Junek et al., 2006; Laesser et al., 2009). These demographic and social changes opened up new possibilities for women's leisure and travel (Kim & Beck, 2009).

In the 1970s, the concept of selective forms of tourism gained significance, including the search for more “authentic” and non-traditional travel experiences. This shift led to a decline in package tours and a rise in the number individual travel (Cockburn-Wootten et al., 2006; Ejupi & Medaric, 2022; Rabotić, 2013). In the contemporary globalized tourism market, tourists are described as individualistic, flexible, spontaneous, unpredictable, and environmentally conscious (Wilson & Harris, 2006). Solo travellers often seek a more relaxed, risky, and adventurous experience (Mani & Jose, 2020), and data suggest that women today travel alone more frequently than men. According to Road Scholar<sup>1</sup>, up to 30% of their tour participants travel solo, with women making up 85% of this group (Road Scholar, 2024). Similarly, Condor Ferries<sup>2</sup> reports that women outnumber men in solo travel at a ratio of 67% to 37% (Condor

<sup>1</sup> Road Scholar is a U.S. based nonprofit organization headquartered in Boston, Massachusetts, that specializes in educational travel programs primarily designed for older adults. The organization offers a variety of travel experiences, including solo trips, women-only adventures, grandparent-grandchild family trips, and more.

<sup>2</sup> Condor Ferries was a provider of passenger and freight ferry services between the United Kingdom, Guernsey, Jersey, and France. As of March 2025, operations specifically related to Guernsey were taken over by Brittany Ferries. The operator collected annual statistical reports on solo female travel and compiled them into a comprehensive yearly report.

Ferries, 2025; Road Scholar, 2024). Također, 73 % turističkih agenata navodi da žene češće od muškaraca putuju samostalno (Condor Ferries, 2025).

Prema Gibson i suradnici (2013), turizam je socio-kulturni fenomen u smislu da je iskustvo putnika oblikovano različitim kulturnim čimbenicima, od kojih je spol jedan od najvažnijih. Naime, dugo je spol uvelike definirao mogućnosti za odlazak na samostalno putovanje. Žene putnice bile su, i u određenoj mjeri još uvijek jesu, ograničene ulogama supruga, majki i njegovateljica (Chiang & Jogaratnam, 2006). No, samostalna putovanja pružaju ženama fizički i mentalni prostor za otpor stereotipima o rodnim ulogama i rekonstrukciju vlastitog identiteta (Otegui-Carles i sur., 2022).

Ženska samostalna putovanja definiraju se kao putovanja u kojima žene same stižu na odredište, odnosno ne putuju u sklopu paket-aranžmana, grupe ili ture (McNamara & Prideaux, 2010). U nekim se definicijama ističe samovoljni izostanak društva (bez obitelji, partnera ili prijatelja) (Mani & Jose, 2020) ili nemogućnost pronalaska društva za zajedničko putovanje (Yang, 2020). Samostalne putnice takav način putovanja odabiru zbog različitih razloga i motivacije, a karakteristično za te definicije je: samostalno planiranje putovanja, samostalni odlazak na putovanje i provođenje vremena na putovanju samostalno (u potpunosti ili u nekom dijelu) (McNamara & Prideaux, 2010; Mani & Jose, 2020; Yang, 2020).

Rastući trend samostalnih putovanja žena potaknuo je niz istraživanja o tome kasnih 1990-ih. Većina znanstvenih istraživanja bavi se iskustvima putnica iz razvijenih zemalja, posebice iz SAD-a, Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva, Australije i Novog Zelanda (Jordan & Aitchison, 2008; Jordan & Gibson, 2005; Thomas & Mura, 2019; Weatherby & Vidon, 2018; Wilson & Harris, 2006; Wilson & Little, 2008), a u novije vrijeme sve više istraživanja obuhvaća žene iz Azije (Nguyen & Hsu, 2022; Osman i sur., 2020; Seow & Brown, 2020; Teng i sur., 2023; Yang i sur., 2018a; Yang i sur., 2018b) te posebno iz muslimanskih država (Iran, Turska, Saudijska Arabija) (Hosseini i sur., 2021; Nikjoo i sur., 2021; Nikjoo i sur., 2023; Seyfi i sur., 2020; Siddiqui & Bano, 2023).

U kontekstu feminističke geografije, samostalna putovanja žena ponajviše istražuju Wilson i Little

Ferries, 2025). Additionally, 73% of travel agents state that women are more likely to travel solo than men (Condor Ferries, 2025).

Gibson et al. (2013) noted that tourism is a socio-cultural phenomenon, meaning that travellers' experiences are shaped by various cultural factors, with gender being one of the most significant. For a long time, gender largely defined the ability to embark on solo journeys. Female travellers were, and to some extents still are, constrained by roles as wives, mothers, and caregivers (Chiang & Jogaratnam, 2006). However, solo travel provides women with physical and mental space to resist gender role stereotypes and reconstruct their identity (Otegui-Carles et al., 2022).

Women's solo travel is defined as travel where women arrive at a destination alone, without being part of a package tour, group, or guided trip (McNamara & Prideaux, 2010). Some definitions emphasize the voluntary absence of company (without family, partners, or friends) (Mani & Jose, 2020) or the inability to find travel companions (Yang, 2020). Female solo travellers choose this type of travel for various reasons and motivations, but all definitions share key aspects: independent travel planning, travelling alone, and spending time solo (entirely or partially) during the journey (McNamara & Prideaux, 2010; Mani & Jose, 2020; Yang, 2020).

The increasing trend of women's solo travel has spurred numerous studies on the topic since the late 1990s. Most of these scientific studies have focused on travellers from developed countries, particularly the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand (Jordan & Aitchison, 2008; Jordan & Gibson, 2005; Thomas & Mura, 2019; Weatherby & Vidon, 2018; Wilson & Harris, 2006; Wilson & Little, 2008). However, in recent years, there has been a rise in research covering women from Asia (Nguyen & Hsu, 2022; Osman et al., 2020; Seow & Brown, 2020; Teng et al., 2023; Yang et al., 2018a; Yang et al., 2018b) and particularly from Muslim countries (Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia) (Hosseini et al., 2021; Nikjoo et al., 2021; Nikjoo et al., 2023; Seyfi et al., 2020; Siddiqui & Bano, 2023).

From the perspective of feminist geography, solo female travel has been primarily explored by

(2005; 2008) te Yang i suradnici (2018a; 2019). Wilson i Little (2005; 2008) analiziraju kako samostalne putnice doživljavaju „geografiju straha“ u javnim prostorima koji su često percipirani kao nesigurni za žene te istražuju ograničenja s kojima se putnice suočavaju, uključujući brigu o sigurnosti, društvene percepcije i rodne norme. Yang i suradnici (2018a; 2019) perspektivom feminističke geografije pokazuju da kombinacija roda, kulture, klase i drugih društvenih čimbenika utječe na to kako azijske samostalne putnice oblikuju svoj identitet i snalaze se u rodno obilježenim prostorima i percipiranim rizicima. Benjamin i Schwab (2023) u feminističkom okviru uspoređuju vlastita iskustva samostalnog putovanja unutar sustava prilagođenog za muškarce. S druge strane, neki autori poput Heimtun i Abelsen (2013) tek usput spominju teorijske aspekte feminističke geografije, dok primarno ispituju koje su vrste samostalnih putovanja poželjnije među spolovima.

Premda je tema samostalnih putovanja žena sve prisutnija u inozemnim istraživanjima, u Hrvatskoj je i dalje vidljiv značajan nedostatak znanstvenih radova o tome. Naime, ne postoje znanstveni radovi, disertacije i knjige na hrvatskom jeziku koji bi se sustavno bavili tom temom. U medijskom prostoru može se pak pronaći velik broj članaka i priloga (prema Google pretraživanju i više od 50 000) koji se bave temama poput preporuka destinacija pogodnih za samostalne putnice, savjetima za sigurno putovanje, putopisima i ponudama putničkih agencija specijaliziranih za tzv. girls only putovanja. Međutim, domaća akademska istraživanja iz područja geografije ili rodnih studija koja bi se fokusirala na tu problematiku zasad izostaju.

Cilj ovoga rada je razmotriti aspekte samostalnog putovanja žena koji se u dosadašnjoj znanstvenoj literaturi izdvajaju kao ključni. Na temelju pregleda relevantne literature u ovom se radu posebno obrađuju četiri teme: 1. motivacije samostalnih putnica, 2. odnos roda i prostora, 3. ograničenja i percepcija sigurnosti na putovanju te 4. strategije nošenja s rizicima na samostalnom putovanju, koje su usko povezane s percepcijom sigurnih prostora i mjesta. Ova tema do sada je većinom obrađena iz perspektive turizma, rodnih studija i feminističke geografije. U analizi je korištena relevantna znanstvena literatura iz navedenih područja te se

Wilson and Little (2005, 2008) and Yang et al. (2018a, 2019). Wilson and Little (2005, 2008) analyse how solo female travellers experience the “geography of fear” in public spaces, which are often perceived as unsafe for women, and examine the constraints female travellers face, including safety concerns, societal perceptions, and gender norms. Yang et al. (2018a, 2019), using feminist geographic perspectives, demonstrated how the intersection of gender, culture, class, and other social factors shapes the ways in which Asian solo female travellers construct their identities and navigate gendered spaces and perceived risks. Benjamin and Schwab (2023), through a feminist lens, compare their own solo travel experiences within systems designed primarily for men. Conversely, some authors, such as Heimtun and Abelsen (2013), only briefly reference the theoretical aspects of feminist geography, focusing primarily on which types of solo travel are more desirable among different genders.

Although the topic of solo female travel is increasingly addressed in international research, there remains a significant lack of scientific work on this subject in Croatia. Specifically, there are no scientific articles, dissertations, or books in the Croatian language that systematically address this topic. In the media space, a large number of articles and features can be found (according to a Google search, more than 50,000) dealing with topics such as recommendations of destinations suitable for solo female travellers, safety travel tips, travelogues, and offers from travel agencies specialized in so-called “women only” trips. However, academic research in the fields of geography or gender studies focusing on this issue is still lacking in Croatia.

The aim of this paper is to examine the key aspects of solo female travel highlighted in previous scholarly literature. Based on a review of relevant sources, this paper specifically addresses four topics: 1) the motivations of solo female travelers; 2) the relationship between gender and space 3) travel constraints and perceptions of safety, and 4) risk management strategies during solo travel, which are closely tied to the perception of safe spaces and places. This topic has mostly been explored from the perspectives of tourism, gender studies, and

zaključci rada temelje na tom skupu materijala. U manjoj mjeri proučeni su i pojedini stručni izvori i literatura (npr. turistički vodiči namijenjeni samostalnim putnicama).

## POVIJESNI OSVRT NA SAMOSTALNA PUTOVANJA ŽENA

Žene su tijekom povijesti bile uvelike ograničene u planiranju i odlasku na samostalno putovanje. Najranije poznate putnice bile su hodočasnice koje su putovale u Jeruzalem i Svetu zemlju. Primjerice, postoje zapisi da je Helena hodočastila u Svetu zemlju 327. godine, dok se prvi dokumentirani ženski putopis pripisuje opatici Egeriji, rimskoj građanki koja je samostalno putovala 383. godine (Wilson & Harris, 2006). Iako su 16. i 17. stoljeće bili razdoblje istraživanja svijeta, putovanja i kolonijalnih osvajanja, ta su područja tada bila smatrana isključivo muškom sferom. Unatoč tome, neke su žene i u tom razdoblju putovale i istraživale samostalno, a nastavile su to činiti i u 18. i 19. stoljeću (Wilson & Little, 2005). To su uglavnom bile dobro obrazovane i imućne žene, no unatoč njihovom društvenom statusu, takva su putovanja smatrana neprimjerenima, posebno za ugledne dame (Jordan & Gibson, 2005). Ipak, krajem 19. stoljeća društvene i političke promjene omogućile su ženama više suvremenih putovanja. U usporedbi s prethodnim generacijama, društvene konvencije koje su se odnosile na uloge i ponašanja žena značajno su se promijenile u većem dijelu zapadnog svijeta (Wilson & Little, 2005). Posebno velike strukturne promjene u razdoblju nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata dovele su do povoljnijih društvenih okolnosti za žene (Yang i sur., 2020).

Suvremeno tržište ženskih putovanja počelo se intenzivnije razvijati na zapadu 1970-ih (Frohlick, 2013). Primjerice, u SAD-u žene su već u 1970-ima, iako s nižim primanjima i većom stopom nezaposlenosti u odnosu na muškarce, imale veći udio u međunarodnim putovanjima (52 %) od muškaraca (48 %) (Zrnc, 1974). Žene s boljim obrazovanjem i većim prihodima pokazale su veću sklonost putovanju te je broj žena koje su putovale u inozemstvo nadmašivao broj muškaraca u svim dobnim skupinama, osim u dobi

feminist geography. The analysis draws on relevant academic literature from these fields, and the conclusions of the paper are based on that set of materials. To a lesser extent, certain professional sources and literature were also studied (e.g., tourist guides for solo female travellers).

## HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF WOMEN'S SOLO TRAVEL

Women have historically been largely restricted in planning and embarking on solo travel. The earliest known female travellers were pilgrims who journeyed to Jerusalem and the Holy Land. For instance, records indicate that Helena made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 327 AD, while the first documented female travelogue is attributed to the nun Egeria, a Roman citizen who travelled alone in 383 AD (Wilson & Harris, 2006). Although the 16th and 17th centuries were marked by global exploration, travel, and colonial conquests, these activities were predominantly considered male domains. Despite this, some women also travelled and made explorations independently during this period and continued to do so in the 18th and 19th centuries (Wilson & Little, 2005). These travellers were mainly well-educated and wealthy women. However, despite their social status, such journeys were deemed inappropriate, particularly for distinguished ladies (Jordan & Gibson, 2005). Nevertheless, from the late 19th century onward, social and political changes enabled greater participation of women in modern travel. Compared to previous generations, social conventions regarding women's roles and behaviours significantly changed in much of the Western world (Wilson & Little, 2005). Particularly massive social transformations took place after the World War II, and resulted in structural conditions for women (Yang et al., 2020).

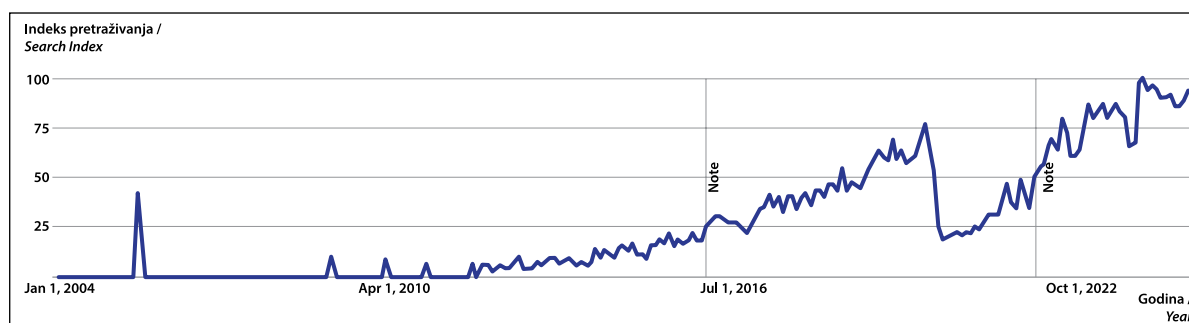
The contemporary female travel market therefore began to emerge primarily in the West in the 1970s (Frohlick, 2013). Despite lower incomes and higher unemployment rates compared to men, U.S. women in the 1970s already had a higher share of international travel (52%) than men (48%) (Zrnc, 1974). Women with higher education and

od 25 do 34 godine, vjerojatno zbog toga što su žene u toj dobnoj skupini često bile posvećene brizi za djecu i domaćinstvo (Zrnc, 1974). Udio žena u toj tržišnoj niši nastavio je rasti 1980-ih i 1990-ih šireći se i na azijske države, ponajprije na Japan i Kinu, a od 21. stoljeća i na Aziju općenito (Yang i sur., 2017). Recentna istraživanja pokazuju da žene danas predstavljaju polovicu suvremenoga turističkog tržišta s projekcijom da će njihov udio još više rasti, posebno na području Azije gdje se očekuje porast putovanja žena od 400 % do 2030. (Su & Wu, 2020; Yang i sur., 2017). Collins i Tisdell (2002) ističu da na potražnju za samostalnim putovanjima utječu brojni demografski i socioekonomski čimbenici poput etničkog identiteta, nacionalnosti, dobi, veličine obitelji, spola, bračnog statusa, religije, prihoda, zanimanja i obrazovanja.

S pomoću Google Trendsa može se vidjeti kretanje broja pretraživanja pojma solo female travel (hrv. samostalno žensko putovanje) u 21. stoljeću. Google Trends alat analizira koliko je puta na internetskoj tražilici Google pretraživan navedeni pojam u određenom zadanom razdoblju (u ovom slučaju analizirana su sva pretraživanja pojma u tražilici od 2004. do 2024. godine). Interes za pojam pokazuje dugoročni rast, s minimalnim zanimanjem do 2010. kada počinje snažan rast, vjerojatno potaknut društvenim mrežama i osnaživanjem žena (Sl. 1.). U 2017. godini Google pretraživanja za ovaj pojam porasla su za 52 % u usporedbi s prethodnom godinom, a tijekom četiri godine prije početka pandemije COVID-19 pretraživanje se povećalo šest puta. Pandemija COVID-19 uzroko-

income levels demonstrated a greater tendency to travel, with the number of women travelling abroad surpassing men in all age groups except 25 - 34, likely due to family obligations (Zrnc, 1974). The share of women in this market niche continued to grow in the 1980s and 1990s, spreading to Asian countries, especially Japan and China, and from the 21st century onwards to Asia in general (Yang et al., 2017). Recent research shows that women represent half of the contemporary travel market, and it is projected that their participation in tourism will continue to grow, and this growth will be especially remarkable in the Asia, with an estimation of a 400% increment by 2030 (Su & Wu, 2020; Yang et al., 2017). Collins and Tisdell (2002) emphasized that the demand for solo travel is influenced by numerous demographic and socio-economic factors such as ethnic identity, nationality, age, family size, gender, marital status, religion, income, occupation, and education.

Using Google Trends, it is possible to observe the trend in the number of searches for the term “solo female travel” in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The Google Trends tool analyses how many times a given term was searched on the Google search engine within a specified time period (in this case, all searches for the term on the search engine from 2004 to 2024 were analysed). Interest in the term shows long-term growth, with minimal attention until 2010, when a sharp increase began, likely driven by social media and women’s empowerment (Fig. 1). In 2017, Google searches for this term increased by 52% compared to the previous year, and in the four years before the COVID-19 pandemic,



**SLIKA 1.** *Interes i pretraživanje pojma solo female travel na internetskoj tražilici Google od 2004. do 2024. Godine\**  
**FIGURE 1** *Interest and search trends for the term “solo female travel” on the Google search engine from 2004 to 2024.\**

Izvor / Source : Google Trends, 2025.

\* Brojevi predstavljaju globalni interes za pretraživanje pojma tijekom određenog razdoblja. Vrijednost 100 označava najveću popularnost pojma. Vrijednost 50 znači da je popularnost pojma upola manja od najviše zabilježene vrijednosti. Rezultat 0 znači da nije bilo dovoljno podataka za taj pojam.

\* The numbers represent global search interest over a given time period. A value of 100 indicates the highest popularity for the term. A value of 50 means the term’s popularity is half of the peak value. A result of 0 means there was not enough data for the term.

vala je značajan pad interesa 2020., ali postpandemijski oporavak (2021.–2024.) doveo je do rekordne popularnosti. To ukazuje na sve veći interes za samostalna ženska putovanja.

Iako je pandemija COVID-19 znatno utjecala na međunarodna putovanja i izmijenila dinamiku turizma u 2020. i 2021., tržište samostalnih putnika imalo je potencijal oporavljati se brže u odnosu na druge segmente turističkog sektora (Teng i sur., 2023). Zbog potrebe održavanja fizičke distance i smanjenja socijalnih interakcija među ljudima, situacija s pandemijom COVID-19 dodatno je utjecala na povećanje privlačnosti samostalnih putovanja (Otegui-Carles i sur., 2022).

## MOTIVACIJE SAMOSTALNIH PUTNICA

Najopćenitije, dvije su kategorije razloga zbog kojih se žene odlučuju putovati samostalno: a) zbog nedostatka društva i b) prema vlastitom izboru (Mehmetoglu i sur., 2001; Yang, 2020). Istraživanje provedeno 2022. godine na globalnom uzorku od 4000 žena koje su prethodno samostalno putovale pokazuje da čak 54 % njih nema društvo za putovanje (Statista, 2024a). S druge strane, mnoge se žene odlučuju otići na samostalno putovanje iako imaju društvo s kojim bi mogle putovati. Motivacije su, na temelju analize relevantne literature, sažeto prikazane u Tab. 1. u tematskim kategorijama oblikovanim na osnovi najzastupljenijih motiva u dosadašnjim istraživanjima. Primjerice, Ejupi i Medaric (2022) navode tri dimenzije motiva za samostalno putovanje: psihološka (želja za avanturom, bijeg od rutine, samopouzdanje i dr.), kulturološka (razgledavanje, posjet muzejima, upoznavanje lokalne kulture i dr.) i osobna (posjet rodbini i prijateljima, upoznavanje novih ljudi, učenje novih vještina, osobni razvoj i dr.). Chiang i Jogaratnam (2006) nadalje identificiraju četiri ključne motivacije za samostalno putovanja žena: iskustvo, bijeg od rutine, opuštanje i socijalizacija, a Pereira i Silva (2018), uz navedene, spominju još nekoliko (ukupno osam dimenzija motivacije): bijeg od svakodnevnih obaveza, samoidentitet i razvoj, izazov, povezanost s drugima, učenje, avantura, nove životne perspektive i autonomija.

searches grew sixfold. The COVID-19 pandemic caused a significant drop in interest in 2020, but the post-pandemic recovery (2021–2024) led to record popularity. This indicates a growing interest in solo female travel.

Although the COVID-19 pandemic significantly impacted international travel and altered tourism dynamics in 2020 and 2021, the solo travel market had a potential to recover more quickly compared to other segments of the tourism sector (Teng et al., 2023). Due to the need for physical distancing and reduced social interactions, the COVID-19 pandemic increased the appeal of solo travel (Otegui-Carles et al., 2022).

## MOTIVATIONS OF SOLO FEMALE TRAVELLERS

Broadly speaking, there are two main categories of reasons why women choose to travel solo: (a) due to a lack of travel companions and (b) by personal choice (Mehmetoglu et al., 2001; Yang, 2020). A study conducted in 2022 on a global sample of 4,000 women who had previously travelled solo found that as many as 54% of them did not have a travel companion (Statista, 2024a). Conversely, many women choose to go on a solo trip even though they had someone they could travel with. Motivations, based on the analysis of relevant literature, are summarized in Table 1 through thematic categories formed on the basis of the most frequently represented motives in previous research. For example, Ejupi and Medaric (2022) highlight three dimensions of motivations for solo travel: psychological (desire for adventure, escape from routine, self-confidence, etc.), cultural (sightseeing, visiting museums, exploring local culture, etc.), and personal (visiting family and friends, meeting new people, learning new skills, personal development, etc.). Chiang and Jogaratnam (2006) further identify four key motivations for solo female travel: experience, escape from routine, relaxation, and socialization. Pereira and Silva (2018) expand these categories to eight motivational dimensions, including escaping daily obligations, self-identity and development, challenge, connection with others, learning, adventure, new life perspectives, and autonomy.

Istraživanja pokazuju da samostalne putnice na svojim putovanjima traže samootkrivanje, obrazovanje, iskustva drugih kultura, slobodu od svojih kućnih ograničenja i obaveza, oporavak od stresa i razvoj neovisnosti (Cockburn-Wootten i sur., 2006; Hassan & Damir, 2022). Teng i suradnici (2023) također navode da su unutarne vrijednosti ključni motivacijski čimbenici za samostalno putovanje žena, s bijegom/opuštanjem kao dominantnim doprinosom. Samostalne putnice često žele pobjeći iz uobičajene rutine, tražeći nove kulturne kontekste izvan svoje uobičajene okoline (Pereira & Silva, 2018).

Samostalna putovanja nadalje pružaju iskustvo koje donosi priliku za introspekciju i rast. Većina putnica samostalno putovanje veže uz osjećaj vlastitog razvoja i obrazovanja (Jordan & Gibson, 2005). Za mnoge žene prevladavanje potencijalnih prepreka na putovanju i suočavanje sa svime što ih dočeka na putu pridonosi osjećaju samopouzdanja koji ima učinak i po povratku kući (Jordan & Gibson, 2005; Lagier i sur., 2021). Wilson i Harris (2006) u istraživanju ženskog samostalnog putovanja i slobodnog vremena opisali su solo putovanje kao smisljeno putovanje. Smisljeno putovanje smatra se iskustvom u kojem pojedinci traže ili nalaze povećan osjećaj samopouzdanja i osnaživanja. To uključuje promišljanje o svojim mogućnostima i perspektivama života te razmatranje ili ponovno promišljanje odnosa s društvom i drugima oko sebe (Wilson & Harris, 2006). U njihovu istraživanju žene su opisale svoja putnička iskustva kao transformirajuća, duboko značajna i osnažujuća. Mani i Jose (2020) dodaju dimenziju transformacije koju samostalno putovanje može pružiti ženama. Samostalnim istraživanjem nepoznatog žene razvijaju hrabrost, neovisnost i oštrinu uma. Ta iskustva potiču ih na promatranje, slušanje te da budu prisutne u trenutku i inspirirane (Mani & Jose, 2020).

Važnost samostalnih putovanja odražava se i u priznanju obitelji, prijatelja i kolega. To priznanje, zajedno s novim izazovima s kojima se suočavaju na putovanjima, značajno pridonosi osjećaju osnaženosti u osobnim i profesionalnim sferama života (Wilson & Harris, 2006). Nadalje, dobrobit samo-

Solo female travellers seek self-discovery, education, cultural experiences, freedom from household constraints and obligations, stress recovery, and the development of independence during their journeys (Cockburn-Wootten et al., 2006; Hassan & Damir, 2022). Teng et al. (2023) also state that intrinsic values are key motivational factors for women's solo travel, with escape/relaxation being the dominant contributor. Solo travellers often wish to break free from routine, seeking new cultural contexts beyond their usual environment (Pereira & Silva, 2018).

Solo travel further provides a deeply personal experience that offers opportunities for introspection and growth. Most female travellers associate solo travel with a sense of personal development and education (Jordan & Gibson, 2005). For many women, overcoming potential travel obstacles and facing whatever challenges arise along the way contributes to a sense of confidence that remains even after returning home (Jordan & Gibson, 2005; Lagier et al., 2021). Wilson and Harris (2006), in their research on women's solo travel and leisure, described solo travel as a meaningful journey. A meaningful journey is considered an experience in which individuals seek or find an increased sense of confidence and empowerment. It involves reflecting on one's life opportunities and perspectives, as well as reconsidering relationships with society and those around them (Wilson & Harris, 2006). In their study, women described their travel experiences as transformative, deeply significant, and empowering. Mani and Jose (2020) also highlight the transformative dimension that solo travel can provide for women. Through independent exploration of the unknown, women develop courage, independence, and mental sharpness. These experiences encourage them to observe, listen, be present in the moment, and feel inspired (Mani & Jose, 2020).

The significance of solo travel is also reflected in the recognition received from family, friends, and colleagues. This recognition, along with the new challenges faced during their travels, significantly contributes to a sense of empowerment in both personal and professional spheres of life (Wilson & Harris, 2006). Furthermore, the benefits of solo travel arise from meaningful social and cultural interactions with other travellers and hosts, prompting individuals to reconsider their own values

**TABLICA 1.** *Glavne kategorije motivacija za samostalna putovanja žena na temelju analize literature*  
**TABLE 1** *Main categories of motivations for solo female travel based on literature review*

Kategorije motivacije / <i>Categories of motivation</i>	Specifični razlozi/motivacije / <i>Specific reasons/motivations</i>
Osobni razvoj / <i>Personal development</i>	Introspekcija, osobni rast, samoidentitet, osnaživanje, samopouzdanje, neovisnost, testiranje vlastitih granica, razvoj hrabrosti i snalažljivosti / <i>Introspection, personal growth, self-identity, empowerment, self-confidence, independence, testing one's limits, developing courage and resourcefulness</i>
Bijeg i opuštanje / <i>Escape and relaxation</i>	Bijeg od rutine i svakodnevnih obaveza, oporavak od stresa, sloboda od kućnih ograničenja / <i>Escaping routine and everyday obligations, recovering from stress, freedom from household constraints</i>
Kulturološko i socijalno iskustvo / <i>Cultural and social experience</i>	Upoznavanje novih ljudi, razgledavanje, iskustvo drugih kultura, posjet rodbini i prijateljima / <i>Meeting new people, sightseeing, experiencing other cultures, visiting relatives and friends</i>
Praktični razlozi / <i>Practical reasons</i>	Nedostatak suputnika, poteškoće u usklađivanju s drugima (vrijeme, budžet), praktične okolnosti / <i>Lack of a travel companion, difficulties coordinating with others (time, budget), practical circumstances</i>

Izvor / Source: prema Chiang i Jogaratnam (2006); Ejupi i Medaric (2022); Hassan i Damir (2022); Jordan i Gibson (2005); Lagier i sur. (2021); Mani i Jose (2020); Pereira i Silva (2018); Statista (2024a); Teng i sur. (2023); Wilson i Harris (2006); Yang (2020) / Source: Chiang & Jogaratnam (2006); Ejupi & Medaric (2022); Hassan & Damir (2022); Jordan & Gibson (2005); Lagier et al. (2021); Mani & Jose (2020); Pereira & Silva (2018); Statista (2024a); Teng et al. (2023); Wilson & Harris (2006); Yang (2020).

stalnih putovanja proizlazi iz značajnih socijalnih i kulturnih interakcija s drugim putnicima i domaćinima, što potiče na preispitivanje vlastitih vrijednosti na individualnoj i društvenoj razini (Wilson & Harris, 2006).

Analiza motivacija ukazuje na to da samostalna putovanja žena nadilaze puki nedostatak suputnika i predstavljaju važan aspekt osobnog razvoja, samostalnosti i životne transformacije. Pritom se ističu introspekcija, razvoj hrabrosti i testiranje vlastitih granica, ali i praktični razlozi poput fleksibilnosti u planiranju putovanja bez potrebe za usklađivanjem s drugima. Osim toga, samostalna putovanja omogućuju ženama da potpuno urone u nova kulturna i socijalna iskustva, što dodatno obogaćuje njihovu perspektivu i jača povezanost s globalnom zajednicom. Bez obzira na početni razlog putovanja, istraživanja pokazuju da iskustva koja žene stječu na tim putovanjima često dovodi do dubljeg razumijevanja sebe i svoje okoline, većeg samopouzdanja te jačeg osjećaja slobode i osnaženosti.

## ODNOS RODA I PROSTORA

Samostalna putovanja žena zanimljiva su tema iz geografske perspektive, posebno iz aspekta feminističke geografije koja se razvija pod utjecajem poststrukturalističkih teorijskih pravaca.

on both a personal and societal level (Wilson & Harris, 2006). All these perspectives highlight the importance of solo travel as a means of personal development, discovering resourcefulness, building self-confidence, and fostering independence.

The analysis of motivations indicates that women's solo travel goes beyond the mere lack of a travel companion and represents a significant aspect of personal growth, independence, and life transformation. Key factors include introspection, the development of courage, and testing personal limits, as well as practical reasons such as the flexibility to plan trips without the need to coordinate with others. Additionally, solo travel allows women to fully immerse themselves in new cultural and social experiences, further enriching their perspectives and strengthening their connection to the global community. Regardless of the initial reason for travel, research shows that the experiences women gain from these journeys often lead to a deeper understanding of themselves and their surroundings, increased self-confidence, and a stronger sense of freedom and empowerment.

## THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GENDER AND SPACE

Solo female travel is an interesting topic from a geographical perspective, particularly within the framework of feminist geography, which has de-

Poststrukturalizam dovodi do propitivanja tradicionalnog geografskog znanja te naglašava koncept situiranog znanja koje govori da je znanje uvijek limitirano, specifično, parcijalno, ovisno o podrijetlu (Šakaja, 2015). Feministička geografija upućuje na to da je većina postojećeg geografskog znanja oblikovana iz pozicije bijelog, heteroseksualnog muškarca srednje klase sa Zapada, dok su znanja i iskustva žena u velikoj mjeri zanemarijana (Šakaja, 2015). Taj pravac unutar geografije javlja se 1980-ih osnivanjem istraživačke skupine „Žene i geografija“ (*The Women and Geography Study Group*) radi proučavanja geografskih aspekata rodne diferencijacije i promicanja feminističke perspektive u istraživanju i obrazovanju (Mohammad, 2016).

Na samostalnim putovanjima žene se kreću nepoznatim prostorima i različitim kulturnim kontekstima, udaljene od sigurnosti poznatog okruženja, što neminovno dovodi do pitanja brige za vlastitu sigurnost. Valentine (1989) je još potkraj 1980-ih prostorno-vremenska ograničenja u kretanju koja doživljavaju žene opisala pojmom geografije ženskog straha. Ta se perspektiva može dobro primijeniti i u proučavanju samostalnih ženskih putovanja jer se geografija straha samostalnih putnica manifestira na različite načine osobnim strahom i strahom bliskih osoba za njih (Wilson & Little, 2008). Brojna istraživanja koja su provele feminističke geografkinje i drugi autori ukazuju na to da postoje jasne razlike korištenja javnog prostora između muškaraca i žena i u tome kako ga doživljavaju (Aitchison, 1999; Carr, 1998; 2001; Curson & Kitts, 2000; Domosh, i sur., 2001; Koskela, 1997; Mehta, 1999; Mowl & Towner, 1995; Pain, 1991; Rose, 1993; Massey, 1994). Naime, žene doživljavaju znatno veća ograničenja u kretanju i korištenju javnih prostora zbog straha da će biti izložene potencijalnim nasilnim ili seksualnim napadima (Bastomski & Smith, 2017; Bialeschki & Chapel, 1999; Listerborn, 2016; Pain, 1991). Iako je strah žena od kriminala često veći od stvarnog rizika, proporcionalan je njihovoj percepciji rizika koju oblikuju društvo, obrazovni sustav i mediji (Reid & Konrad, 2004). Strah je, naime, donekle društveni konstrukt koji se oblikuje putem utjecaja medija, filmova i fikcije, čime se ojačava rodni identitet

veloped under the influence of poststructuralist theoretical approaches. Poststructuralism challenges traditional geographical knowledge and emphasizes the concept of situated knowledge, which suggests that knowledge is always limited, specific, partial, and dependent on origin (Šakaja, 2015). According to feminist geography most existing geographical knowledge was shaped from the perspective of a white, heterosexual, middle-class Western man, while the knowledge and experiences of women were largely overlooked (Šakaja, 2015). This direction within geography emerged during the 1980s with the establishment of the Women and Geography Study Group, with the aim to examine the geographical aspects of gender differentiation and to promote the feminist perspective in research and education (Mohammad, 2016).

During solo travels, women navigate unfamiliar spaces and diverse cultural contexts, removed from the safety of known environments, which inevitably raises concerns about personal security. As early as the late 1980s, Valentine described the spatial-temporal constraints on women's mobility with the concept of the geography of women's fear (Valentine, 1989). This perspective is highly applicable to the study of solo female travel, as the geography of fear manifests in various ways, including personal fear and the concerns of close acquaintances (Wilson & Little, 2008). Numerous studies by feminist geographers and other researchers highlighted clear gender differences in how men and women use and experience public space (Aitchison, 1999; Carr, 1998, 2001; Curson & Kitts, 2000; Domosh et al., 2001; Koskela, 1997; Mehta, 1999; Mowl & Towner, 1995; Pain, 1991; Rose, 1993; Massey, 1994). Women experience significantly greater restrictions in movement and public space usage due to the fear of potential violent or sexual assault (Bastomski & Smith, 2017; Bialeschki & Chapel, 1999; Listerborn, 2016; Pain, 1991). Although women's fear of crime is often greater than the actual risk, it is proportional to their perceived risk, which is shaped by society, the education system, and the media (Reid & Konrad, 2004). Fear is, to some extent, a social construct influenced by media, films, and fiction, reinforcing the gendered identity of women as vulnerable

žene kao ranjive osobe. Percepcija straha i sigurnosti pritom može biti vrlo subjektivna, ovisna o individualnim iskustvima, pri čemu granice između „sigurnih“ i „nesigurnih“ mjesta nisu jasno definirane (Pain, 1991). Osjećaj straha utječe na sudjelovanje žena u aktivnostima slobodnog vremena te žene češće od muškaraca izbjegavaju situacije/mjesta koja percipiraju nesigurnima (Bialeschki & Chapel, 1999). Žene koje putuju same posebno su osjetljive na prijetnje fizičkog napada, seksualnog uznemiravanja i neželjenih pogleda što ograničava njihov izbor destinacija i otežava socijalne interakcije na putovanjima (Heimtun & Abelsen, 2013). Mnogi javni prostori i turistička mjesta kodirana su kao „muška“ i oblikovana za kretanje i uživanje muškaraca, što u određenim socio-kulturnim kontekstima podrazumijeva isključivanje i izolaciju žena (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000).

Proširujući tezu geografkinje Gill Valentine o geografiji straha, Wilson i Little (2008) spominju geografiju ženskog straha od putovanja koja odražava ideju da je samostalno putovanje na neki način nesigurno te u određeno vrijeme i na određenim mjestima neprikladno. Samostalne putnice jasno se izdvajaju različitim od norme što ih čini vidljivima i ranjivijima te su mnoge od njih iskusile strah koji se uglavnom temelji na anticipaciji muškog nasilja i uznemiravanja (Wilson & Little, 2008). Kao rezultat toga, samostalne putnice percipiraju, doživljavaju i koriste turističke krajolike i prostor drukčije od muških putnika. Turistički prostor pretežno je oblikovan iskustvima muških turista iz razvijenih zapadnih država čineći ga obilježnim rodnim i rasnim karakteristikama (Yang i sur., 2018b). U regijama u kojima se društveni položaj žena razlikuje od položaja u zapadnim državama, primjerice na Bliskom istoku, žene su još opreznije jer znatno češće dobivaju mušku pozornost (Junek i sur., 2006). Istraživanja su pokazala da su putnice identificirale određena mjesta u destinacijama koja je potrebno izbjegavati kako bi se u najvećoj mjeri smanjio rizik povezan s neželjenim pogledima, dobacivanjima ili napadima (Wilson & Little, 2008). Kao mjesta visokog rizika identificirane su uske, mračne i slijepo ulice, parkovi, stanice javnog prijevoza, podzemne garaže i (određeni tip) smještaja (Bialeschki & Chapel, 1999; England & Simon,

individuals. The perception of fear and security is highly subjective, depending on individual experiences, with no clear boundaries between “safe” and “unsafe” places (Pain, 1991). This sense of fear affects women’s participation in leisure activities, as they are more likely than men to avoid situations or locations perceived as unsafe (Bialeschki & Chapel, 1999). Women travelling alone are particularly vulnerable to threats of physical assault, sexual harassment, and unwanted attention, which can limit their choice of destinations and hinder social interactions while travelling (Heimtun & Abelsen, 2013). Many public spaces and tourist sites are coded as “male” and designed for men’s movement and enjoyment, which, in certain socio-cultural contexts, leads to the exclusion and isolation of women (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000).

Expanding on geographer Gill Valentine’s concept of the geography of women’s fear, Wilson and Little (2008) introduce the concept of the “geography of women’s travel fear,” reflecting the perception that solo travel is unsafe and, in certain times and in certain places, inappropriate. Independent female travellers stand out from social norms, making them more visible and vulnerable, with many experiencing fear primarily based on the anticipation of male violence and harassment (Wilson & Little, 2008). As a result, solo female travellers perceive, experience, and navigate tourism spaces differently than male travellers. Tourism spaces are predominantly shaped by the experiences of male tourists from developed Western countries, making them inherently gendered and racialised (Yang et al., 2018b). In regions where women’s social status differs significantly from that in Western countries, such as the Middle East, women are even more vigilant due to significantly higher levels of male attention (Junek et al., 2006). Research has shown that female travellers identified certain places within destinations that should be avoided to minimize the risk of unwanted stares, catcalling, or attacks as much as possible (Wilson & Little, 2008). High-risk areas include narrow, dark, and dead-end streets, parks, public transportation stations, underground parking garages, and certain types of accommodation (Bialeschki & Chapel, 1999; England & Simon, 2010; Johansson & Haandrikman, 2023; Koskela & Pain, 2000; Valentine, 1989; Wang & Wu, 2020;

2010; Johansson & Haandrikman, 2023; Koskela & Pain, 2000; Valentine, 1989; Wang & Wu, 2020; Wilson & Little, 2008; Yang i sur., 2018a). Većina putnica ipak ističe da veći rizik osjećaju u večernjim ili noćnim satima kada se kreću određenim mjestima. Stoga umjesto da izbjegavaju odlazak na samostalno putovanje zbog potencijalnog rizika, putnice ga nastoje umanjiti prilagodbom svojih prostornih praksi i vlastitog izgleda (Yang i sur., 2018a).

Nadalje, pod utjecajem informacija koje dobivaju s različitih strana, posebno putem različitih medija (društvenih mreža, blogova, vijesti i dr.) putnice stvaraju svoje mentalne mape prostora koje smatraju sigurnima, a koje nesigurnima za samostalno putovanje. Važan element u planiranju samostalnog putovanja je odabir destinacije. Predodžba ili „slika“ mjesta ima ključnu ulogu u oblikovanju ljudskog ponašanja u prostoru, utječući na odluke o izboru odredišta, ruti putovanja i načinu kako tamo stići (Kaba, 2021). Samostalne putnice često su ograničene u izboru destinacija i pristupu određenim državama zbog straha od negativnih percepcija usmjerenih prema ženama koje putuju same u tim regijama (Wilson & Little, 2005). Posebno negativne percepcije nekih prostora mogu smanjiti pristup tim destinacijama i pridonijeti da takva geografska područja ostanu nepoznata ili skrivena ženama, poput primjerice Bliskog istoka, Afrike i dijelova Azije (Wilson & Little, 2005; Yang i sur., 2018a). Također, neki se prostori društveno kodiraju kao „prostor za muškarce“, primjerice Afrika (Ngwira i sur., 2020), što odbija samostalne putnice ili otežava onim ženama koje se ipak odluče putovati u takve prostore. No, percepcija prostora znatno ovisi i o perspektivi iz koje se promatra, odnosno da se percepcije o sigurnosti pojedinih destinacija razlikuju između različitih skupina samostalnih putnica. Primjerice, u istraživanju koje su proveli Wilson & Little (2008) na temelju uzorka europskih samostalnih putnica, Europa je identificirana kao sigurna destinacija (Wilson & Little, 2008). Međutim, u drugim istraživanjima, provedenima iz perspektive azijskih samostalnih putnica, Europa je istaknuta kao rizična destinacija (Yang i sur., 2018a; Yang i sur., 2018b). Razlog tome je percepcija da se žene iz Azije u Europi vrlo često

Wilson & Little, 2008; Yang et al., 2018a). Most female travellers, however, emphasize that the sense of danger increases during evening and nighttime when moving through a destination. So, rather than avoiding solo travel altogether, female travellers adapt by modifying their spatial behaviours and appearance to reduce perceived risks (Yang et al., 2018a).

Furthermore, under the influence of information they receive from various sources, particularly through different media (social networks, blogs, news, etc.), female travellers create their own mental maps that define which spaces and countries they consider safe and which they perceive as unsafe for solo travel. A crucial element in planning a solo trip is the choice of destination. The perception or “image” of a place plays a key role in shaping human behaviour in space, influencing decisions about destination selection, travel routes, and how to get there (Kaba, 2021). Solo female travellers are often restricted in their choice of destinations and access to certain countries due to fear of negative perceptions directed at women travelling alone in those regions (Wilson & Little, 2005). Extremely negative perceptions of certain places can limit access to those destinations and contribute to keeping such geographical areas unknown or hidden from women, such as the Middle East, Africa, and parts of Asia perceived as unsafe (Wilson & Little, 2005; Yang et al., 2018a). Additionally, some spaces are socially coded as “male spaces,” such as Africa (Ngwira et al., 2020), which discourages solo female travellers or makes it more challenging for women who decide to travel to such places. However, it should be emphasized that the perception of space itself largely depends on the perspective from which it is observed, meaning that perceptions of the safety of certain destinations vary among different groups of solo female travellers. For example, Europe was identified as a safe destination in a study based on the perspectives of European solo female travellers (Wilson & Little, 2008). However, in other studies conducted from the perspective of Asian solo female travellers, Europe was highlighted as a risky destination (Yang et al., 2018a; Yang et al., 2018b). The reason for this is the perception that Asian women in Europe are often racially stereotyped as sexually available or sex workers.

rasno stereotipiziraju kao lake žene ili seksualne radnice.

Popularni vodiči i mediji za samostalne putnike sve češće nude konkretne preporuke destinacija koje smatraju sigurnima i prikladnima za samostalno putovanje. Primjerice, u knjizi *Fly Solo* (Rodriguez Williamson, 2007) najviše preporučenih destinacija nalazi se u Europi, zatim u Sjevernoj Americi, Aziji te Južnoj i Srednjoj Americi, dok su Bliski istok (osim Dubaija) i Afrika gotovo izostavljeni. Knjiga *Go Your Own Way* (Conlon i sur., 2007) donosi širi geografski raspon uključujući Aziju i Afriku, dok noviji vodiči poput *The Solo Travel Handbook* (Reid, 2017) destinacije povezuju s tematskim interesima (primjerice Vijetnam s gastronomijom ili Bali s introspekcijom) čime se sve više uključuju regije poput Jugoistočne Azije, Bliskog istoka i Afrike. Ipak, naglasak u vodičima i dalje je na mjestima koja se percipiraju kao relativno sigurna i liberalnija, poput Dubaija i Jordana (Kittrell, 2021).

Unatoč tome, znanstvena istraživanja koja sustavno analiziraju percepciju i izbor konkretnih destinacija među samostalnim putnicama još su uvijek ograničena. Većina studija fokusira se na šire teme poput sigurnosti, društvenih normi i subjektivne percepcije prostora u turističkim destinacijama (Douglas & Barrett, 2020; Jordan & Aitchison, 2008; Wilson & Little, 2005, 2008; Yang i sur., 2018a). Tek rijetki radovi, poput onih Wilson & Little (2008) te Yang i suradnika (2018a), dublje analiziraju kulturne razlike i osobna iskustva koja utječu na percepciju sigurnosti i izbor destinacija. Njihovi nalazi pokazuju da zapadne putnice često izbjegavaju destinacije poput Bliskog istoka, Južne Amerike, Afrike, Turske i Maroka zbog kulturnih normi, percepcija muške dominacije i straha od nasilja, dok azijske putnice dodatno ističu Europu, Indiju i Bliski istok kao nepoželjne regije zbog seksualnih stereotipa, političke nestabilnosti i patrijarhalnih normi (Wilson & Little, 2008; Yang i sur., 2018a). Odsutnost sustavnih i detaljnih analiza izbora destinacija te razlika u percepcijama među samostalnim putnicama s obzirom na njihove sociodemografske karakteristike, kao i nedostatak razumijevanja razloga zašto je tome tako, predstavlja istraživački jaz u postojećoj literaturi.

Popular guides and media aimed at solo female travellers are increasingly offering recommendations for destinations considered safe and suitable for solo travel. For example, in the book *Fly Solo* (Rodriguez Williamson, 2007), the most recommended destinations are located in Europe, followed by North America, Asia, and Central and South America, while the Middle East (except for Dubai) and Africa are entirely excluded. The book *Go Your Own Way* (Conlon et al., 2007) offers a broader geographical scope, including Asia and Africa, while more recent guides such as *The Solo Travel Handbook* (Reid, 2017) associate destinations with thematic interests (e.g., Vietnam with gastronomy or Bali with introspection), thus increasingly incorporating regions such as Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. Nevertheless, the guides still emphasize places perceived as relatively safe and more liberal, such as Dubai and Jordan (Kittrell, 2021).

Despite this, academic research that systematically analyses the perception and selection of specific destinations among solo female travellers remains limited. Most studies focus on broader themes such as safety, social norms, and the subjective perception of space within tourist destinations (Douglas & Barrett, 2020; Jordan & Aitchison, 2008; Wilson & Little, 2005, 2008; Yang et al., 2018a). Only a few works, such as those by Wilson and Little (2008) and Yang et al. (2018a), explore in more depth the cultural differences and personal experiences that influence safety perceptions and destination choice. Their findings show that Western female travellers often avoid destinations such as the Middle East, South America, Africa, Turkey, and Morocco due to cultural norms, perceptions of male dominance, and fear of violence, while Asian travellers additionally point to Europe, India, and the Middle East as undesirable regions due to sexual stereotypes, political instability, and patriarchal norms (Wilson & Little, 2008; Yang et al., 2018a). The absence of systematic and detailed analyses of destination choices and differences in perception among solo female travellers based on their sociodemographic characteristics, as well as the lack of understanding of the reasons behind these patterns, represent a research gap in the existing literature.

## OGRANIČENJA I PERCEPCIJA SIGURNOSTI NA SAMOSTALNOM PUTOVANJU

Žene koje se odluče za samostalno putovanje suočavaju se s raznovrsnim ograničenjima prije i tijekom putovanja. Prije putovanja određen broj žena osjeća strah koji proizlazi iz vlastitih unutarnjih procjena o sigurnosti samostalnog putovanja i brige bliskih osoba. Obitelj i prijatelji vrlo često izražavaju zabrinutost i iznenađenje zbog želje žena za samostalnim putovanjem što odražava uvjerenje da takav oblik putovanja nije siguran za žene (Valentine 1989; Wilson & Little, 2008). Podrška obitelji često izostaje što katkad dovodi do sukoba s roditeljima (u slučaju mlađih putnica) i skrivanja planova putovanja, a u nekim slučajevima čak i do odustajanja od putovanja (Mani & Jose, 2020). Nadalje, obiteljske obveze mogu biti prepreka za neke žene koje se mogu osjećati krivo jer ostavljaju djecu i partnere samima te zbog toga mogu odustati od putovanja (Seagrave, 2016). Ipak, važno je napomenuti da samostalno putovanje može imati i neke pozitivne učinke na obiteljske odnose. Žene mogu postati preopterećene različitim ulogama (majke, supruge, kćeri), što ih može ograničiti u izražavanju vlastitog identiteta. Samostalna putovanja pružaju priliku za privremeno oslobađanje od tih uloga i ponovno povezivanje sa sobom (Seagrave, 2016). To donosi veće osobno zadovoljstvo koje se može pozitivno odraziti i na obiteljske odnose.

Nadalje, unatoč tome što je samostalno putovanje za žene dobrovoljni izazov, percipirani i stvarni rizici mogu negativno utjecati na njihovo iskustvo samostalnog putovanja (Karagöz i sur., 2021). Percepcija rizika može biti uvjetovana individualnim karakteristikama, poput osobina ličnosti, kulturnog konteksta iz kojeg osoba dolazi i prethodnog iskustva s putovanjima (Carballo i sur., 2022). No, postoje i stvarni rizici, a medijska izvješća o seksualnim napadima i ubojstvima žena dodatno pojačavaju svijest putnica o mogućim negativnim iskustvima na samostalnom putovanju (Yang i sur., 2018a).

Wilson i Little (2005) provele su opširno istraživanje o ograničenjima samostalnih putovanja iz perspektive feminističke geografije te su ih svrstale u četiri kategorije: sociokulturne, osobne, praktične

## CONSTRAINTS AND PERCEPTIONS OF SAFETY DURING SOLO TRAVEL

Women who choose to travel solo face various constraints both before and during their journey. Before travelling, some women experience fear stemming from their own internal assessments of solo travel safety and the concerns of close ones. Family and friends often express worry and surprise at a woman's desire to travel alone, reflecting the belief that such travel is unsafe for women (Valentine, 1989; Wilson & Little, 2008). Family support is frequently lacking, sometimes leading to conflicts with parents (in the case of younger travellers) or the withholding of travel plans, and in some cases, even the abandonment of the trip (Mani & Jose, 2020). Furthermore, family obligations can present obstacles for some women who may feel guilty about leaving their children and partners behind, which may lead them to abandon their travel plans (Seagrave, 2016). However, it is important to note that solo travel can also have positive effects on family relationships. Women often become overwhelmed by multiple roles (mother, wife, daughter), which can restrict their self-expression. Solo travel provides an opportunity for temporary relief from these roles and reconnection with oneself (Seagrave, 2016), leading to greater personal satisfaction that can positively impact family dynamics.

Despite the fact that solo travel is a voluntary challenge for women, perceived and real risks can negatively affect their experience (Karagöz et al., 2021). Risk perception may be influenced by individual characteristics, such as personality traits, cultural background, and prior travel experience (Carballo et al., 2022). However, actual risks also exist, and media reports of sexual assaults and murders of women further heighten travellers' awareness of potential negative experiences on solo trips (Yang et al., 2018a).

Wilson and Little (2005) conducted an extensive study on the constraints of solo travel from the perspective of feminist geography and categorized them into four groups: sociocultural, personal, practical, and spatial (Table 2). The first category includes sociocultural constraints

i prostorne (Tab. 2.). Prva kategorija obuhvaća sociokulturna ograničenja koja proizlaze iz društvenih i kulturnih konteksta u kojima žene žive i s kojima se suočavaju na svojim samostalnim putovanjima. Ta ograničenja uključuju utjecaj društvenih očekivanja, uloge i odgovornosti žena, percepcije drugih o njihovim putovanjima te neželjenu pažnju (najčešće muškaraca) na samostalnim putovanjima. Usko povezana sa sociokulturnim aspektom, druga kategorija ograničenja fokusirana je na osobna i unutarnja ograničenja koja proizlaze iz samopercepcija, uvjerenja i emocija, uključujući sumnju u sebe, strah, ranjivost i osjećaj usamljenosti. Treća vrsta ograničenja obuhvaća praktične poteškoće i izazove s kojima se suočavaju žene koje putuju same, uključujući nedostatak vremena i novca, nedostatak lokalnog znanja na odredištu te stres i umor povezani sa samostalnim putovanjem. Četvrta kategorija, posebno zanimljiva za geografe, obuhvaća čimbenike koji utječu na ograničavanje slobode kretanja žena u nekim prostorima, uključujući ograničenja u izboru odredišta te ograničeno kretanje u turističkoj destinaciji (Wilson & Little, 2005). Rezultati istraživanja navedenih kategorija pokazali su da je sociokulturni kontekst dominantan ograničavajući čimbenik za žene i njihove odabire, mogućnosti i iskustva samostalnog putovanja.

Kao što pokazuju mnoga druga istraživanja, pitanje osobne sigurnosti izdvaja se kao ključan ograničavajući čimbenik za odlazak na samostalno putovanje (Ghadban i sur., 2023; Wilson & Little, 2008; Yang, 2020). Žene najčešće izražavaju zabrinutost

arising from the social and cultural contexts in which women live and the challenges they face during solo travel. These constraints involve the influence of societal expectations, women's roles and responsibilities, others' perceptions of their travel, and unwanted attention (mostly from men) while travelling alone. Closely related to the sociocultural aspect, the second category focuses on personal and internal constraints stemming from self-perception, beliefs, and emotions, including self-doubt, fear, vulnerability, and loneliness. The third type of constraint involves practical difficulties and challenges faced by solo female travellers, such as a lack of time and money, limited local knowledge at the destination, and the stress and fatigue associated with solo travel. The fourth category, particularly relevant for geographers, includes factors that limit women's freedom of movement in certain spaces, such as restrictions in destination choice and limited mobility within the tourist location itself (Wilson & Little, 2005). Among all these categories, their research found that the sociocultural context was the dominant limiting factor for women's choices, opportunities, and experiences in solo travel.

As numerous other studies have shown, personal safety emerges as a key limiting factor for undertaking solo travel (Ghadban et al., 2023; Wilson & Little, 2008; Yang, 2020). Women most often express concerns about potential sexual harassment, catcalling, uncomfortable stares, stalk-

**TABLICA 2.** Ograničenja prije putovanja i tijekom putovanja koja utječu na samostalna putovanja žena  
**TABLE 2** Constraints before and during travel affecting solo female travellers

Potkategorija / Subcategory	Ograničenja prije putovanja / Constraints before travel	Ograničenja tijekom putovanja / Constraints during travel
Sociokulturna / Sociocultural	Društvena očekivanja / Social expectations	Stavovi domaćina / Host attitudes Neželjena pozornost / Unwanted attention
	Uloge i odgovornosti / Roles and responsibilities	
	Percepcije drugih / Others' perceptions	
Osobna / Personal	Sumnje u sebe i strahovi / Self-doubt and fears	Strah i ranjivost / Fear and vulnerability
		Usamljenost / Loneliness
Praktična / Practical	Nedostatak vremena i novca / Lack of time and money	Nedostatak lokalnog znanja / Lack of local knowledge
		Putovanje s drugima (samostalnim putnicima) / Traveling with others (fellow solo travelers)
		Stres i umor / Stress and fatigue
Prostorna / Spatial	Ograničen izbor destinacija / Limited choice of destinations	Ograničeno kretanje / Restricted mobility
		Upadljivost / Conspicuousness

Izvor / Source: Wilson i Little (2005, p. 162)

zbog mogućeg seksualnog uznemiravanja, dobacivanja komentara na ulici, neugodnih pogleda, uhođenja i krađe (Karagöz i sur., 2021; Yang i sur., 2018b). Strah i prijatna nasiljem nad ženama duboko su ukorijenjeni u kulturi, postavljajući se kao „životna činjenica“ s kojom se većina djevojčica i žena socijalizira već u ranoj dobi. Različitim obrascima socijalizacije, žene se uči da izbjegavaju određena mjesta kada su same, da budu oprezne prema strancima i noći te da ostaju u sigurnom okviru doma ili njegovoj blizini (Wilson & Little, 2008). Prema istraživanju Statiste (2024) o samostalnim putovanjima, putnice su izbjegavale putovati same uglavnom zbog zabrinutosti za osobnu sigurnost, što je istaknulo 69 % ispitanih žena. Veći troškovi i strah od izgubljenosti druge su najčešće spominjane prepreke (65 % i 50 %) (Statista, 2024b). Istraživanja su pokazala da većina putnica svjesno prihvaća rizike te da su neke od njih čak prihvatile određenu razinu uličnog uznemiravanja kao nešto uobičajeno i normalno u određenim situacijama. Odnosno, odlučile su to interpretirati kao kompliment (Yang i sur., 2018b) što je postao njihov način prilagodbe na situaciju u kojoj se žene percipiraju kao slobodne jedino zato što putuju same.

S obzirom na to da se strah za vlastitu sigurnost, posebno strah od seksualnog uznemiravanja, ističe kao ključni problem za samostalne putnice (Yang, 2020), savjeti o sigurnosti nalaze se u gotovo svim vodičima namijenjenima samostalnim putnicama (Eubanks, 2019; Reid, 2017; Seagrave, 2016). Mnogi autori priručnika za putovanja istražuju problem sigurnosti žena te većina njih daje savjete o primjerenom ponašanju i naglašava da žena treba biti na oprezu. Strah za sigurnost potvrđuje i istraživanje Douglasa i Barretta (2020), koji su usporedili članke namijenjene samostalnim putnicama i putnicima. Članci namijenjeni ženama često istražuju zabrinutost za sigurnost ili prisutnost restriktivnijih rodni normi na određenim destinacijama, dok su članci usmjereni na muškarce češće fokusirani na romantične i flertujuće interakcije (Douglas & Barrett, 2020). Poruke o mogućim rizicima samostalnih putovanja izraženije su u člancima namijenjenim ženama u odnosu na one namijenjene muškarcima, što pridonosi percepciji da žene koje putuju samostalno doživljavaju više ograničenja od muškaraca. Gotovo svi članci za žene, dok samo polovica onih za muš-

ing, and theft (Karagöz et al., 2021; Yang et al., 2018b). Fear and the threat of violence against women are deeply ingrained in culture, becoming a “fact of life” that most girls and women are socialized into from an early age. Through various patterns of socialization, women are taught to avoid certain places when alone, to be cautious of strangers and nighttime travel, and to stay within the safe confines of home or its immediate surroundings (Wilson & Little, 2008). According to a Statista (2024) study on solo travel, female travellers primarily avoided travelling alone due to concerns about their personal safety, as cited by 69% of surveyed women. Higher costs and fear of getting lost were the second most frequently mentioned barriers (65% and 50%) (Statista, 2024b). However, research has shown that most female travellers consciously accept the risks, with some even normalizing certain levels of street harassment, interpreting it as a common occurrence in specific situations. Some women have chosen to perceive catcalling as a compliment (Yang et al., 2018b), using this interpretation as a coping mechanism in environments where women are perceived as available simply because they are travelling alone.

Given that concerns about personal safety, especially fear of sexual harassment, are the primary challenges for solo female travellers (Yang, 2020), safety tips are included in almost all travel guides aimed at solo female travellers (Eubanks, 2019; Reid, 2017; Seagrave, 2016). Many travel guide authors have explored women’s safety issues, with most offering practical advice on appropriate behaviour, emphasizing that women should remain vigilant. Fear of safety risks is further highlighted in a study by Douglas and Barrett (2020), which compared articles aimed at solo female vs. male travellers. Articles targeting female travellers frequently addressed safety concerns or the presence of restrictive gender norms in certain destinations, whereas articles aimed at male travellers focused more on romantic and flirtatious interactions (Douglas & Barrett, 2020). Warnings about potential risks were significantly more pronounced in articles for women than in those for men, reinforcing the perception that solo female travellers face greater limitations. Nearly all arti-

karce, navode barem jedno negativno iskustvo koje se može očekivati na samostalnom putovanju (Douglas & Barrett, 2020).

Navedena ograničenja i brige prije putovanja te na putovanju utječu na iskustvo i zadovoljstvo samostalnim putovanjem. No, unatoč različitim izazovima i ograničenjima koja su uvjetovana ponajprije rodno, žene putnice pronašle su načine prilagodbe situacijama i prostorima, odnosno primjenjuju različite strategije da bi ostvarile svoje putničke ciljeve i otkrивale destinacije samostalno.

## STRATEGIJE NOŠENJA S RIZICIMA NA SAMOSTALNOM PUTOVANJU

Većina žena je na svojem putovanju svjesna prisutnosti rizika jer turistički vodiči i društveni mediji ističu sigurnosne savjete samostalnim putnicama kako bi izbjegle potencijalne „opasnosti“ povezane uglavnom s muškarcima (Yang i sur., 2018b). Da bi se bolje prilagodile okolini i umanjile mogućnosti različitih vrsta uznemiravanja (neželjeni pogledi, zvižduci, dobacivanja, napad), žene primjenjuju različite strategije. Strategije zabilježene u analiziranim znanstvenim istraživanjima kategorizirane su u Tab. 3. Glavne strategije koje primjenjuju samostalne putnice su različiti načini prilagođavanja situacijama i kulturnim kontekstima prostora kojim se kreću kako bi odvuče pozornost od svojeg ženskog tijela (Wilson & Little, 2008, Wilson i sur., 2009). To obuhvaća odijevanje u skladu s lokalnom kulturom i usklađivanje s lokalnim (ženskim) normama ponašanja. Primjerice, u istraživanju koje je provela Kaba (2021) adekvatno prekrivanje tijela odjećom je strategija koju su samostalne putnice najčešće primjenjivale u Turskoj. Putnice su bile svjesne kulturnog kodeksa odijevanja, posebno u konzervativnijim dijelovima države i nastojale su ih poštovati kako bi se bolje uklopile i zaštitile od neželjene pažnje (Kaba, 2021). Nadalje, jedna od najčešćih strategija nošenja s rizikom podrazumijeva stalnu svjesnost o okolnostima u prostoru kojim se kreću te izbjegavanje onih mjesta koja se percipiraju ili se uvriježeno smatraju nesigurnima, što često ovisi o dobu dana. Kretanje nekim prostorima (npr. pustim uličicama, parkovima, podzemnim željezničkim stanicama, izoliranim mjestima) ili posjećivanje nekih

cles written for women included at least one negative experience to anticipate, compared to only half of those targeting male travellers (Douglas & Barrett, 2020).

These pre-travel concerns and in-trip experiences shape women's overall satisfaction with solo travel. However, despite gender-specific challenges and constraints, female travellers develop strategies to navigate different spaces and situations, enabling them to achieve their travel goals and explore destinations independently.

## STRATEGIES FOR MANAGING RISKS WHILE TRAVELLING SOLO

Most women are aware of potential risks while travelling, as travel guides and social media heavily emphasize safety tips for solo female travellers to help them avoid perceived “dangers” primarily associated with men (Yang et al., 2018b). To better adapt to their surroundings and reduce the likelihood of various forms of harassment (unwanted stares, whistles, catcalling, assault), women employ different risk-mitigation strategies. The strategies found in the analysed scientific studies were categorized and summarized in Table 3. The main strategies used by solo female travellers are various ways of adapting to situations and cultural contexts of the places they navigate in order to divert attention from their female bodies (Wilson & Little, 2008; Wilson et al., 2009). One of the most common approaches is dressing in accordance with local culture and aligning behaviour with local (female) norms. For example, a study by Kaba (2021) found that covering the body appropriately was the most frequently used strategy among solo female travellers in Turkey. These travellers were aware of cultural dress codes, particularly in conservative parts of the country, and tried to comply to blend in and avoid unwanted attention (Kaba, 2021). Another common risk-management strategy involves constant awareness of one's surroundings and avoiding areas perceived or traditionally considered unsafe, which, as noted earlier, often depends on the time of day. Certain spaces (e.g., deserted alleys, parks, underground train stations, isolated areas) and venues (e.g., bars) are particular-

mjesta (npr. kafića) posebno se izbjegava u večernjim ili noćnim satima (Kaba, 2021; Koskela, 1997; Wilson & Little, 2008; Wilson i sur., 2009; Yang i sur., 2018a; Zhang i sur., 2022). Smanjenje rizika podrazumijeva kretanje u središnjim i prometnijim dijelovima grada, posebno ako se kreću u večernjim satima. Jedna od strategija koju putnice primjenjuju kako bi umanjile osjećaj nesigurnosti je nastojanje da se okruže lokalnim ženama i djecom, npr. u javnom prijevozu (Douglas & Barrett, 2020).

Kako bi odvratile neželjenu pažnju muškaraca putnice nose stvarni ili lažni vjenčani prsten te slike stvarnog ili izmišljenog supruga, što je praksa koju podržavaju i neke vladine web stranice koje pružaju savjete o sigurnosti žena (Kaba, 2021). Nadalje, jedna od taktika je ignoriranje komentara koji im se dobacuju, izbjegavanje kontakta očima te korištenje raznih sredstava (npr. knjiga, mobi-

ly avoided in the evening or at night (Kaba, 2021; Koskela, 1997; Wilson & Little, 2008; Wilson et al., 2009; Yang et al., 2018a; Zhang et al., 2022). Risk reduction also includes sticking to central and busier areas, especially when moving around in the evening. Another strategy that female travellers use to reduce their sense of insecurity is surrounding themselves with local women and children, for example, by being near them on public transportation (Douglas & Barrett, 2020).

To deter unwanted male attention, some solo travellers wear a real or fake wedding ring or carry a photo of a real or imaginary husband, a practice even supported by some government websites offering safety advice for women (Kaba, 2021). Other tactics include ignoring catcalls, avoiding direct eye contact, and using distractions such as books or mobile phones to avoid making eye con-

**TABLICA 3.** *Glavne strategije nošenja s rizicima na samostalnom putovanju*

**TABLE 3** *Main strategies for managing risks while travelling solo*

Kategorija strategija / <i>Category of strategies</i>	Strategije / <i>Strategies</i>
<b>Priprema i planiranje / <i>Preparation and planning</i></b>	Informiranje o destinaciji i dijeljenje svojih planova i lokacije s bliskim osobama / <i>Getting informed about the destination and sharing your plans and location with close contacts</i> Istraživanje destinacije s lokalnim vodičem / <i>Exploring the destination with a local guide</i> Povezivanje s drugim putnicima / <i>Connecting with other travelers</i> Primjena iskustava za suočavanje s nepoznatim prostorima i ljudima / <i>Using prior experience to cope with unfamiliar places and people</i> Stvaranje mentalnih mapa prostora / <i>Creating mental maps of spaces</i> Ograničenje izbora destinacija na temelju percepcije sigurnosti / <i>Limiting destination choices based on perceived safety</i>
<b>Prilagodba prostorno- vremenskih praksi / <i>Adapting spatiotemporal practices</i></b>	Izbjegavanje nesigurnih mjesta (uske ulice, podzemne garaže, stanice javnog prijevoza, parkovi...) / <i>Avoiding unsafe places (narrow streets, underground garages, public transport stations/stops, parks, etc.)</i> Kretanje prometnijim i središnjim lokacijama / <i>Sticking to busier, central areas</i> Izbjegavanje posjećivanja određenih objekata noću (npr. kafića) / <i>Avoiding visits to certain venues at night (e.g., cafés/bars)</i> Izbjegavanje kretanja u večernjim satima i noću / <i>Avoiding being out in the evening and at night</i>
<b>Prilagodba kulturnim kontekstima i rodnim normama / <i>Adapting to cultural contexts and gender norms</i></b>	Odijevanje u skladu s lokalnom kulturom / <i>Dressing in accordance with local culture</i> Usklađivanje s lokalnim (ženskim) normama ponašanja / <i>Conforming to local (female) norms of behavior</i> Okruživanje ženama i djecom u javnom prostoru / <i>Surrounding oneself with women and children in public spaces</i> Nošenje stvarnog ili lažnog vjenčanog prstena / <i>Wearing a real or fake wedding ring</i> Korištenje fotografija stvarnog ili izmišljenog supruga / <i>Using photos of a real or fictitious husband</i> Izbjegavanje interakcija s muškarcima / <i>Avoiding interactions with men</i> Ignoriranje dobacivanih komentara / <i>Ignoring comments</i> Izbjegavanje kontakata očima s nepoznatima / <i>Avoiding eye contact with strangers</i>

Izvor / Source: prema Cockburn-Wooten i sur. (2006); Douglas i Barrett (2020); Kaba (2021); Seagrave (2016); Valentine (1989); Wilson i Little (2008); Wilson i sur. (2009); Yang i sur. (2018a, 2018b)

tela) da bi se izbjegli pogledi drugih (Douglas & Barrett, 2020).

Unajmljivanje lokalnog vodiča s kojim istražuju destinaciju i upoznavanje drugih putnika još je jedan od načina nošenja s potencijalnim rizikom samostalnog putovanja (Cockburn-Wootten i sur., 2006). Također, informiranje prijatelja i obitelji o planiranim dnevnim aktivnostima i dijeljenje lokacije osiguravana određenu sigurnost (Seagrave, 2016). Mnoge žene oslanjaju se na svoja iskustva koja su im pomogla da se snađu u nepoznatim prostorima te se njima koriste da bi smanjile osjećaje ranjivosti (Cockburn-Wootten i sur., 2006). Povjerenje u vlastitu intuiciju jedan je od najčešćih savjeta koje samostalne putnice daju drugim putnicama, uz korištenje „zdravog razuma“, svjesnost o vlastitom ponašanju tijekom putovanja i izbjegavanje nepotrebno rizičnih situacija (Kaba, 2021; Wilson i sur., 2009).

Analiza navedenih strategija koje primjenjuju samostalne putnice odražavaju visoku razinu svijesti o potencijalnim rizicima, ali i aktivnu prilagodbu situacijama kako bi se osigurala sigurnost i osjećaj kontrole. Priprema, planiranje i prilagodba kulturnim, rodnim te prostorno-vremenskim normama pomažu ženama smanjiti ranjivost i povećati samopouzdanje tijekom putovanja. Iako se te strategije često temelje na prevenciji i izbjegavanju rizičnih situacija, one pokazuju snalažljivost, otpornost i sposobnost žena da upravljaju vlastitim iskustvima omogućujući im slobodu istraživanja novih prostora i uživanje u putovanju.

## ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Samostalna putovanja žena rastući su segment turističkog tržišta potaknut značajnim promjenama u društvenim normama i rodnim odnosima, sve većom ekonomskom neovisnošću žena, te rastom broja samačkih kućanstva i promjenom stila života (Jordan & Gibson 2005; Wilson & Little, 2005). Za dublje razumijevanje samostalnih putovanja žena ključno je uključiti demografske i socioekonomske podatke poput dobi, obrazovanja, zaposlenosti, razine prihoda, bračnog statusa, etničke pripadnosti i drugog. Ta se tema rijetko proučavala iz perspektive geografskih disciplina poput demogeografije ili ekonomske geografije te bi u budućim istraživanjima

tact with others (Douglas & Barrett, 2020).

Hiring a local guide and connecting with other travellers is another risk-management strategy for solo travel (Cockburn-Wootten et al., 2006). Keeping friends and family informed about daily plans and sharing location data also enhances personal safety (Seagrave, 2016). Many women rely on their past experiences to navigate unfamiliar environments, reducing the feeling of vulnerability (Cockburn-Wootten et al., 2006). One of the most common pieces of advice solo female travellers share with others is to trust their intuition, use common sense, be aware of their behaviour, and avoid unnecessary risks (Kaba, 2021; Wilson et al., 2009).

The analysis of the strategies used by solo female travellers reflects a high level of awareness of potential risks, as well as an active adaptation to situations in order to ensure safety and a sense of control. Preparation, planning, and adaptation to cultural, gender, and spatial-temporal norms help women reduce vulnerability and increase self-confidence during their travels. Although these strategies are often based on prevention and avoiding risky situations, they also highlight resourcefulness, resilience, and the ability of women to manage their own experiences in a way that allows them freedom in exploring new spaces and enjoyment while travelling.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Solo female travel represents a growing segment of the tourism market, driven by significant changes in social norms and gender relations, increasing economic independence among women, the rise of single-person households, and shifts in lifestyle choices (Jordan & Gibson, 2005; Wilson & Little, 2005). For a deeper understanding of women's solo travel, it is essential to include demographic and socioeconomic data such as age, education, employment, income level, marital status, ethnicity, and other. Although this topic has rarely been studied from the perspective of geographic disciplines like demography or economic geography, it would be beneficial to incorporate these aspects in future research, as well. Analysing changes in demographic structures can help identify factors

bilo korisno uključiti i te aspekte. Analiza promjena u demografskim strukturama može pomoći u prepoznavanju čimbenika koji potiču žene na samostalna putovanja te objasniti razlike u njihovim ponašanjima i percepciji rizika.

U ovom je radu analiza prethodnih istraživanja provedena s fokusom na četiri značajna aspekta samostalnog putovanja. Kao prvo, istraživanja pokazuju da su motivacije za samostalno putovanje višeslojne, a kreću se od potrebe za vlastitim osnaživanjem, osobnim rastom i razvojem samopouzdanja do bijega od svakodnevne rutine i obaveza te želje za upoznavanjem novih kultura, ljudi i običaja (Chiang & Jogaratnam, 2006; Ejupi & Medaric 2022; Jordan & Gibson, 2005; Lagier i sur., 2021; Pereira & Silva, 2018).

Rod i prostor, ograničenja i pitanje sigurnosti te strategije ponašanja samostalnih putnica tri su aspekta rada koja se međusobno se prožimaju. Analiza istraživanja o temi rada upućuje na to da su na samostalnom putovanju žene izložene različitim izazovima. Za većinu žena najveći problem je nošenje s neželjenom muškom pažnjom. Kao odgovor na taj problem, samostalne putnice prilagođavaju svoje prostorne prakse i svoj izgled (Kaba, 2021; Wilson & Little, 2008; Wilson i sur., 2009; Yang i sur., 2018a; Zhang i sur., 2022). Geografski aspekt planiranja putovanja u tom smislu ima važan utjecaj jer prilagodba za većinu putnica počinje odabirom turističkih destinacija. Pri tome su pojedine destinacije i regije svijeta kodirane kao nepoželjne za samostalno putovanje (poput Afrike, Bliskog istoka i muslimanskih država općenitije). Nadalje, na odredištu putnice dodatno usklađuju svoj izgled i ponašanje s lokalnim ženskim normama (npr. u vidu primjerenog načina odijevanja) te ograničavaju svoje prostorno-vremenske prakse. Određena mjesta kod putnica izazivaju nelagodu i strah, zbog čega ih izbjegavaju te prilagođavaju rute kretanja tim kriterijima. Posebno, takva se mjesta izbjegavaju u večernjim i noćnim satima kada postoji i veća mogućnost za neželjeno privlačenje pozornosti.

Istraživanja pokazuju da navedene mjere opreza ipak ograničavaju samostalne putnice u doživljaju prostora i utječu na njihovo zadovoljstvo putovanjem (Jordan & Aitchison, 2008; Wilson & Little, 2005; 2008). Usprkos tome, primjenom navedenih strategija samostalne putnice pronašle su način

that encourage women to travel solo and explain differences in their behaviour and risk perceptions.

The analysis of relevant literature in this study focused on four important aspects of solo travel. Firstly, research indicates that motivations for solo travel are multifaceted, ranging from the need for self-empowerment, personal growth, and confidence development to escaping daily routines and responsibilities, as well as the desire to explore new cultures, people, and traditions (Chiang & Jogaratnam, 2006; Ejupi & Medaric, 2022; Jordan & Gibson, 2005; Lagier et al., 2021; Pereira & Silva, 2018).

The other three key aspects emphasized in this paper - gender and space, constraints and the perceptions of safety, and the behavioural strategies of solo female travellers - are closely interconnected. Analysing previous research on the topic indicates that women face various challenges when travelling alone, with unwanted male attention being the most significant concern for most. In response, solo female travellers adjust their spatial practices and appearance (Kaba, 2021; Wilson & Little, 2008; Wilson et al., 2009; Yang et al., 2018a; Zhang et al., 2022). The geographical aspect of travel planning plays a crucial role in this context, as adaptation for most solo female travellers begins with the selection of tourist destinations. Certain destinations and regions of the world (such as Africa, the Middle East, and Muslim-majority countries in general) are often coded as undesirable for solo female travel. Furthermore, once at their destination, female travellers tend to align their appearance and behaviour with local female norms (e.g., adopting culturally appropriate clothing styles) and further restrict their spatial-temporal practices. Specific locations often evoke discomfort and fear among female travellers, leading them to avoid these places and adjust their travel routes accordingly. In particular, these areas are commonly avoided in the evening and nighttime when the likelihood of attracting unwanted attention is higher.

As previous studies show, such precautionary measures ultimately limit solo female travellers' spatial experiences and affect their overall satisfaction with their travels (Jordan & Aitchison, 2008; Wilson & Little, 2005, 2008). However, by employing these strategies, solo female travellers have

da se odupru strahu i da se odvažne na samostalno putovanje, pokazujući time da su benefiti koje im ono donosi ipak vrijedniji od potencijalnih prepreka s kojima se suočavaju samim time što su žene. Jordan i Gibson (2005) u tom su smislu opisuju turizam kao arenu u kojoj žene mogu vježbati otpornost prema rodnom stereotipima.

Žene koje se odluče na samostalno putovanje moraju pažljivo planirati kamo će putovati, uzimajući u obzir različite kriterije od kojih je najvažniji sigurnost destinacije. Unatoč mnogobrojnim vodičima, internetskih člancima i priložima koji sugeriraju da su određene države ili regije popularnije među samostalnim putnicama, nedostaju sustavni znanstveni i usporedivi podaci. Postoje sekundarni izvori poput podataka turističkih agencija (npr. Condor Ferries, Road Scholar) i rezultata globalnih anketa (npr. Statista), no ti se podaci uglavnom fokusiraju na opći profil samostalnih putnica ili trendove rasta, bez detaljne razrade po državama i regijama. U dosadašnjoj znanstvenoj literaturi, s prostornog aspekta, veći je fokus bio na identifikaciji nesigurnih mjesta unutar destinacija koje putnice doživljavaju kao problematične i koje utječu na njihove prostorne prakse. No nedostaje sustavna analiza koja bi obuhvatila privlačnost destinacija i sigurnosne aspekte u širem prostornom kontekstu, na razini cijelih destinacija, regija ili država. Ta uočena praznina otvara prostor za buduća istraživanja, osobito iz geografske perspektive, koja bi prostornom analizom sigurnosnih čimbenika putovanja pridonijela boljem razumijevanju teme. Prikupljanje i analiza tih podataka omogućili bi dublje razumijevanje prostornih obrazaca i preferencija samostalnih putnica, čime bi se stvorili temelji za oblikovanje učinkovitijih sigurnosnih politika te razvoj raznovrsnije turističke ponude prilagođene specifičnim potrebama i interesima žena koje putuju same.

#### **Autorski doprinosi:**

L.M.: istraživanje literature, konceptualizacija istraživanja, metodologija, pisanje – priprema izvornog rada, pisanje – završna verzija. L. S. B.: istraživanje literature, konceptualizacija istraživanja, pisanje – završna verzija, nadzor.

**Sukob interesa:** Autori izjavljuju da nema sukoba interesa.

found ways to overcome fear and embark on independent journeys, demonstrating that the benefits of solo travel outweigh the potential obstacles they face simply because they are women. In this regard, Jordan and Gibson (2005) described tourism as an area where women can practice resilience against gender stereotypes.

Nevertheless, women who choose to travel solo must carefully plan where they will go, taking into account various criteria, among which safety is the most important. However, despite the numerous guidebooks, online articles, and media features suggesting that certain countries or regions are more popular among solo female travellers, systematic and comparable scientific data are lacking. There are secondary sources such as data from travel agencies (e.g., Condor Ferries, Road Scholar) and results from global surveys (e.g., Statista), but these sources mostly focus on the general profile of solo female travellers or growth trends, without detailed breakdowns by countries or regions. In existing scholarly literature, from a spatial perspective, more attention has been given to identifying unsafe places within destinations that female travellers perceive as problematic and that influence their spatial practices. However, there is a lack of systematic analysis addressing the attractiveness and safety aspects of destinations in a broader spatial context, at the level of entire destinations, regions, or countries. This observed gap opens opportunities for future research, particularly from a geographical perspective, which could, through spatial analysis of safety factors in travel, contribute to a better understanding of the topic. Collecting and analysing such data would enable deeper insight into the spatial patterns and preferences of solo female travellers, thereby laying the groundwork for the development of more effective safety policies and a more diverse tourism offer tailored to the specific needs and interests of women who travel alone.

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