

*An Experimental Approach to
Signaling as a Travel Motive*

Sebastian Brun Bjørkheim



MAPSYK360, masterprogram i psykologi,

Studieretning: Psykologisk vitenskap

ved

UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN

DET PSYKOLOGISKE FAKULTET

HØST 2018\HØST, 2019

Word count: 16 650

Supervisor: Associate professor Katharina Wolff, Faculty of Psychology, Department of Psychosocial Science, University of Bergen.

Co-supervisor: Professor Svein Larsen, Faculty of Psychology, Department of Psychosocial Science, University of Bergen.

Abstract

The tourism sector is becoming an essential part of the world economy with more than 3 million tourists crossing international borders each day. The motives driving this behavior are, however, only rudimentarily understood in the social sciences, and few have approached the issue experimentally. Furthermore, the emergence of social media use in this context is rampant but barely included in travel motivation research. The main aim of the present work is to explore if signaling, the act of displaying your experiences to others in order to achieve social esteem, should be included as a travel motive. Two experiments were conducted to explore this possibility, a field-experiment among domestic and international tourists visiting Bergen, and a student-sample experiment. The first investigated if different degrees of signaling opportunities impacted intentions to visit a tourist attraction in Bergen, while the second investigated whether the loss of signaling opportunities from destinations with different levels of attractiveness impacted scores of disappointment and misfortune. Results were ambiguous, indicating no increase in intention to visit the tourist attraction in the first experiment, while the second experiment exhibited higher scores of disappointment and misfortune when losing signaling opportunities from more prestigious destinations. The present work discusses reasons for these findings, but maintains that the role of signaling as a travel motive remains unclear.

Keywords: Travel motivation, Tourist motives, Signaling, Conspicuous Consumption

Sammendrag

Tursime er en betydningsfull del av verdensøkonomien. Motivene som driver denne adferden er imidlertid mangelfullt forstått i sosialvitenskapelige disipliner, og få har benyttet en eksperimentell tilnærming til området. Samtidig har oppblomstringen av sosiale medier og bildedeling blitt en betydelig del av turistenes adferd underveis i reiseopplevelsen, men trenden har fått lite oppmerksomhet i reisemotivasjonslitteraturen. Å fremstille reiseopplevelser til andre kan beskrives som en form for signalisering, hvor attraktive egenskaper og opplevelser brukes til å fremme sin egen sosiale status. Dette arbeidet har som mål å undersøke om signalisering bør legges til som et reisemotiv ved å utføre to eksperimenter, et felteksperiment blant turister i Bergen og et blant studenter ved universitetet i Bergen. Felteksperimentet undersøkte om besøkelsesvilligheten av en turistattraksjon ble påvirket av promoteringsmulighetene gitt i beskrivelsen av attraksjonen. Det andre eksperimentet undersøkte om attraktiviteten til destinasjonen påvirket skuffelse og oppfattelse av ulykke ved å miste bilder fra en fiktiv reise. Resultatene er tvetydige, felteksperimentet fant ikke støtte for at promoteringsmuligheter påvirket villighet til å besøke attraksjonen, mens destinasjonsattraktiviteten påvirket skuffelse og uhell som følge av å miste bilder fra reisen. Arbeidet diskuterer disse funnene, men opprettholder at det er uklart om signalisering bør inkluderes som et motiv i reisemotivasjonslitteraturen.

Nøkkelord: Reisemotivasjon, Turistmotiver, Signalisering, Prangende konsum

Acknowledgments

The present work flourished as a direct consequence of studying psychological aspects of the tourist experience (MAPSYK 316), at the Faculty of Psychology, University of Bergen. I was privileged to get my experiment included in a survey sent out by the Research Group for Social Cognitive Studies in Tourism (SciTour), providing me with a solid and diverse sample of tourists for the first experiment. Associate professor Katharina Wolff and professor Svein Larsen were my supervisors throughout the project period. I want to thank you, Katharina Wolff, for meticulously refining my work, helping me organize my thoughts, and guide each step of the process. Without your expertise this project would be a shadow of its current state. To Svein Larsen, your guidance was indispensable in the early part of this project, welcoming me to the amusing world of tourism research and sharing your deep insight on the subject. It goes without saying that any remaining mistakes in this work reflect only the shortcomings of mine.

To my brother, Markus, thank you for questioning my reasoning every step of the way, and to my sister, Julie, thank you for challenging me in a supportive manner. This work would never see the light of day without a healthy dose of sibling rivalry.

Table of Contents

Abstract	3
Sammendrag	4
Acknowledgments	5
Table of Contents	6
Background and Purpose of Research	8
Literature Review	12
Theories of Needs and its Adaptation to Travel Motivation	13
Push and Pull Factors	16
Optimal Arousal Theory	17
Theories of Tourist Types and Modes	19
Conspicuous Consumption and Signaling in a Tourism context.....	21
Method Study 1	35
Sample	35
Materials	35
Procedure	36
Results Study 1	36
Discussion study 1	38
Method Study 2	39
Sample	39
Materials	39
Procedure	40

SIGNALING – A TRAVEL MOTIVE?	7
Results Study 2.....	41
Discussion	43
Limitations.....	52
Future Directions	58
Concluding Remarks	60
References	62
Appendix	72
A: A collection of Push and Pull factors	72
B: Experiment One, Survey version 1, 2, 3, and 4	73
C: Nonparametric results Study 1.....	81
D: Experiment Two, Survey Version 1, 2, 3, and 4	83

Background and Purpose of Research

The World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) estimated that tourists accounted for 1.32 billion international arrivals in 2018 (UNWTO, 2018). Still, travel motivation is only sparsely researched and rudimentarily understood by social scientists. Understanding the factors that drive tourists to travel are of integral importance to the all agents operating within the tourism industry. Moreover, travel and tourism are increasingly becoming an essential part of the global economy, making tourist motivation a pivotal topic for the social sciences.

Tourism is one of the most widespread and vibrant phenomena in the world economy. According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), the direct global impact of travel and tourism rose to 2.57 trillion USD in 2017, accounting for 3.2% of global GDP and 3.8% of global employment (WTTC, 2018). Yet, the total economic impact of tourism and global travel is estimated to account for 8.27 trillion USD, constituting 10.4% of global GDP and 9.9% of world employment (UNWTO, 2018). Furthermore, the tourism sector grew by 4.6% in 2017, superseding overall economic growth for the seventh consecutive year (UNWTO, 2018). Hence tourism is not merely a vital part of the current world economy, but is growing in its importance. Although travel and tourism are contributing to greater economic prosperity and opportunity for people around the world, as well adding valuable experiences to the lives of travelers, several researchers have noted the industry's harmful consequences (Banister, 1997; Buckley, 2012; McKercher, 1993). Principally, tourism's contribution to climate change is undeniable, and by recent estimates, the industry accounts for 8% of global greenhouse gas emissions (Gössling & Buckley, 2016; Lenzen et al., 2018). In recognition of the benefits and harmful consequences of tourism, and with more than 3 million tourists crossing international borders each day, the underlying motivation thrusting this behavior emerges as a timely question.

At the most simplistic level, travelling is typically viewed as either for work-related or recreational aims. While traveling for these purposes can coincide, tourism is most commonly associated with leisure travel (Argyle, 1996,). Still, travel behavior contains a wide variety of motives, acknowledging both the internal and external forces that influence individual tourist's choice of destination and activities. Travel behavior is thus viewed as acutely dynamic, as it embraces traveler behavior for purposes of pleasure, visiting family, enhancing relationships, as well as religious pilgrimages among other goal-directed excursions.

The motives driving tourist behavior has been approached from a variety of scientific disciplines such as, sociology (e.g., Cohen, 1972; 1979; Crompton, 1979), economics and marketing (e.g., Mossberg, 2007; Prebensen & Kleiven, 2006), social anthropology (Selstad, 2007), and psychology (e.g., Deci & Ryan, 2000; Doran, Larsen, & Wolff, 2018; Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987; Pearce & Packer, 2013) amongst others. This multidisciplinary endeavor has generated a plethora of definitions, concepts, and explanatory frameworks elucidating different aspects of the phenomenon. However, the diversity of methodological approaches has also contributed to a lack of coherency within tourism research. In fact, Larsen (2007) has argued that the absence of concise and coherent definitions between scientific disciplines has served as an obstacle to the enhancement of tourism research. As a consequence, there are numerous conflicting scientific perspectives, with partial empirical support, attempting to explain what entice tourists to certain destinations and motivate choice of activities. Notably, the majority of research from sociology, marketing and economics, and social anthropology have emphasized the interaction between the tourists and the tourism industry at large (Larsen, 2007). However, a psychological inquiry into tourism does not pertain to the interaction between the tourism industry and the people populating the system, nor does it concern itself with the subsequent consequences of these interactions. Rather, a psychological

approach to tourism starts with the individual tourist experience as explained through general psychological processes (Larsen, 2007; Pearce & Packer, 2013).

According to Crompton (1979), the relationship between travel behavior and psychological processes was first explored by viewing travel motives as a response to psychosomatic exhaustion. Similarly, several have argued how alleviating mental fatigue by escaping their normal environment is a core motive driving recreational travel (Crompton, 1979; Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987). Dann (1977; 1981) later confirmed that tourists state of mind influence travel patterns, but emphasize the multifactorial nature of the phenomenon. Still, several psychological inquiries into tourism build on the hierarchy of needs developed by Maslow (1943). According to this framework, satisfying needs is pivotal to understanding all kinds of human behavior, including tourism. Thus, saturating a need is viewed as the motive driving different types of travel behavior. Different models have explored this notion in accordance with travel experience and psychological maturation (Pearce & Lee, 2005). Despite the multidisciplinary focus on tourism, as well as different psychological approaches, several have argued that tourism is still under-researched in the social sciences (Larsen, 2007; Pearce & Packer, 2013). Notably, few have adopted an experimental approach to detect individual motives influencing travel behavior (Yousaf, Amin, Santos, & Antonio, 2018).

The lack of experimental approaches to tourist motivation may have lead researchers astray. Particularly, some motives may have been overly emphasized or ignored due to social desirability bias among respondents and some may have been overlooked due to tourists' inability to recognize their own motives (Nederhof, 1985; Nisbett & Wilson, 1977). Moreover, past research on travel motivation fails to account for recent trends in tourist behavior - especially the emergence and rampant use of social media in this context.

Several have pointed out that the ability to use smartphones and social media has fundamentally changed the way people seek and display travel experiences (Amaro, Duarte,

& Henriques, 2016; Leung, Law, Van Hoof, & Buhalis, 2013). This change pertains not only to how tourists seek out information on future destinations, like for example, looking at reviews, range of activities offered and compare prices to inform their planning, but include the use of social media platforms during the travel experience. An early study on the subject documented that 89% of tourists take photographs during their journey and 41% utilize social media platforms to publish their experiences (Lo, McKercher, Lo, Cheung, & Law, 2011). This behavior seems to be increasingly prevalent as a more recent estimate found that 78% of tourists report using social media to publish photographs from their trip (Amaro et al., 2016). With this in mind, some researchers have brought attention to how travel experiences can be used as leverage in social relationships and how social media enables and magnifies this tendency (Boley et al., 2018; Correia, Kozak, & Reis, 2016; Dinhopl & Gretzel, 2016).

The act of promoting your own experiences can, in this regard, be viewed as form of signaling where people display attractive experiences to acquire social esteem or acknowledgement. The tendency to consume in order to impress others is not new however. In fact, Thorstein Veblen popularized the term “conspicuous consumption” to mean exactly that (Veblen, 1899/2008). Yet, few theories of travel motivation include signaling or conspicuous motives for travel behavior. Moreover, surveys of tourist motives are unlikely to uncover them, as competing motives such as ‘experiencing a different culture’ is viewed a more desirable reason for travel (Doran et al., 2018). To better understand and ameliorate current issues in tourism, it becomes principally important to acquire an accurate account of tourist travel motivation. Acknowledging the lack of experimental approaches within tourism research and the emergent and rampant use of social media in this context, the present work aims to contribute to the existing literature by investigating if signaling should be added as a motive for choice of destination and activities during the travel experience.

Literature Review

The study of tourism has, since the turn of the millennium, mostly explored the interaction between the industry, its institutions and the agents operating within it (Strandberg, Nath, Hemmatdar, & Jahwash, 2018). Consequently, the questions of who, when and how have been thoroughly researched within the disciplines of economics, marketing and sociology amongst others. This enquiry has largely sidestepped the question of why people engage in the activity, at least not undertaking the question empirically, as numerous economic and sociological theories have been formulated on the issue. This has left the essential question of travel motivation under-researched within tourism, and opened up for a psychological inquiry into the field (Strandberg et al., 2018).

The interdisciplinary study of motivation has yielded a plethora of definitions suited for the researcher's topic(s) of interest. The present work pertains to tourist's motivation for choice of destination preceding the trip and choice of activity during the travel experience. Thus, the expectations and subsequent evaluations are of prominent interest, and a cognitive approach to human decision-making is adopted. There are two elements constituting motivation in this context - unconscious motives driving behavior and post-hoc explanations (attributions) for behavior. Motivation is defined as the process that activates, guides and maintains goal-directed behavior (Fodness, 1994; Geen, Beatty, & Arkin, 1984; McCabe, 1999). This definition embraces all factors thrusting behavior such as biological, social and affective. However, a combination of these factor's constitutes a motive for behavior regardless of the person being consciously aware of it. In fact, it has long been known that agents have little or no introspective access to higher order cognitive processes (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977). As such, a motive is not itself sensed but inferred to fit the behavior we observe provided what we know about the circumstance. Motives are therefore susceptible to the fundamental attribution error, a tendency whereby people overestimate internal

characteristics and underestimate external factors when explaining the behavior of others (Jones & Harris, 1967). Although motives are commonly referred to as causes (why's) for behavior, they are also stated as explanations for behavior given by either self or others. The post-hoc explanation may or may not be accurate and at times give rise to a discrepancy between perceived personal motives and empirically detectable motives (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977). As both are treated as reasons for behavior, the distinction, Deci and Ryan (2000) point out, are often unspecified or confused in the motivation literature. Complicating the matter further is the prevalence of overarching theories of human motivation with varying and inconsistent usage of the term. The present work aims to introduce and test signaling as a possible motive for travel behavior. The underlying theorizing and empiricism that make up this concept is therefore of integral interest to discuss. However, an introductory review of the most influential theories of human motivation as they relate to tourists' choice of travel and activities seem warranted.

Theories of Needs and its Adaptation to Travel Motivation

A prominent line of research has approached motivation through some framework of needs. According to this tradition, satisfying a need becomes the primary motive behind behavior, including travel. As such, research on travel motivation has long been rooted in Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs theory. The theory states that human needs can be arranged into five main categories: physiological, safety, belonging and love, esteem, and self-actualization (Maslow, 1943). As it relates to tourist motivation, physiological needs are regarded as the basic need that is expected of any destination that aims to attract travelers. Physiological needs are, thus, not viewed as a motive initiating travel, but may guide the direction of travel to and away from certain destinations (Yousaf et al., 2018). Maslow's second need, safety, has been argued to influence travelers' choice of destination according to their perceived level of security (Yousaf et al., 2018). According to this notion, tourists are

more likely to visit destinations and facilities they believe are stable and secure during their stay. However, complicating the matter is the attraction of novelty and excitement that entice tourists towards hazardous activities (Yoon & Uysal, 2005). The desire for a certain level of safety and predictability during travel is, however, substantially documented (Jamrozy & Uysal, 1994; Yuan & McDonald, 1990;).

Maslow's (1943) third need, belonging and love, refers to the ability to form and maintain lasting positive relationships and experience a rewarding social life. Social belonging and relationship enhancement are thoroughly documented to be among the most frequently listed motives for travelling (Turnbull & Uysal, 1995; Yoon & Uysal, 2005; Yuan & McDonald, 1990). In a twofold way, travel can be used as a means towards enhancing a relationship by offering novel experience increasing togetherness, but also guide the direction of travel towards places where family and friends can be visited. The social motives explored in the third level of the pyramid carries over to the subsequent needs. The fourth level in the pyramid of needs, esteem, refers to the need for prestige and feeling of accomplishment. The need for esteem motivates people to travel in order to increase their social status by impressing friends, relatives and other social groups. Influential theories of tourist motivation and recreational consumption, like Dann's (1977) seminal concept of Ego-enhancement and theories of conspicuous consumption (Leibenstein, 1950; Veblen, 1899/2008), both build on the need for others esteem. The final need in the hierarchy, self-actualization, refers to the desire to realize one's full potential (Maslow, 1943). In a tourist-motivation context, self-actualization can be understood as travel where the main purpose is to challenge oneself and seek personal growth (Yousaf et al., 2018). In the push and pull motivation literature, Jamrozy and Uysal (1994) found evidence for self-actualization in motives like creative and athletic achievements.

Maslow's theory of needs spurred the development of two need-theories for travel – the travel career ladder (TCL) and travel career pattern (TCP). The former theory connects the ideas of a hierarchy of needs and psychological maturation (Pearce & Lee, 2005). Although the relationship seems plausible, the fundamental proposition made by the TCL model, that there exists a link between travel experience and travel motivation in accordance with the hierarchy of needs, is lacking empirical evidence and has since been replaced by the TCP (Ryan, 1998). Pearce and Lee (2005) developed the travel career pattern model as an adjusted version of the TCL, acknowledging that several motivational factors interact as travelers move up the ladder of travel experience. Like the TCL, the travel career pattern model suggests that travel experiences influence travel motivation in accordance with needs, but unlike the previous model this relationship is determined by a factor analysis of 74 items constituting 14 motivational factors (Pearce & Lee, 2005). The results reveal three layers of travel motivation made up by different motives depending on experience. Yet, the authors emphasize that these general tendencies also reveal significant interactions between motives and experience, leading to a complex pattern of travel motivation (Pearce & Lee, 2005).

Although the TCP model is empirically grounded and thus improves on the TCL in documenting a relationship between experience, motivation, and needs, the validity of this association has been critiqued. For instance, Ryan (1998) points out that the factor analysis reveals that groups of travelers with similar level of experience have converging motivations, but critically does not demonstrate that this convergence is a function of the experience. However, these theories do suggest that travel motivation is multidimensional as has been explored by push and pull factors as well as other need theories of travel motivation (Crompton, 1979; Dann, 1981; Fodness, 1994).

Push and Pull Factors

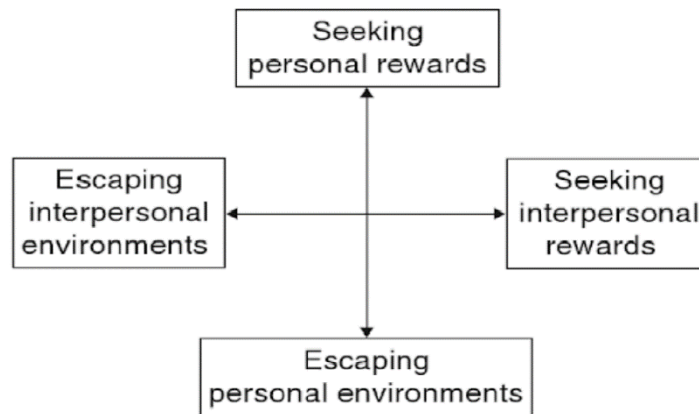
Developed on the assumption that travel motivation links to fulfilling needs, the push and pull model for tourist choice of destination and activities has been widely adopted (Baloglu & Uysal, 1996; Dann, 1977; Deci & Ryan, 2000; Yoon & Uysal, 2005). In a tourism setting, push factors are defined as internal motives that drive tourists to seek destinations and activities in order to satisfy their preferences. Conversely, pull factors are qualities engrained in the destination that attract tourists (Gnoth, 1997). Accordingly, push factors are thought to initiate the desire to travel while pull factors guide the direction of travel to specific destinations and activities (Bello & Etzel, 1985; Crompton, 1979). Although the distinction between the motives appears dichotomous, the early theories developed within this framework don't treat them as such (Crompton, 1979; Dann, 1977). For instance, Dann (1977) creates his influential theory of travel motivation on two push factors - anomie and ego-enhancement. By interviewing 422 tourists in Barbados on their attitudes towards traveling, Dann (1977) suggests that there are two primary motives for travel. The first, anomie, is a desire to get away from normal surroundings in order to relieve the stress and isolation of everyday life. The second, ego-enhancement, pertains to the personal need for growth and boosted self-confidence. As such, travel is hypothesized to accommodate these needs by improving the tourist's social capital and recognition and liberate people from everyday stressful environments (Dann, 1977). Although Dann's theory of anomie and ego-enhancement has been critiqued on empirical grounds, his work inspired numerous studies seeking to explain tourist motivation through push and pull factors (Baloglu & Uysal, 1996; Fodness, 1994; Jamrozy & Uysal, 1994; Turnbull & Uysal, 1995; Yoon & Uysal, 2005; Yuan & McDonald, 1990).

The aforementioned body of research substantiates that novelty and escape are integral factors, influencing tourists' choice of destination and activities during the travel experience.

Yet, the push and pull literature reveals inconsistencies in the number of factors generated by the approach (Yoon & Uysal, 2005). Furthermore, several factors overlap in content but are inconsistently labelled (see appendix, A). Consequently, a lack of label coherency permeates the literature, but the validity of the distinction between push and pull factors remains the most disputed assumption behind this approach (Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987; Nicolau & Mas, 2006; Pizam, Neumann, & Reichel, 1979). According to Dann (1977), any one motive that pulls the tourist to a destination critically relies upon some quality (need) within the agent endeavoring on the trip. Thus, pull factors rely upon some inherent desire within the agent undertaking the trip and the distinction between push and pull motives consequently becomes meaningless. Acknowledging this, Dann (1977) argues that pull factors are perhaps best understood as antecedents for push factors, while Pizam and colleagues (1979) view pull factors as merely post-hoc explanations for destination choice. In order to overcome the weaknesses of the two factor multi-motive view of travel motivation, several researchers (Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987; Wahlers & Etzel 1985) have adopted a continuum to explain travel motivation.

Optimal Arousal Theory

Drawing on the push factors of escape and novelty, Mannell and Iso-Ahola (1987) present a two-dimensional model of leisure travel. The dimensions, escaping and seeking, are suggested to be motivational forces influencing an individual tourists' behavior simultaneously. Accordingly, the model presents that leisure travel arises from individual's desire to escape their personal and interpersonal environments, seeking personal and interpersonal rewards (See Fig.1).

Figure 1

Note: Interplay of escaping and seeking dimensions. Adopted from Mannell and Iso-Ahola (1987).

Mannell and Iso-Ahola (1987) argue that individuals are motivated to travel as it alleviates personal problems, breaks routine procedures and offset stressful events in everyday life. Moreover, travel may provide a rewarding experience with benefits such as new competence, mastery, exploration, challenge and relaxation. Though seeking of novelty is presented as an important motive, the authors emphasize that motivation for leisure travel is engrained in escaping the normal environment. Hence, tourists' desire for leisure travel depends on the adversities of their habitual life which, in turn, influences the tourists' choice of destination and activities (Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987). The objective of leisure travel is, thus, to alleviate over-stimulation (stress) or to overcome under-stimulation. A parallel can be drawn to earlier psychological research on optimal arousal, or optimal level of stimulation. Hebb (1955) documented a physiological preference for arousal following an inverted U-shape. According to this model, the increase in arousal is sensed as rewarding, to a point, where any further increase is experienced as arduous. As such, early theorizing suggests that people seek an optimal level of arousal for long-term states and that this influences short-term behaviors such as pursuing recreational travel (Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987).

In a tourism context, Wahlers and Etzel (1985) documented that vacation preferences relied upon the travelers self-reported ideal level of stimulation in relation to their current life situation. Specifically, they found that people who reported being under-stimulated in their everyday life, pursued travel options that contained elements of novelty and excitement. Conversely, travelers who reported being stressed in their normal surrounding pursued a more tranquil and structured vacation (Wahlers & Etzel, 1985). This finding supports the view that people use leisure travel to find an optimal level of arousal by either seeking excitement or reducing stress, further substantiating the two-dimensional theory of escaping and seeking proposed Mannell and Iso-Ahola (1987). In stark contrast, Cohen (1979) argued that the view of tourists as merely ‘pleasure travelers’ is simplistic and reveals only a superficial understanding of the tourist experience.

Theories of Tourist Types and Modes

Cohen (1972) created a typology of tourists by combining the environment the individual tourist normally inhabits, and their form of travel. Central to this framework is the motives of familiarity and novelty, and the individual tourist’ relation to the two. He argues that the tourist experience combines a degree of novelty with a degree of familiarity, and that this continuum reveals the underlying variable for which a sociological analysis of tourism should be conducted. From this framework, he distinguishes four roles of tourists: the organized mass tourist, the individual mass tourist, the explorer and the drifter (Cohen, 1972). The different roles exhibit their place on the continuum by how they organize their trip, from the meticulously organized mass tourist to the truly unpremeditated drifter type. Cohen’s (1972) typology of tourist roles organize pleasure travelers into groups of tourists with shared preferences on the novelty-familiarity continuum. However, the roles do not predicate the ultimate motives of travelers, but rather organize them according to the continuum. The framework is therefore limited in its application to tourist motivation in and of itself. To

disentangle the ultimate meaning of travel for the individual, Cohen (1979) developed a framework of five modes of tourist experiences: the recreational, the diversionary, the experiential, the experimental and the existential mode.

The five modes are organized on a continuum according to their preference for seeking meaning through travel. Cohen (1979) postulates that the modes represent a continuum of travel motivation from the most superficial pursuit of pleasure by the recreational traveler, to the most profound pursuit of meaning by the existential traveler. Integral to this framework is the search for the authentic experience in a different culture and to what extent the traveler adopts this new perspective. There is some evidence confirming a taxonomy of tourist types (Mo, Howard, & Havitz, 1993; Yiannakis & Gibson, 1992), but there are difficulties with evaluating the relationship between Cohen's types and modes empirically. For instance, a traveler can experience different modes of tourism during a single trip and can change their type of traveling at different point in their touristic biography. It therefore remains challenging to pinpoint travel motivation for individual travelers in accordance with the framework of types and modes proposed by Cohen (1972; 1979). Another problem adheres to the concept of 'spiritual center' and the tourists alleged relation to his native and host environment. Cohen (1979) suggests that the travelers' conception of his relation to a spiritual center is directly linked with his motivation for pursuing tourism. However, this relationship is not empirically established before the trip, but is inferred to fit the travel behavior observed post-hoc. The relationship is therefore not verified by the author's analysis and merely suggestive of travel motivation with sparse empirical substantiation (Mo et al., 1993; Yiannakis & Gibson, 1992)

The problem of post-hoc explanations being labelled as motives, when they should be understood as attributions, permeates the travel motivation literature beyond Cohen's analysis (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Moreover, a more practical problem pertains to detecting motives

through surveys where the respondents are susceptible to exhibit socially desirable responses (Edwards, 1953; Fisher, 1993; Nederhof, 1985). This may lead researchers astray as they document noble motives but miss the less desirable and underreported reasons people travel. Furthermore, the aforementioned approaches may fail to account for the respondents limited access to their higher cognitive processes (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977), and that they are unaware of these limitations (Kruger & Dunning, 1999). This is especially problematic for tourists who are asked *in situ*, who's reasons often take the form of rationalizations or confabulations. Taken together, detecting an undesirable travel motive, such as signaling, needs to account for these impediments and an experimental approach seems preferable.

Conspicuous Consumption and Signaling in a Tourism context

Social scientists have utilized the concept of conspicuous consumption to explain behavior, and consumer behavior more specifically, for more than a century. The term “Conspicuous Consumption” was first coined by the American economist and sociologist Thorstein Veblen in his seminal book *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, published in 1899. In this, Veblen argued that luxury goods, extravagant lifestyles and ostentatious display of wealth were principal themes of consumption (Veblen, 1899/2008). Hence, he understood consumption to include more than meeting needs provided by different products, but to contain a demonstration of class and social status. However, Veblen was not alone in expressing moral concern over superfluous consumption. Economic historian Mason (1998) notes that excessive consumption worried moral philosophers predating the term, conspicuous consumption, and economists like John Rae investigated similar purchasing behavior more than seventy years ahead of Veblen (Rae, 1905). Nevertheless, Veblen was the first to popularize the idea that Leibenstein (1950) later developed to include three separate tendencies of conspicuous consumption in the consumer demand literature.

The notion of conspicuous consumption is the tendency of consumers to make social comparisons to others when purchasing and consuming services, products or experiences in order to achieve or display status. As such, consumers are (1) mimicking the purchasing behavior of those perceptibly above them in the social hierarchy, or at the very minimum, (2) attempting to keep up with their perceived peers. The latter tendency can be seen in relation to the popular phrase “keeping up with the Joneses” where people supposedly value their own standard of living in relation to their neighbors. Leibenstein (1950) incorporated this idea into the theory of consumer demand and labelled it the “bandwagon effect”. Specifically, the bandwagon effect suggests that consumers demand for a product or service increases as other people consume it. Conversely, the former tendency, which he labelled the “snob effect”, suggests that the demand for a product or service decrease as other people consume of it. Consumers, who want to distinguish themselves from the masses, showing their higher status, pursue this strategy. Additionally, Leibenstein (1950) suggest a third variant named the “Veblen effect”, which entails that people chose products based on their relative *high* price. This, according to Leibenstein (1950), is strictly conspicuous consumption. The variants taken together, consumers are motivated to either increase or stabilize their social positioning depending on their frame of reference. This gives rise to an arms race of consumption but would accomplish little if not portrayed to others.

Trigg (2001) argues that while esteem from others necessitates affluence, the driving force behind consumption is the display of wealth. According to Trigg (2001), this follows for two principal reasons. First, since people engage in social comparisons that ultimately influence their social standing, individuals have the incentive to exaggerate their level of prosperity. Second, social norms penalize people who boast about their wealth in order to obtain social recognition (Trigg, 2001). Transforming wealth into status goods or exclusive experiences overcomes both by providing evidence of genuine affluence in a subtle, but visual

manner. Thus, the consumption of exclusive and expensive goods works as a means for displaying your wealth to climb or secure your place in the social hierarchy. The American sociologist F.S. Chapin collected preliminary evidence of this theory by analyzing the living rooms of American families. According to Veblen (1899/2008), the living room was a good proxy for socio-economic status, as it is the most visible in the private residence. Chapin (1932) found that living rooms showed strong inter-observer correlations in determining and distinguishing between different social classes. However, it is important to note that this behavior does not entail solely to purchasing behavior, but to the activities in which people participate generally. Veblen (1899/2008) argued that by overly engaging in wasteful activities, the leisure class could indirectly display their high level of wealth in a socially accepted way. Hence, the manifestations of this phenomenon supersede the purchase and display of goods and services to include a wide variety of behaviors. Although Veblen's (1899/2008) seminal work on conspicuous consumption was principally meant as a critic of contemporary capitalist culture, he recognized that this seemed to be a global phenomenon (pp. 1-5). In fact, eye-catching demonstrations of wealth have been identified across several cultures and epochs from feudal Europe and Japan, to Amazonian and Polynesian tribes (Bird & Smith, 2005; Godoy et al., 2007). Given the ubiquity of the phenomenon, an evolutionary perspective helps illuminate the motivations driving conspicuous consumption.

The phenomenon of conspicuous consumption has inter-species evolutionary antecedents. It is integral to the theory of evolution by natural and sexual selection that expenditure of energy and resources needs to be offset by some benefit to survival or reproduction (Buss & Schmitt, 1993; Johnstone, 1995; Miller, 2000). Animals wouldn't otherwise engage in 'wasteful' activities and continue to reap reproductive success. In terms of sexual selection, the most visual example of conspicuous display is the peacocks (*Pavo cristatus*) train, which signals the owners genetic fitness in order to attract mates (Loyau,

Saint Jalme, Cagniant, & Sorci, 2005; Petrie, Tim, & Carolyn, 1991). Another salient example is the male bowerbird (*Ptilonorhynchus violaceus*), who builds elaborate structures (bowers) and decorate them with ornaments to attract female partners. The more impressive the bower, the likelier it is that a female will court the male (Borgia, 1985). Importantly, the bower serves no other purpose than to show off the male's fitness. After courtship, the female bowerbird flies off to build her own nest, to lay eggs and raise her chicks, without assistance from the father (Borgia, 1985). Still, more complex behaviors like protecting a group follow the same principle of conspicuous display of genetic fitness. For example, the Arabian babblers (*Turdoides squamiceps*) fight among themselves for a chance to be the groups safeguard, taking on the risk of being seen by predators (Zahavi, 1974; 1975). This appears at first glance to be an altruistic behavior, however, the position of safeguarding the group presents the individual babbler with greater reproductive opportunities and a smaller chance of social exclusion (Zahavi, 1974; 1975). Hence the cost of outcompeting peers for the opportunity to take on a risky task is outweighed by the reproductive benefits. This and other behavior where a cost is incurred voluntarily on the part of the individual to signal some attractive quality, falls under the handicap principle (Johnstone & Grafen, 1993; Zahavi & Zahavi, 1991).

The handicap principle suggests that, since taking on strenuous tasks like safeguarding a group is costly for the individual, the act of doing so sends a signal of genetic fitness to other members and potential mates (Johnstone & Grafen, 1993; Miller, 2000; Smith & Harper, 2003; Zahavi & Zahavi, 1991). It follows that when a signal is very costly to send, only the fittest individuals can afford to send it. The correspondence between signal and ability is thus said to be honest or reliable (Dawkins & Guilford, 1991). Conversely, when a signal is not sufficiently costly, it fails to reflect the sender's high ability as it can be mimicked by less able individuals. Moreover, cheap signals can more easily be faked, leading to deception. When a signal no longer corresponds with the individual's fitness, the signal

loses its validity and cannot be utilized as a sexual selection strategy (Dawkins & Gilford, 1991; Zahavi & Zahavi, 1991; Johnstone, 1995). In this way, the reliability of the signal depends upon how costly it is for the individual to send and several researchers have noted a congruence between sexual signaling and exuberant consumption (Johnstone, 1995; Miller, 2000; Roney, 2003; Saad, 2007; Sundie et al., 2011). For instance, Roney (2003) found that men's attitude towards obtaining and displaying wealth increased when they were physically exposed to women. Furthermore, the demand for luxury goods increased among men as mating motives become more prominent, yet no increase could be observed in inconspicuous products (Griskevicius et al., 2007). Aligned with this notion, conspicuous consumption function like the display of sexually selective traits, signaling to potential partners and peers that the individual can afford to squander resources (Saad, 2007; Sundie et al., 2011). In turn, this behavior establishes or promotes the individual's place in the social hierarchy and helps attract mating partners and allies.

Several studies have looked at consumption or other behavioral patterns from a conspicuous signaling perspective in order to explain seemingly "wasteful" behavior. For example, Griskevicius and colleagues (2007) found that the salience of mating motives increased public helpfulness and charitable donations in women. Additionally, also men increased their public helpfulness when observed by potential mating partners (Griskevicius et al., 2007). The authors conclude that consumption of conspicuous luxury products, altruistic behavior and charitable giving all increase when being publicly observable (Griskevicius et al., 2007). Moreover, corroborating evidence was developed in two experiments by Sundie and colleagues (2011), who documented conspicuous purchasing patterns in response to mating motives. Specifically, in the first experiment, male participants allocated more money towards purchasing conspicuous products after being primed with a photo of an attractive female, while in the second experiment they indicated a stronger desire for high-status (but

not low-status) goods after reading a romantic story (Sundie et al., 2011). Moreover, Sundie and colleagues (2011) also found that female participants noticed differences in spending and found conspicuous spenders to be more attractive as short-term partners. Taken together, male consumer preferences were increasingly ostentatious in response to mating motives and female receivers recognized and rewarded this behavior (Sundie et al., 2011).

In the aforementioned experiments, showy consumption worked as a signaling device to attract mating partners by showing the ability to squander resources. Still, conspicuous consumption can be utilized to signal a wide variety of attractive qualities beyond extravagant displays of wealth. For instance, purchasing environmentally friendly products, instead of conventional alternatives, may signal a concern for the environment, a prosocial motive. In fact, a series of experiments have shown how prosocial purchases are influenced by social status and the ability to be seen (Griskevicius, Tybur, & Van den Bergh, 2010). For example, when subjects were given a choice between buying one of two equally priced products, one of them luxurious, the other less luxurious but environmentally friendly, participants chose the luxurious non-green alternative (car, dishwasher, household cleaner). However, when primed with a status-seeking motive, participants revealed the opposite response pattern indicating a clear preference for the green alternative (Griskevicius et al., 2010). Furthermore, in another experiment, participants were asked to select between purchasing green or non-green products in a public and private (online) setting. The results revealed that subjects preferred shopping non-green products in a private setting, while preferring the green products when shopping in public (Griskevicius et al., 2010). Evidently, environmentally friendly purchasing behavior exhibit ulterior motives beyond helping the environment to include being seen as helpful. Thus, buying green products seems to exhibit elements of conspicuous consumption (signaling), albeit in a different way than Veblen (1899/2008) first suggested.

The tendency to consume more when spending is publicly visible also holds true for consumer behavior not commonly attributed to status such as charitable donations. Taken together, a large body of research has documented the inclination of people to increase donations when induced by conspicuous motives (Andreoni, 1989; Bull & Gibson-Robinson, 1981; Griskevicius et al., 2007; Hoffman, McCabe, & Smith, 1996; Jackson & Latané, 1981; Rigdon, Ishii, Watabe, & Kitayama, 2009). For example, Haley and Fessler (2005) found that manipulating reputational opportunities in an economic game affected the commitment to prosocial behavior. Specifically, both the likeliness of a player to allocate money to a partner (co-player) and the magnitude of the donation increased with the presence of observability cues (Haley & Fessler, 2005). Conversely, Andreoni and Petrie (2004) found that prosocial behavior, such as charitable donations, decrease when participants are denied the chance to promote their generosity. Clearly, altruism, charitable donations and other forms of prosocial behavior are impacted by the extent to which others could observe the participants behavior. Visibility, thus, helps explain behavior that is not commonly classified as consuming status-goods, but nevertheless are affected by conspicuous motives. This further supports the notion that a wide variety of consumer behaviors are performed, in part, as a way of signaling an attractive quality to peers and partners. Yet, despite elaborate theorizing and experimentation, conspicuous consumption has also been extensively criticized (Campbell, 1995; Trigg, 2001).

Throughout the twentieth century, three main forms of criticism have been contesting the idea of consumer behavior motivated by conspicuous consumption. First, some consumers mirror the purchasing behavior of people below them in the social hierarchy, thus reversing the purchasing pattern suggested by the concept (Trigg, 2001). Second, parts of consumption have become less extravagant and consumers pursue status through discretion of material wealth (Trigg, 2001). Finally, conspicuous consumption fails to account for purchases intended to reflect the consumers' identity (Trigg, 2001). Moreover, Campbell (1995) argued

that the concept of conspicuous consumption lacks an operational definition and thus becomes difficult to falsify. He reasons further that the idea as explained by Veblen (1899/2008), relies upon a subjective interpretation of motives inspiring consumer choice.

In part, the main lines of criticisms have been rebutted by the “Bluejeans effect”, in which consumers buy an inexpensive commodity to show that they affiliate with a certain group or class (Frankel, 1975). For instance, the relatively inexpensive garment of denim makes blue jeans readily available for the masses. Yet, people of higher socio-economic status, who can afford more costly materials, may purchase and wear blue jeans in order to signal working class sympathies. The increased demand for cheap goods thus becomes conspicuous, albeit in a different direction than Veblen first proposed. Importantly, this phenomenon broadens the concept of conspicuous consumption to include specific purchasing behavior directed at specific groups. With this inclusion, conspicuous consumption is better understood as a signaling device to obtain recognition among peers. Relatedly, the rise of inconspicuous consumption among consumers purchasing high-end products has provoked academic interest (Eckhardt, Belk, & Wilson, 2015). It is important to note, however, that the term “inconspicuous consumption” is essentially a category of conspicuous consumption, but where the display of wealth is conducted in a more subtle way. Although inconspicuous consumption is perhaps better labelled as “subtle conspicuous consumption”, the label inconspicuous is used in the literature investigating the phenomenon (Eckhardt et al., 2015). For instance, Berger and Ward (2010) found that price and the presence of brand logo follow an inverted U-relationship. This suggest that consumers exhibit conspicuous purchasing patterns up to a certain price-range, but that the very high-end products use subtle markers. Subsequently, the most affluent consumers prefer a subtle form of signaling to equally affluent insiders. Nonetheless, the mainstream consumer still prefers products with prestigious branding, further documenting the conspicuous aspect of consumer choice (Berger & Ward,

2010). Empirical tests of goods with different status value have further answered Campbell's (1995) critique regarding falsifiability. Although Veblen's formulations of conspicuous consumption lack an operational definition, empirical tests can differentiate between products degree of public visibility. For example, Chao and Schor (1998) found that women are willing to pay a premium for publicly visible cosmetics and that brand buying patterns favor higher status brands, yet they failed to find the same tendency for inconspicuous products like face wash. Additionally, Bloch, Rao and Desai (2004) applied the concept outside the U.S. and Europe, to determine conspicuous expenditure in rural weddings in India. They argued that since the wife's family typically pays for the wedding ceremony, and marrying into a high-status family is something that is desirable to display to the community, wedding expenditure should grow according to the status of the groom's family. In fact, they found that after adjusting for the assets of the wife's family, wedding expenses grew according to the socio-economic status of the groom's family (Bloch et al., 2004). Thus, the increasingly large ceremony was used to display the family's movement up the socio-economic ladder. Research on travel and tourism further confirms that conspicuous consumption is a global phenomenon.

Since the introduction of social media, researchers have been keenly interested in its effect on tourism from a marketing perspective. A literature review revealed that articles between 2007 and 2011 mainly focused on how consumers utilize social media in researching future destinations and activities (Leung et al., 2013). For instance, Xiang and Gretzel (2010) found that search engines directed potential tourists to social media sites when exploring travel-related searches, indicating social media's growing potential for the tourism industry. Relatedly, a more recent study by Chung and Koo (2015) discovered that the usage of social media helps determine the value travelers put on information provided by the different platforms. Conversely, the supplier side of the industry has focused on promotion, online reviews and management (Leung et al., 2013; Zeng & Gerritzen, 2014). A clustering approach

revealed different groups of travelers, regarding age, education, involvement and enjoyment based on their social media use (Amaro et al., 2016). This has implications for how providers in the industry should market their products. However, a different line of research (Correia et al., 2016; Lo & McKercher, 2015) attempts to explain travelers' use of social media through the concept of conspicuous consumption.

From Zhang Qian and Marco Polo, to the polar explorers, travel and novel experiences has excited esteem and admiration by others. While most do not return from their trip as national heroes, travelers have been known to use their experiences and artifacts for social prestige (Correia et al., 2016; Sirgy & Su, 2000). Smartphones and photo sharing on social media platforms have further enabled this type of conspicuous adventuring. By making the sharing of experiences cheap, easy and far-reaching, travelers can increase their social capital by the press of a button (Munar & Jacobsen, 2014). This overcomes the previous difficulties of documenting and sharing trips through physical pictures or souvenirs. Furthermore, Lo and McKercher (2015) note that travelers can increase reach and be more selective when promoting their trips through social media. Given the opportunity to select and retouch pictures, travelers can increase their social status in a subtler manner to their chosen reference group. This aligns nicely with the idea of inconspicuous consumption discovered among the people in the high-end of the socio-economic latter (Eckhardt et al., 2015). Furthermore, Boley and colleagues (2018) have noted that tourists are able to tail their social media output to generate the maximum amount of “social return” from their endeavors. In a study of tourist preferences and choice of destination, they found that expected social return predicted traveler's intent to visit Cuba within the next 10 years (Boley et al., 2018). Furthermore, psychological literature suggests that expectations influence how tourists evaluate their trip in hindsight (Fredrickson, 2000; Larsen, 2007; Wirtz, Kruger, Scollon, & Diener, 2003). This suggests that the expectations stimulated for any destination or activity may not only explain

how people perceive of it in hindsight, but also explain why they traveled there in the very first place.

If trips can enhance travelers' social standing, portraying it to others becomes the strategic task resolved by social media. Indeed, tourists seem to take advantage of this new opportunity. An early study by Lo and colleagues (2011) found that 89% of tourists take pictures during their trip and 41% post them on social media. This is likely to be an underestimate of the current situation, as social media platforms such as Instagram has become increasingly popular within the population of travelers, and more recent estimates report that 78% of tourists publish travel experiences online (Amaro et al., 2016; Fatanti & Suyadnya, 2015). Key to the assumption that travel photos are a means of portraying wealth or social capital is the notion that destinations and activities differ in their signaling value (Boley et al., 2018; Dinhopl & Gretzel, 2016). Accordingly, one can presume that destinations or activities that are perceived as exclusive or luxurious will attract more social media promotions than common sites. Furthermore, tourists should aim to visit these attractions at a higher rate if they have the opportunity to promote their visit. Taken together, the visibility and exclusiveness of each destination and activity can be taken as proxies for their conspicuous value. If tourist choice of destination and activities are affected by their social return, this serves as evidence for the conspicuous nature of tourism.

In summary, the tourism sector is an increasingly important part of the global economy, and is attracting academic interest from numerous disciplines (Strandberg et al., 2018). Still, it is probably safe to say that tourism and in particular experiences pertaining to travel is under researched (Larsen, 2007; Pearce & Packer, 2013; Yiannakis & Gibson, 1992). The burst of tourism as an extensive industry and travel as a widespread activity is also raising concerns about its impact on the environment and local culture (Banister, 1997; Buckley, 2012; McKercher, 1993). To better understand and alleviate emerging problems in

tourism, it becomes important to acquire an accurate account of tourist motivation. Several researchers have approached tourist motivation through the framework of needs, where tourist experiences are sought out to satisfy an inherent desire in the traveler (Yousaf et al., 2018). Building on this notion, Pearce and Lee (2005) developed the TCP-model where travel preferences change in accordance with needs and prior on travel experience. Like the TCP, most push and pull theories of tourists' motivation use a factor analysis to determine what underlying components make up the many individual motives of travelers. Push factors are viewed as internal motives that initiate travel behavior, while pull factors are qualities engrained in the destination that attracts the traveler (Gnoth, 1997). Utilizing two pull motives, novelty and escape, Mannell and Iso-Ahola (1987) present a two-dimensional model where the individual traveler seeks personal and interpersonal rewards, escaping his personal and interpersonal environment. Thus, travel can be seen in relation to the desire for optimal arousal by balancing everyday life with recreational travel. The view that travel motivation is constructed on what the person seeks in the destination and his relation to his own surroundings was first proposed by Cohen (1972). Yet, his framework of touristic types and modes is only sparsely verified (Yiannakis & Gibson, 1992; Mo et al., 1993). Moreover, several of the aforementioned approaches are weakened by using a research design susceptible to the social desirability bias (Edwards, 1953; Fisher, 1993; Nederhof, 1985). This is especially true if respondents have unappealing motives they don't want to disclose, or may even be unaware of (Kruger & Dunning, 1999; Nisbett & Wilson, 1977). Consequently, to introduce signaling as a travel motive is preferably undertaken by an experimental approach.

The present work investigates if signaling influences choice of travel destination and choice of activities during the travel experience. Hence, the objective of this study is to determine if signaling should be included as a motive in the travel motivation literature. Conspicuous consumption critically proposes that people purchase goods and services to

increase their social standing. Thus, the act of displaying consumption to others is the key behavior that achieves this goal (Trigg, 2001). There are several ways for consumers to document the possession of attractive goods or exclusive experiences, such as travel, but promoting the trip on social media is a growing tendency (Amaro et al., 2016; Lo et al., 2011). This study therefore manipulates the opportunity of tourists to depict and promote their travel photos on social media. The first experiment presents each participant with one of four versions of a scenario describing a visit to an attraction. The scenarios are identical in content but differ in their promotion opportunities, asking participants to indicate their intent of visiting the attraction. Hence, the experiment examines if intentions to visit increase according to the self-promoting opportunities, and test hypothesis H1, H2, and H3.

H1: Tourists should indicate a greater intention of visiting the attraction if they are provided the opportunity to depict their visit.

H2: Tourists should indicate an even greater intention of visiting the attraction if they are provided the opportunity to depict and promote their visit on social media.

Given that conspicuous consumption occasionally violates norms and inconspicuous consumption, as explained by Eckhardt and colleagues (2015), is a subtler way of attaining status. We may expect that:

H3: Tourists should indicate a greater intention of visiting the attraction if they are provided the opportunity to be depicted and promoted through the attraction's social media account.

The second experiment pertains to participants choice of destination. The literature on conspicuous consumption suggest that some products yield a higher social return than others. If tourism is a form of conspicuous consumption, exclusive destinations should yield a higher social return than mundane destinations. Conversely, losing personal photos (promotion opportunities) from a trip to an exclusive destination should yield higher levels of

disappointment and misfortune, than from a mundane destination. The second experiment manipulates the signaling value of four destinations to test if this impacts levels of disappointment and misfortune, testing H4, H5, H6, and H7.

H4: Participants should indicate a higher level of disappointment when losing pictures from attractive destinations than less attractive.

H5: Participants should indicate a higher level of misfortune when losing pictures from attractive destinations than less attractive.

Alternatively, if tourism is a form of inconspicuous consumption where social return is gained by subtly promoting the trip, we can expect that:

H6: Participants should indicate that losing pictures taken by others is more disappointing than losing their personal photos.

H7: Participants should indicate that losing pictures taken by others is more unfortunate than losing their personal photos.

Method Study 1

Sample

Participants were tourists ($N = 1515$) visiting Bergen, Norway, during the summer season of 2018. Data collection took place at nine different locations, known for being popular tourist attractions, in and around Bergen. Of the respondents, 846 (55.8%) were females and 660 males (43.8%), the remaining 9 (0.6%) participants did not report gender. The participants' mean age was 43.62 years ($SD = 18.17$), ranging from 11-90 years old, and with a median age of 43. The sample consisted of 1362 (89.9%) international and 133 (8.8%) domestic tourists, representing more than 50 countries, across six continents. Hence, the respondents constitute a convenience sample of tourists visiting Bergen, with the most prevalent nationalities being the U.S. (19.2%), Germany (12.7%), Great Britain (11.4%) and Norway (8.6%).

Materials

As a part of a larger survey written in English, the participants responded to one of four conditions, of a scenario describing themselves visiting the Edvard Grieg Museum (see appendix, B). All the scenarios included a description of Grieg's work and life, but three experimental conditions also contained a sentence providing a self-promoting message. The scenario only describing Grieg's work and life was used as baseline and labelled "No self-promotion". The experimental conditions provided scenarios with increasing opportunities for self-promotion: (1) "Minimal self-promotion" - you take a personal photo at the museum (2) "High self-promotion" - you take a personal photo at the museum and post it on social media (3) "Inconspicuous self-promotion" - the museum staff depicts you and post in on their social media accounts. The respondents indicated their visiting intentions on a seven-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 *very unlikely* to 7 *very likely*, for themselves and for typical tourists. The latter was done in order to determine if the Grieg museum was regarded as a

socially desirable attraction. A positive difference score, between personal intent and typical tourist intent, would indicate that participants regard a visit to the museum as socially desirable. The participants also indicated if they had already visited or planned to visit the museum, on a binary *True\False* measure.

Procedure

Potential participants were approached at nine different locations, and asked if they were willing to partake in a survey concerning different aspects of being a tourist. The locations consist of areas known for being frequented by tourists, including Mount Floyen, the Hanseatic Museum, the Tourist Information Center, Bergen Train Station, Bryggens Museum, Rasmus Meyer Art Museum, the Coastal Express Terminal, and the Fish Market in Bergen. Respondents partook anonymously and were ensured that all responses were confidential and for research purposes only. Participants filled out, one of four versions, of the paper survey using a pen or a pencil. The different versions were distributed sequentially to partakers, thus assigning the participants into four different groups. They remained unaware of the different scenario-conditions throughout the test phase, but had the opportunity to contact the leading researcher via email for information. The respondents were not, in any way, compensated for their participation.

Results Study 1

Some participants (2.01%) did not fill in the questionnaire in an adequate manner (missing responses) and were excluded list wise for the statistical procedures. All conditions violated the assumption of normality, as determined by a Saphiro-Wilk test ($p < .05$). Therefore, a nonparametric approach to each test was conducted for reason of comparison. None of the nonparametric tests yielded different conclusions (See appendix, C).

A one-way analysis of variance was conducted to determine if the visiting intentions were different for groups of tourists exposed to different degrees of self-promoting messages.

Participants answered one of four versions of the museum-scenario: “No self-promotion” ($n = 373$), “Minimal self-promotion” ($n = 371$), “High self-promotion” ($n = 369$) and “Inconspicuous self-promotion” ($n = 372$). All conditions violated the assumption of normality as determined by a Saphiro-Wilk test ($p < .05$), yet as the one-way ANOVA is robust for dealing with non-normality the procedures were continued (Lix, Keselman & Keselman, 1996). The assumption of equality of variances was satisfied, as determined by Levene’s Test for Homogeneity of Variances ($p = .093$). Intention to visit increased from No self-promotion ($M = 4.11$, $SD = 1.99$) to Inconspicuous self-promotion ($M = 4.12$, $SD = 2.02$), and High self-promotion ($M = 4.14$, $SD = 2.09$) to Minimal self-promotion ($M = 4.16$, $SD = 2.12$), but the difference between these groups was not statistically significant $F(3, 1481) = .047$, $p = .987$.

Since the one-way analysis of variance failed to reveal any differences between the groups, the samples were pooled together for further analysis. A paired-samples t-test was conducted to determine if the participants ascribed *typical tourists* a different intent of visiting the museum, compared to themselves. Both variables, violated the assumption of normal distribution, as determined by a Saphiro-Wilks test ($p < .05$). Yet, as the paired-samples t-test is robust to non-normality, the procedure was continued (Sawilowsky & Blair, 1992). Participants ascribed typical tourists ($M = 4.32$, $SD = 1.34$) a higher likelihood of visiting the Grieg museum compared to themselves ($M = 4.12$, $SD = 2.05$), a statistically significant difference $t(1441) = -3.671$, $p < .001$. However, a Cohen’s D test of effect size revealed that the difference was miniscule, $d = 0.096$.

For exploratory purposes, a one-way analysis of variance was conducted on the participants ($N = 310$) who responded that they had or planned to visit the museum. Intention to visit scores violated the assumption of normal distribution determined by a Saphiro-Wilks test ($p < .05$), for each group respectively, but as the one-way ANOVA is robust in dealing

with non-normality the procedure was continued. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was violated, as assessed by Levene's test for equality of variances ($p = .001$), therefore the Welch F is reported. The stated intent of visiting the Grieg museum was statistically significantly different between the groups receiving different levels of self-promoting messages, Welch $F(3,170.428) = 21.959, p < .001$. Intent to visit scores increased from No self-promotion ($M = 4.02, SD = 1.97$) to Minimal self-promotion ($M = 5.86, SD = 1.76$), and from Inconspicuous self-promotion ($M = 6.04, SD = 1.34$) to High self-promotion ($M = 6.07, SD = 1.51$). A Games-Howell post hoc analysis revealed that the mean increase from No self-promotion to Minimal self-promotion (1.84, 95% CI [2.60, 1.07]), No self-promotion to Inconspicuous self-promotion (2.01, 95% CI [2.73, 1.30]) and No self-promotion to High self-promotion (2.04, 95% CI [2.77, 1.32]) all were statistically significant $p < .001$. However, none of the self-promoting conditions differed significantly from each other $p > .05$.

Furthermore, to determine if the participants ($N = 303$) who had or planned to visit the museum considered it to be a socially desirable activity, a paired-samples t-test comparing visiting intentions for self and typical tourists was conducted. The outcome variables violated the assumption of normal distribution, as determined by a Saphiro-Wilks test ($p < .05$) but the procedure was continued. Participants indicated a stronger intent to visit for themselves ($M = 5.51, SD = 1.86$), compared to typical tourists ($M = 4.92, SD = 1.27$), a statistically significant mean increase $t(302) = 4.913, p < .001, d = 0.28$. This indicates that these participants considered visiting the museum to be socially desirable which is in stark contrast to people who had not visited the museum.

Discussion study 1

In order for the experiment to yield effective results, a visit to the Grieg museum needed to be a socially desirable activity, as people don't want to be associated with an undesirable event. Thus, we expected the participants to indicate a stronger intention to visit

the museum for themselves, compared to typical tourists. However, the results revealed a reversed tendency for people who had not planned to visit the museum, suggesting that they perceived the Grieg museum to be an undesirable attraction. This violates the key assumption behind the study and thus yielded the experimental conditions ineffective. Yet, the participants who regarded the Grieg museum as a desirable event responded in accordance with our initial hypotheses. We therefore conducted an initial attractiveness rating of the four destinations in the second experiment. Aligned with the concept of conspicuous consumption, some destinations exhibit more positive signaling value than others, grounded on their exclusivity. We therefore investigated if the level of disappointment and perceived misfortune rose when missing the chance to promote the trip at exclusive destinations, using common destinations as baseline.

Method Study 2

Sample

Participants were male ($n = 41$) and female ($n = 204$) undergraduate students attending the University of Bergen, in Norway. Data collection occurred during two psychology lectures in the fall semester of 2018. The students who took part in the study did so on a voluntary basis and were not, in any way, compensated for their participation. The participants' mean age was 21 years old ($SD = 3.63$), ranging from 18-47 years old. Accordingly, the participants constitute a convenience sample of undergraduate psychology students.

Materials

The participants received one of two versions, of a double-paged survey, all requesting for age and gender as demographic items (see appendix, D). All versions asked the participants to rate the attractiveness of four destinations, Gran Canaria, Mallorca, Machu Picchu and Christ the Redeemer in Rio de Janeiro, on a seven-point Likert-type scale. In

accordance with their promotional value, the four destinations were anticipated to have different degrees of attractiveness, with Gran Canaria and Mallorca being less attractive than Machu Picchu and Christ the Redeemer. Responses to each of the destinations ranged from *less attractive* to *very attractive* and assigned the numeric value of 1 to 7, respectively. The scale and numeric values were consistent across all items for all versions. Version 1 asked the participants to imagine themselves visiting the four different destinations, taking personal photos, but losing the memory stick they saved their pictures on. Accordingly, the survey asked them to indicate to what degree they felt disappointed and considered themselves to be unlucky if this was the case. In version 2, the participants read a scenario describing themselves visiting the four destinations while being depicted by *Reiselyst*, Norway's bestselling travel magazine. As in version 1, the pictures from the trip are lost and the participants are to indicate their level of disappointment and misfortune. The different versions were constructed to test if pictures from the trip better suited a form of inconspicuous consumption. In accordance with this notion, losing pictures taken by others (version 2) would yield higher levels of disappointment and misfortune. Taken together, the two versions measure one cognitive (perceived misfortune) and one affective (disappointment) response upon losing pictures from the trip, either personally or by *Reiselyst*.

Procedure

The participants responded to the survey during a break period in a psychology lecture at the University of Bergen, in the fall of 2018. Data collection occurred in two different psychology lectures three days apart, but followed the same procedure each time. The students received a vocal encouragement to participate, and warned not to cooperate or discuss their responses with classmates. The participants arbitrarily received one of the two versions of the survey, and remained otherwise unaware of the design or purpose of the study. All respondents successfully completed the survey within the allocated ten minutes.

Results Study 2

The destinations expected level of attractiveness, was confirmed by the analysis with Machu Picchu ($M = 6.09$, $SD = 1.20$) and Christ the Redeemer ($M = 5.21$, $SD = 1.64$) being significantly more attractive than Mallorca ($M = 4.20$, $SD = 1.59$), and Gran Canaria ($M = 3.94$, $SD = 1.76$).

Approximately half (52%, $n = 127$) the sample responded to scenarios describing them visiting the four destinations but where they lost their personal photos from the trip. The other half (48%, $n = 117$) responded to similar scenarios but where a travel magazine, *Reiselyst*, lost the photos they had taken of the participant(s) at the destinations. To investigate if promoting a trip was a form of inconspicuous consumption, a Mann Whitney U test was conducted for all destinations (See Table 1).

Table 1

Mann Whitney U test for difference between losing personal and magazine photos across destinations.

Destination	Disappointment					Misfortune				
	<i>Mdn P</i>	<i>Mdn M</i>	<i>U</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Mdn P</i>	<i>Mdn M</i>	<i>U</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i>
Machu Picchu	6.00	6.00	7092	-.63	.532	6.00	5.00	6463	-1.79	.072
Christ the Redeemer	5.00	5.00	6901	-.98	.324	5.00	5.00	6397	-1.91	.056
Gran Canaria	4.00	4.00	7033	-.73	.462	4.00	4.00	6821	-1.12	.262
Mallorca	4.00	4.00	7558	-.23	.813	4.00	4.00	7074	-1.22	.512

Note. Mdn P represents the median score for losing personal photo, while Mdn M represents median score for losing magazine photo.

As can be observed in Table 1, there were no significant difference between losing personal and magazine photos across destinations. Thus, the responses were pooled together for further analysis.

A Friedman test was run to determine if the destinations signaling value affected the perception of misfortune upon losing the chance to promote the trip. Pairwise comparisons were performed (SPSS, 2018) with a Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons. Score

of unluckiness were significantly different between the destinations, $\chi^2(3) = 240.28, p < .001$. A post hoc analysis revealed significantly higher levels for the destinations with high self-promoting value, compared to those of low value (See Table 2). However, no differences were detected between the two highly regarded destinations or between the two less highly regarded destinations.

Table 2

Friedman Post Hoc Analysis for Difference in Misfortune between Destinations

Destination	<i>n</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	Misfortune		
			Machu Picchu	Christ the Redeemer	Gran Canaria
Machu Picchu	244	6.00			
Christ the Redeemer	244	5.00	.085		
Gran Canaria	244	4.00	< .001*	< .001*	
Mallorca	244	4.00	< .001*	< .001*	.1.00

*Note. Adjusted p-value is reported. * Indicates a statistically significant difference.*

Furthermore, a Friedman test was run to determine if the destinations signaling value affected the score of disappointment upon losing the chance to promote the trip. Pairwise comparisons were performed with a Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons. Score of disappointment from losing photos were significantly different between the destinations, $\chi^2(3) = 344.65, p < .001$. A post hoc analysis revealed significantly higher levels for the destinations with high self-promoting value, compared those of low value (See Table 3). Additionally, participants were significantly more disappointed with losing pictures from Machu Picchu compared to Christ the Redeemer. This is in accordance with their level of attractiveness as mentioned above. However, no difference was detected between the two destinations with low self-promotion value.

Table 3*Friedman Post Hoc Analysis for Difference in Disappointment between Destinations*

Destination	<i>n</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	Disappointment		
			Machu Picchu	Christ the Redeemer	Gran Canaria
Machu Picchu	244	6.00			
Christ the Redeemer	244	6.00	.004*		
Gran Canaria	244	4.00	< .001*	< .001*	
Mallorca	244	4.00	< .001*	< .001*	.712

*Note. Adjusted p-value is reported. * Indicates a statistically significant difference.*

Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to examine if signaling through travel photos was a form of conspicuous consumption, and should be included as a motive in the travel motivation literature. The body of literature investigating tourist motivation has approached the issue from a variety of perspectives, but few have adopted an experimental approach. This may have lead researchers astray, detecting socially desirable motives but failing to document the unappealing reasons for why people travel. Two experiments were conducted to investigate if the opportunity to promote the trip affected participants' intent to visit a tourist attraction, and how they responded to losing signaling opportunities from the travel experience. As such, the experiments operationalized signaling as the ability to depict and promote a visit to a tourist attraction in Bergen, and losing the opportunity to promote a visit to prestigious destinations. In the first experiment, tourists were provided with a scenario describing a visit to the Edvard Grieg museum in Bergen, with varying degrees of self-promoting stimuli. Contrary to the hypotheses, the results did not show that (a) tourists stated a greater intention to visit the museum if given an opportunity to depict their visit, (b) tourists indicated an even greater intention to visit the museum if they are provided an opportunity to depict *and* promote their trip on social media, nor did tourists (c) indicate a greater intention

to visit the museum if they received the opportunity to have their visit depicted and promoted through the museums social media accounts.

None of the hypotheses (H1, H2, H3) from the first experiment found support, as visiting intentions did not increase according with self-promoting opportunities. A possible reason for this result can be found in the tourist's impression of the museum as a point of interest. From earlier studies it can be determined that tourists view themselves as different from typical tourists (Doran et al., 2018; Larsen, & Brun, 2011). Specifically, tourists view their intentions and travel motives as more socially desirable, they perceive themselves to be at lesser risk while traveling, and they view their own travel behavior as more environmentally sustainable than that of typical tourists (Doran & Larsen, 2014; Doran et al., 2018; Larsen, & Brun, 2011). Taken together, a comparison between self and typical tourists shows that tourists systematically view themselves in a favorable light compared to that of other tourists. Accordingly, a comparison between oneself and typical tourists can be utilized as a measure for social desirability. In the first experiment, respondents indicated significantly greater visiting intentions for typical tourists than for themselves in all versions of the scenario, although by a small margin. This suggest that visiting the Edvard Grieg Museum was perceived as socially undesirable by tourists visiting Bergen. Integral to the theory of conspicuous consumption is the desire to portray oneself favorably through consumption (Trigg, 2001). Since visiting the Grieg-museum was deemed undesirable by the participants, promoting a visit to the museum would be counterproductive from a signaling point of view. Thus, the essential assumption behind the experiment was violated and yielded the experimental manipulations ineffective.

Although the manipulation of promotion opportunities was ineffective at increasing visiting intentions, the experiment should still provide some valuable information on the role of signaling. In fact, provided that tourist activities are influenced by signaling, we should

expect that the undesirable attraction should yield the opposite pattern of responses that were initially hypothesized. That is, tourists should state lower intentions to visit the undesirable museum in the scenarios that provided them with the opportunity to photograph and promote their visit. This is especially true for the inconspicuous scenario where tourists were photographed and got their visit promoted through the museum's social media channels, and had no choice in the promotion. Unfortunately, although the statistical comparison between personal intentions and typical tourists showed that the museum was undesirable, the effect size of this difference was miniscule. This implies that tourists, on average, viewed the museum as merely slightly undesirable or practically neutral. Consequently, participants cannot be expected to state lower or higher intentions to visit the museum, so the experiment subsequently fails to determine if signaling (promotion) applies as a motivating factor. Thus, the assessment of the Grieg-museum as a slightly undesirable tourist attraction, was the worst of all possible outcomes for determining the role of signaling. It follows that the present experiment cannot confirm the role of signaling as a motivational factor, but nor does it disconfirm it. To surmount this unanticipated limitation, the responses from the participants who indicated that they had or planned to visit the museum were analyzed to see if the pattern repeated itself.

An analysis of the participants (21%) who indicated that they had or planned to visit the museum revealed a more promising set of responses. This sub-sample also indicated greater visiting intentions for themselves than for typical tourists, signifying that they viewed the museum as a socially desirable attraction. These participants indicated a significantly greater intention to visit the museum in all three promotion scenarios than in the baseline (no-promotion) scenario, confirming hypothesis H1. The result suggests that for the people who viewed the museum as desirable, opportunity to depict the visit increased intentions to visit. However, this increase cannot be taken as evidence for a signaling motive. Interestingly, no

difference between the different types of promotion opportunities (minimal self-promotion, high self-promotion, and inconspicuous self-promotion) was detected, failing to support hypothesis H2 and H3. Consequently, the results do not confirm the hypothesis of conspicuous signaling or inconspicuous signaling as a motivating factor, but merely demonstrate that people respond to the opportunity to photograph their visit. That is, participants indicated a greater intent to visit the museum when given the opportunity photograph their visit, but no subsequent increase was detected for the picture and social media condition. Additionally, no increase was detected for the scenario entailing promotion through the museum's social media accounts. There can be several reasons for this pattern of responses.

First, the minimal self-promotion and high self-promotion conditions were constructed to disentangle the possibility that people photograph their visit for other reasons than promoting their photos online. If photographing a visit to the museum is a form of displaying an attractive experience, one would expect tourists to indicate greater visiting intention in the minimal self-promotion scenario than the no promotion scenario, as was the case, but also to state an even greater intent to visit in the scenario that included promotion on social media (high self-promotion). Since the latter increase was not significant, the experiment does not show whether the initial increase was due to increased signaling opportunities or some other reason. Au contraire, the explicit stating of promotion on social media did not significantly increase the statement of intent, giving merit to some other explanation. Second, the minimal self-promotion scenario may have been approached identically to the high self-promotion scenario because participants equated taking a personal photo with the opportunity to publish it on social media. Although the minimal self-promotion condition did not explicitly state this opportunity, it is possible that people inferred it and thereby exhibited similar responses. In fact, this is quite likely given the rampant use of social media to share photos during travel

(Amaro et al., 2016; Lo et al., 2011). Insofar as the pictures were intended to be displayed to peers, the experiment shows signaling inclinations among tourists, supporting previous findings (Boley et al., 2018; Dinhopl & Gretzel, 2016). Still, this conclusion is very speculative insofar as it is based on a subsample of respondents and that the explicit statement of signaling opportunities did not increase intentions to visit further.

Finally, the inconspicuous promotion manipulation yielded comparable results to the other promotion conditions. This indicates that travel photos are not subject to norms punishing extravagant consumption, and does not follow the inverted U-shape suggested by Berger and Ward (2010). The evidence similarly suggest that travel photos do not adhere to the notion of inconspicuous consumption (Eckhardt et al., 2015). Accordingly, people can expect travel photos to yield a social return by publishing the photos on social media platforms. Still, the results only provide some evidence for the signaling motive seeing that the minimal and high promotion conditions were similarly rated. Taken together, then, the results from the first experiment failed to support the overall hypothesis that signaling opportunities increase visiting intentions and should be added as a motive in the travel motivation literature. Since the first experiment exhibited unanticipated weaknesses with regards to the Grieg-museum being an undesirable tourist attraction, a second experiment was conducted to further elucidate the potential role of signaling on travel motivation.

In the second experiment, the respondents received several scenarios describing themselves undertaking a trip to four different destinations. Two of the destinations were hypothesized to be highly attractive and two to be less attractive with correspondingly high and low signaling value. The hypothesized signaling value was confirmed by an initial attractiveness rating of the four destinations. The scenarios subsequently asked the participants to indicate their level of disappointment and misfortune if they were to lose their photos from the trip. The experiment confirmed that (a) respondents indicated higher levels of

disappointment when losing photos from prestigious destinations compared to mundane destination, and (b) respondents indicated higher levels of misfortune when losing photos from prestigious destinations than from mundane destinations. However, the experiment did not find support for travel photos as a form of inconspicuous signaling in that (c) respondents did not increase levels of disappointment or misfortune when losing photos taken by the travel magazine compared to losing their personal photos.

In accordance with the first two hypotheses, participants indicated higher levels of disappointment and misfortune when losing travel photos from prestigious destinations compared to the more commonplace destinations. Hence, the experiment confirmed hypothesis H4 and H5, indicating both a negative emotive and cognitive reaction to losing desirable signaling opportunities. However, participants did not indicate any difference between losing their personal photos and photos taken by the travel magazine for all destinations, not finding support for hypothesis H6 and H7. The latter finding replicates the result from the first study, demonstrating again that travel photos do not seem to be penalized by norms against showing off. Thus, the notion of inconspicuous consumption, as explained by Eckhardt and colleagues (2015), does not seem to apply for this kind of behavior. It is important to emphasize, however, that the difference in level of disappointment and misfortune is primarily a result of the exclusivity of the destinations. In fact, no disparity was detected between the two commonplace destinations, but principally between the destinations with high and low signaling-value, as was hypothesized. Yet, notably, the results also revealed that participants indicated an even greater level of disappointment when losing pictures from the most attractive destination, Machu Picchu, compared to the second most attractive, Christ the Redeemer. Hence, the pattern of responses aligns perfectly with the signaling value of the destinations, painting a coherent picture of conspicuous behavior which supports some of the earlier studies in the travel motivation literature.

The present study supports some previous findings from three central approaches in the travel motivation literature, namely theories of needs, push and pull motivations and optimal arousal theory. First, if the increased disappointment and misfortune scores were due to reduced signaling opportunities, Maslow's (1943) need for esteem seem to be in accordance with the present findings. As Yousaf and colleagues (2018) point out, the need for esteem is partially directed at others, insofar as people are motivated to acquire status by being associated with a desirable experience. Moreover, the models established on the basis of fulfilling needs, like the travel career pattern and travel career ladder, also point to esteem and acknowledgement as important factors inducing people to travel (Pearce & Lee, 2005; Ryan, 1998). Although the present work did not connect this need with psychological maturation and travel experience, unlike the TCP and TCL, the findings are supportive of the underlying desire to fulfill the need for esteem inherent in both models. Furthermore, a parallel can be drawn to Dann's (1977) seminal work on push and pull motives. Taken together, his theory suggest that people desire to escape from their normal surroundings (anomie) and to increase their social capital (ego-enhancement) by way of travel (Dann, 1977). Although the present experiments did not attempt to examine this theory experimentally, the findings indirectly support the latter motive of ego-enhancement by revealing that the desirability of the travel experiences influence the value placed on photographs from the trip. Likewise, a parallel can be drawn to the escaping and seeking dimensions proposed by Mannell and Iso-Ahola (1987) and the empirical findings of Whalers and Etzel (1985).

Optimal arousal theory is founded on the notion that travel behavior is driven by the desire to escape personal and interpersonal problems and to seek personal and interpersonal rewards (Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987; Wahlers & Etzel, 1985). The latter dimension of personal and interpersonal rewards is exemplified in the literature as gaining new competence, experiencing mastery, exploring new scenery, and taking on a challenge, but does not exclude

other returns (Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987). In relation to the present study, adding the display of desirable experiences as a social return to travel, may improve on the existing rewards captured in this theory of travel motivation. Moreover, the signaling motive may help explain why gaining new competence or exploring new scenery is desirable for travelers, thus improving on the existing theorizing on the subject. It remains important to emphasize, however, that while the experiments offer some support for the aforementioned travel motivation theories, they were not intended or designed to empirically examine them. In contrast, the study specifically sheds light on the conspicuous consumption literature, and helps position travel photos as a normal good in accordance with the consumer demand literature.

The study as a whole indicates that travel photos seem to follow the original notion of conspicuous consumption in that people value them for reason of distinguishing themselves, and not to keep up with their peers. This is evident when matching the results with the implications of the “bandwagon effect” (Frankel, 1975; Leibenstein, 1950). Specifically, by extension of the “bandwagon effect” one should expect people to place a higher value on displaying commonplace activities, as people try to keep up with their peers. Yet, the results reveal that losing the ability to promote a visit to the commonplace destinations invokes less disappointment and misfortune than from prestigious destinations. The results consequently help distinguishing travel photos as a form of snobbery signaling in accordance with the consumer demand literature (Frankel, 1975; Leibenstein, 1950). Moreover, the study offers support for treating travel photos as a conventional good, not susceptible to norms penalizing public display of attractive experiences. Thus, the notion of inconspicuous consumption does not apply as is evident from not finding support for hypothesis H3, H6 and H7. The return to travel photos can thus be warranted on destination exclusivity, and that the destinations ability

to distinguish the traveler influences the value put on travel photos. This corroborates previous literature on the subject.

Specifically, the present work supports the relationship between expected social return and intent to travel put forward by Boley and colleagues (2018), but in the negative. That is, Boley and colleagues (2018) found that the expected social return from visiting an exclusive destination (Cuba) impacted the desire to travel there for a given time period. The present study shows, conversely, that the desirability of the destination impacts the value participants place on photographs from a hypothetical trip. This is suggestive of the conspicuous nature of travel photographs and is in accordance with the expected social return proposed by Boley and colleagues (2018). Moreover, the present work finds partial support for the conspicuous tendencies described by Correia and colleagues (2016), in that people attach dissimilar signaling value to different destinations. However, the present work does not support the subtle (inconspicuous) form of conspicuous consumption documented in the same study (Correia et al., 2016). In more general terms, the present study is supportive of previous research documenting how visibility impacts intent and behavior (Andreoni, 1989; Griskevicius et al., 2007; Griskevicius et al., 2010; Sundie et al., 2011). Although the present findings are suggestive of a signaling motive inducing travel, the study exhibits several weaknesses that are addressed under limitations below.

In summary, a novel experimental approach to travel motivation was adopted to surmount weaknesses pertaining to social desirability bias in travelers self-reported motives. Two experiments were conducted to investigate if the unappealing motive of conspicuous signaling should be included in the travel motivation literature. In the first experiment, conspicuous signaling was operationalized as the ability to depict and promote a visit to the Grieg-museum in Bergen. In general, participants did not respond to manipulations of self-promotion in accordance with the hypotheses, but promising results were uncovered from a

sub-sample of the respondents. Although it is uncertain why the manipulations did not effectively influence visiting intentions, it remains possible that this was due to the selection of the Grieg-museum as a point of interest. Specifically, participants rated the museum as an undesirable attraction by ascribing greater visiting intentions for typical tourists than for themselves, violating the principal assumption behind the study. With this in mind, a refined approach for selecting a desirable tourist attraction is discussed below. In the second experiment, conspicuous signaling was operationalized as losing travel photos from prestigious destinations, using commonplace destinations as baseline. The results revealed increased levels of disappointment and misfortune when losing photos from prestigious destinations compared to conventional destinations, supporting hypothesis H4 and H5. Moreover, both experiments confirm that travel photos can be considered a normal conspicuous good, as opposed to an inconspicuous good, by showing that photographs taken by others exhibited comparable results to personal photos. Thus, the present work provides some evidence for introducing conspicuous signaling into the travel motivation literature. Implications from this finding and research methodology are discussed below, yet both experiments also exhibit limitations and weaknesses that first must be addressed.

Limitations

There are several weaknesses affecting each experiment separately, but operationalizing signaling by means of photographing a travel activity limits the study as a whole. Primarily, it remains unclear whether it is the personal possession of travel photos, for whatever reason, that make up their value for the participants, or the ability to promote the visit through the photos. Thus, one may argue that the photos obtain its value as some form of personal memorabilia or any other reason but, importantly, not for displaying to peers. It follows that if they are not shared on social media or otherwise advertised, they are not a form of signaling. As mentioned above, the different manipulations in the first experiment were

constructed to disentangle the possibility that people take photos for other reasons than signaling. It is therefore concerning that the conditions did not yield different results, suggestive of some other explanation not captured in this experiment. However, this could be explained by participants equating the two experimental conditions, as was discussed above, but the experiment does not test this possibility. Moreover, even if the first experiment had yielded results conducive with increasing signaling opportunities, it remains unresolved if this increase is due to signaling, or if the photos carry some intrinsic value for the traveler and that this is incidentally heightened by promotion on social media. The same weakness also constrains the second experiment.

Since the second experiment did not explicitly state that the travel photos are promoted on social media or otherwise displayed, the results should be approached as merely suggestive of signaling. Again, it is unresolved whether travel photos obtain its value due to increased signaling opportunities or, for example, as personal memorabilia. It remains possible that people feel more disappointed when losing more exclusive memorabilia, such as a photograph from a desirable destination, and that this is unrelated to their inherent signaling potential. Likewise, the same can be argued for misfortune scores. Thus, the disparity observed in disappointment and misfortune scores among the different destinations, cannot directly be ascribed to their signaling value but may be explained by alternative qualities inherent in the photographs. The second experiment does not control for this possibility, but circumstantial evidence is suggestive of some signaling aspect. Notably, we know from previous studies that travel photos are among the most commonly shared on social media (Lo & McKercher, 2015; Lo et al., 2011). Additionally, the sample of university students in their early twenties, are the most frequent users of this technology and merely 22% of all tourists' regardless of age report being inactive on social media (Amaro et al., 2016). We can therefore infer with some confidence that the vast majority of the respondents share their travel photos

on social media and that the present experiment encapsulates this behavior. Still, the operationalization of signaling as travel photographs sternly limits the explanatory power of the study as a whole. However, there are also limitations pertaining to each experiment separately that must be addressed.

The first experiment exhibited two main limitations: the choice of tourist attraction and the manipulation effectiveness. The experiment was constrained insofar as it only tried to determine a tendency to visit an attraction for tourists visiting Bergen. One can rightly claim that this is not necessarily the same as testing general travel motivation, as it would be simplistic to suggest that people travel only to photograph themselves at foreign places of interest. Thus, it is important to declare that the experiment aims to improve on the existing literature by adding one motive, namely signaling, to the body of literature on the subject. Integral to this experiment is the selection and description of the destination scenario.

The scenario was constructed based on a prevailing motive in the push and pull literature and implications from the literature on signaling and conspicuous consumption. Specifically, the push and pull literature has consistently uncovered seeing cultural sights and authentic experiences as a driving motive for many tourists (Jamrozy & Uysal, 1994; Turnbull & Uysal, 1995; Yoon & Uysal, 2005). Moreover, Doran and colleagues (2018) found that “visiting foreign cultures” was the most highly reported motive for travel and the most desirable reason to do so among tourists visiting Bergen. This suggests that the scenario should embrace a place of interest that had qualities pertaining to the cultural heritage of Bergen. However, several sights in Bergen satisfy this criterion and so the objective becomes to find a point of interest that also satisfies the theorizing on conspicuous consumption. According to the literature on conspicuous consumption, exclusivity is the key trait that makes a product or experience worthy of signaling (Boley et al., 2018; Dinhopl & Gretzel, 2016; Leibenstein, 1950; Trigg, 2001). For this reason, the Grieg-museum was selected due to

its exclusivity in terms of location and uniqueness of experience. Additionally, it satisfies what tourists report as their reason for travel and what they deem to be socially desirable, namely a foreign cultural experience (Doran et al., 2018). Yet, despite being in accordance with the theorizing on the subject, the scenario failed to yield the manipulations effective. There can be several reasons for this.

First, the experiment presumes that the respondents view the Grieg-museum as a socially desirable attraction, an assumption that proved incorrect as was addressed above. Second, the experiment assumes that the museum contributed to an exclusive cultural experience. This assumption is doubtful insofar as the museum may not have contributed any signaling surplus to the travel experience in Bergen. It is possible that international tourists visiting Bergen already felt they were experiencing an authentic foreign culture, and that adding an excursion to the Grieg-museum would not yield any additional return. Unlike the first assumption, the experiment did not control for this possibility. Finally, respondents may have viewed the museum as insufficiently picturesque to inspire a promotion on social media. Perhaps choosing a more visually pleasing attraction, like the top of Mount Floyen, would yield the experimental manipulations more effective. Apart from the issue of social desirability, it is difficult to disentangle if these reasons played a role, and if so, to what degree. Still, it might also be explained by a lack of manipulation effectiveness. The participants responding to this experiment were tourists visiting Bergen during their travel experience. It is doubtful whether manipulations of self-promoting stimuli were strong enough to influence visiting intentions to the Grieg-museum, given that the tourists most likely had already made other plans for their stay. Since the vast majority of respondents answered the questionnaire in the city center, there might have been too much cost to traveling to and from the museum located 10 kilometers away. Perhaps the experiment is

better administered to a group of respondents who's not already *in situ*, like the respondents in the second experiment.

The second experiment measured how participants responded to losing opportunities to promote a trip to four different destinations. There are at least three limitations to this experiment: the destinations, the outcome variables and the sample of respondents. First, the study used two highly regarded destinations, Machu Picchu and Christ the Redeemer, and two averagely considered destinations, Gran Canaria and Palma de Mallorca. The experiment is limited insofar as it only documents the pattern of responses on these four destinations. This expands on and supports previous findings on the social return to visiting Cuba (Boley et al., 2018), but may not be correct for other destinations. Moreover, it is unclear whether it is the exclusivity that makes the destinations attractive and worthy of portrayal or something else. This is, however, a minor issue for this study as it primarily pertains to the signaling aspect of travel motivation and not what makes the destination attractive as such. Second, the experiment only measures how participants respond to losing promotion opportunities on one emotive and one cognitive measure. Consequently, we don't know how people respond to all other kinds of emotions like anger, sadness, disgust, or cognitive perceptions other than misfortune. Moreover, the respondents don't experience the travel scenario in reality, and so the study doesn't actually measure disappointment and unluckiness as they would have experienced it. It seems needlessly expensive to send participants around the world and take away their travel pictures, but future studies should query tourists in their proximity about losing photos from their current trip. This would at the very least help indicate whether this study reflects the sentiment of tourists *in situ*.

Finally, the major limitation of this study is the student sample that perhaps inhibits the findings from being generalizable to the general public of tourists. This study employs a typical sample of participants that presumably share western, educated, industrialized, rich,

and democratic (WEIRD) characteristics. The current sample fails to be representative for tourists in general, and numerous studies have explored the shortcomings that arise when using a student sample for exploring general human tendencies (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). Tourists are a very heterogeneous group of people and should in principle ameliorate the problems of external validity latent in psychological research. Unfortunately, the second study did not improve on this issue within psychological science, yet there are also specific issues related with using a student sample for this experiment.

Since the use of social media to share photos are most frequently done by the younger segments of the population, the sample of university students is ideal for detecting a possible role of travel photos (Amaro et al., 2016). However, this group may also exaggerate the real impact of conspicuous travel in the general population. It is therefore possible that similar studies conducted on a random sample of tourists, like the one in the first study, would reveal a smaller difference. Whether this finding among young adults can be generalized to the larger population is uncertain and needs to be studied further. Additionally, 83.3% of the sample in this study were female. It is unclear whether females are more prone to conspicuous travel photos than males, and whether this exaggerates the results. Conversely, it could be that males are more prone to this tendency and that this study understates the real difference. Yet, since the sample size was quite limited (245), especially considering the scarcity of males, an analysis for difference among sex would lack power. For these reasons, the findings may not be generalizable to the larger public of travelers, and future studies should investigate if the results replicate in more diverse populations. The issue of external validity should therefore not be underestimated. Still, there are important implications from this study that should be adopted by the agents operating in the tourism industry, as well as researchers on the subject.

Future Directions

The mishap in the first experiment yields a clear implication for future research investigating the role of signaling or self-promotion in a tourism context. In particular, it remains likely that the experimental manipulations were ineffective because the Grieg-museum was deemed undesirable by respondents. To ameliorate this upset, a preferable approach would be to select a tourist attraction that was known to be desirable for tourists visiting Bergen. This could be done by collecting information on the attractiveness of different sights in Bergen, supplementing it with actual visitation data to see if responses aligned with behavioral outcomes. This approach would generate a greater understanding of what enticed tourists to Bergen, as well as providing researchers with a point of interest that has better potential for the experimental manipulations to be effective. Notably, this process seems preferable wherever similar experiments are conducted and does not merely pertain to Bergen but any destination or tourist attraction. Unfortunately, this was not done because of the limited time available ahead of data collection.

The first experiment explored a novel approach to operationalizing signaling by manipulating opportunity to depict and promote a trip. Although previous experiments (Griskevicius et al., 2007; Sundie et al., 2011) have explored how visibility influences consumer behavior, signaling has seldom been operationalized this way before and almost certainly not in a tourism context. The results from the sub-sample of respondents in the first experiment gives merit to the effectiveness of this manipulation. Social desirability bias remains a persistent problem within the general motivation literature, including self-reported travel motives (Doran et al, 2018; Larsen & Brun, 2011). The current work presents a way to overcome this confounding phenomenon by operationalizing signaling as a common tourist activity. Future research could apply this methodology by expanding the literature on tourist motivation to include undesirable motives.

Concurrently, the manipulation of losing promotion opportunities across different destinations has never, to my knowledge, been conducted to explore conspicuous tendencies in travel. Future research should take note of this approach to replicate and expand on the current findings. For example, the present work selected destinations that were intended to be exclusive for the sample this experiment was conducted on. It follows that their relatively high and low signaling value depend on the accessibility for the participants. For this reason, we should expect that Peruvians and Brazilians would respond differently or even in the opposite direction from the pattern detected in this sample of Norwegians. Future studies should apply the same methodology across different destinations and samples to substantiate a clear pattern of exclusivity and value of promotion. Moreover, the findings from this study present implications for the tourism sector beyond research.

Conspicuous consumption is, in a sense, a wasteful consumer activity as people use scarce resources to outcompete each other with the aim of obtaining a higher relative standing. As more people with more resources, compete for the same positional standing, an increasingly greater portion of people's wealth will be directed towards this activity. It follows that this dictates a smaller amount of resources will be available to use for more fruitful activities. Moreover, conspicuous consumption in the global tourism industry brings about harmful costs on third-parties such as pollution, excessive crowding, and environmental damages both locally and globally. Understanding whether people travel for conspicuous reasons is therefore of integral importance, not only to people operating in the tourism sector, but for our global community.

Policy makers who recognize travel is a, at times, harmful activity, and wish to reduce it will have a better chance designing an effective policy if they understand the true motives of travel behavior. For instance, a policy wishing to reduce travel will be designed very differently if we presuppose that people travel to learn from different cultures as several

studies suggests (Doran et al., 2018; Turnbull & Uysal, 1995; Yoon & Uysal, 2005), or we believe that people are motivated to portray themselves at attractive places (Boley et al., 2018). If people merely want to learn about different cultures, they can be provided with what they want while staying home, inflicting no environmental costs on the rest of society. However, if it is of principal importance to spend time and resources in order to show how cultured, wealthy, or interesting they are, we would expect that people travel to places and promote their visit while staying there. A policy directed at giving people more information about different cultures or places would have little effect on reducing this kind of travel behavior. To the contrary, such a policy may increase travel as people become aware of new attractions, historical places and points of interest around the world they want to associate with. Introducing the notion of travel behavior as a form of conspicuous consumption into the travel motivation literature can therefore have far-reaching implications. Yet, it must also be noted how agents within the tourism industry may benefit from this research.

Key to successful marketing is to figure out what people demand from different services and products. If actors in the tourism industry have a better understanding of what motivates choice of activities and destination, they can customize their products and services more effectively. This may improve their marketing strategies by attracting more customers, but most importantly improve the service or product that the consumers purchase. Thus, implementing signaling into a theory of tourists' preferences and motives benefits the individual travelers, the actors in the tourism industry and potentially the global community.

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, travel is an increasingly important activity in the world economy and the tourism sector has become one of the major employers all over the world. There is also a growing concern with how tourism negatively impact climate at large and threaten local culture. Numerous theories have been formulated on travel motivation and several methods

have been adopted to determine why people travel. However, few have conducted an experimental approach. In the present work, two experiments were conducted to determine if signaling could help explain travel behavior, first by looking at a local tourist attraction and then across tourist destinations. The first experiment yielded ineffective manipulations due to the unintended selection of a socially undesirable attraction. Yet, the second experiment confirmed the role of conspicuous signaling in perceptions of disappointment and misfortune. Taken together, the present work provides some evidence for signaling as a motive for tourism, but future research needs to address this assertion for confirmation and expansion. The question of why people travel is, aligned with the growing tourism industry, an increasingly important matter that has implications beyond academic interest. The present work was a novel experimental approach to exploring tourist motivation.

References

- Amaro, S., Duarte, P., & Henriques, C. (2016). Travelers' use of social media: A clustering approach. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 59, 1-15.
- Andreoni, J. (1989). Giving with impure altruism: Applications to charity and Ricardian equivalence. *Journal of Political Economy*, 97(6), 1447-1458.
- Andreoni, J., & Petrie, R. (2004). Public goods experiments without confidentiality: a glimpse into fund-raising. *Journal of Public Economics*, 88(7-8), 1605-1623.
- Argyle, M. (1996). *The Social Psychology of Leisure*. London: Penguin Group.
- Baloglu, S., & Uysal, M. (1996). Market segments of push and pull motivations: A canonical correlation approach. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 8(3), 32-38.
- Banister, D. (1997). Reducing the Need to Travel. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 24(3), 437-449.
- Bello, D. C., & Etzel, M. J. (1985). The role of novelty in the pleasure travel experience. *Journal of Travel Research*, 24(1), 20-26.
- Berger, J., & Ward, M. (2010). Subtle signals of inconspicuous consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37(4), 555-569.
- Bird, R. B., & Smith, E. A. (2005). Signaling theory, strategic interaction, and symbolic capital. *Current Anthropology*, 46(2), 221-248.
- Bloch, F., Rao, V., & Desai, S. (2004). Wedding celebrations as conspicuous consumption signaling social status in rural India. *Journal of Human Resources*, 39(3), 675-695.
- Boley, B. B., Jordan, E. J., Kline, C., & Knollenberg, W. (2018). Social return and intent to travel. *Tourism Management*, 64, 119-128.

- Borgia, G. (1985). Bower quality, number of decorations and mating success of male satin bowerbirds (*Ptilonorhynchus violaceus*): an experimental analysis. *Animal Behaviour*, 33(1), 266-271.
- Buckley, R. (2012). Sustainable tourism: Research and reality. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(2), 528–546.
- Bull, R., & Gibson-Robinson, E. (1981). The influences of eye-gaze, style of dress, and locality on the amounts of money donated to a charity. *Human Relations*, 34(10), 895-905.
- Buss, D. M., & Schmitt, P. (1993). Sexual strategies theory: An evolutionary perspective on human mating. *Psychological Review*, 100(2), 204-232.
- Campbell, C. (1995). Conspicuous confusion? A critique of Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption. *Sociological Theory*, 13(1), 37-47.
- Chao, A., & Schor, J. B. (1998). Empirical tests of status consumption: Evidence from women's cosmetics. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 19(1), 107-131.
- Chapin, F. S. (1932). Socio-economic status: some preliminary results of measurement. *American Journal of Sociology*, 37(4), 581-587.
- Chung, N., & Koo, C. (2015). The use of social media in travel information search. *Telematics and Informatics*, 32(2), 215-229.
- Cohen, E. (1972). Toward a Sociology of International Tourism. *Social Research*, 39: 164-182.
- Cohen, E. (1979). A phenomenology of tourist experiences. *Sociology*, 13(2), 179-201.
- Correia, A., Kozak, M., & Reis, H. (2016). Conspicuous consumption of the elite: Social and self-congruity in tourism choices. *Journal of Travel Research*, 55(6), 738-750.
- Crompton, J. L. (1979). Motivations for pleasure vacation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 6(4), 408-424.

- Dann, G. M. (1977). Anomie, ego-enhancement and tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 4*(4), 184-194.
- Dann, G. M. (1981). Tourist motivation an appraisal. *Annals of Tourism Research, 8*(2), 187-219.
- Dawkins, M. S., & Guilford, T. (1991). The corruption of honest signaling. *Animal Behaviour, 41*(5), 865-873.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The "what" and "why" of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological inquiry, 11*(4), 227-268.
- Dinhopl, A., & Gretzel, U. (2016). Selfie-taking as touristic looking. *Annals of Tourism Research, 57*, 126-139.
- Doran, R., & Larsen, S. (2014). Are we all environmental tourists now? The role of biases in social comparison across and within tourists, and their implications, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 22*:7, 1023-1036.
- Doran, R., Larsen, S., & Wolff, K. (2018). Comparison between own and others' travel motives: A research note. *Tourism and Hospitality Research, 18*(2), 260-265.
- Dunn, O. J. (1964). Multiple comparisons using rank sums. *Technometrics, 6*, 241-252.
- Eckhardt, G. M., Belk, R. W., & Wilson, J. A. (2015). The rise of inconspicuous consumption. *Journal of Marketing Management, 31*(7-8), 807-826.
- Edwards, A. L. (1953). The relationship between the judged desirability of a trait and the probability that the trait will be endorsed. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 37*(2), 90.
- Fatanti, M. N., & Suyadnya, I. W. (2015). Beyond User Gaze: How Instagram Creates Tourism Destination Brand?. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences, 211*, 1089-1095.
- Fisher, R. J. (1993). Social desirability bias and the validity of indirect questioning. *Journal of consumer research, 20*(2), 303-315.

- Fodness, D. (1994). Measuring tourist motivation. *Annals of Tourism research*, 21(3), 555-581.
- Frankel, J. A. (1975). The Bluejeans Effect. *American Economist*, 19(1), 60.
- Fredrickson, B. L. (2000) Extracting meaning from past affective experiences: The importance of peaks, ends and specific emotions. *Cognition and Emotion*, 14, pp. 577–606.
- Geen, R. G., Beatty, W. W., & Arkin, R. M. (1984). *Human Motivation. Physiological, Behavioral, and Social Approaches*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon Inc.
- Gnoth, J. (1997). Tourism motivation and expectation formation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24(2), 283-304.
- Godoy, R., Reyes-García, V., Huanca, T., Leonard, W. R., McDade, T., Tanner, S., Vadez, V., & Seyfried, C. (2007). Signaling by consumption in a native Amazonian society. *Evolution and Human Behavior*, 28(2), 124-134.
- Griskevicius, V., Tybur, J. M., Sundie, J. M., Cialdini, R. B., Miller, G. F., & Kenrick, D. T. (2007). Blatant benevolence and conspicuous consumption: When romantic motives elicit strategic costly signals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93(1), 85.
- Griskevicius, V., Tybur, J. M., & Van den Bergh, B. (2010). Going green to be seen: status, reputation, and conspicuous conservation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 98(3), 392.
- Gössling, S., & Buckley, R. (2016). Carbon labels in tourism: persuasive communication? *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 111, 358-369.
- Haley, K. J., & Fessler, D. M. (2005). Nobody's watching?: Subtle cues affect generosity in an anonymous economic game. *Evolution and Human behavior*, 26(3), 245-256.
- Hebb, D. O. (1955). Drives and the CNS (conceptual nervous system). *Psychological Review*, 62(4), 243.

- Henrich, J., Heine, S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). Beyond WEIRD: Towards a broad-based behavioral science. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 33(2-3), 111.
- Hoffman, E., McCabe, K., & Smith, V. L. (1996). Social distance and other-regarding behavior in dictator games. *The American economic review*, 86(3), 653-660.
- Jackson, J. M., & Latané, B. (1981). Strength and number of solicitors and the urge toward altruism. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 7(3), 415-422.
- Jamrozny, U., & Uysal, M. (1994). Travel motivation variations of overseas German visitors. *Global tourist behavior*, 6(3-4), 135-160.
- Johnstone, R. A. (1995). Sexual selection, honest advertisement and the handicap principle: reviewing the evidence. *Biological Reviews*, 70(1), 1-65.
- Johnstone, R. A., & Grafen, A. (1993). Dishonesty and the handicap principle. *Animal Behaviour*, 46(4), 759-764.
- Jones, E. E., & Harris, V. A. (1967). The attribution of attitudes. *Journal of experimental social psychology*, 3(1), 1-24.
- Kruger, J., & Dunning, D. (1999). Unskilled and unaware of it: How difficulties in recognizing one's own incompetence lead to inflated self-assessments. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77(6), 1121-1134. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.77.6.1121
- Larsen, S. (2007). Aspects of a psychology of the tourist experience. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 7(1), 7-18.
- Larsen, S., & Brun, W. (2011). 'I am not at risk–typical tourists are'! Social comparison of risk in tourists. *Perspectives in Public Health*, 131(6), 275-279.
- Leibenstein, H. (1950). Bandwagon, snob, and Veblen effects in the theory of consumers' demand. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 64(2), 183-207.

- Lenzen, M., Sun, Y. Y., Faturay, F., Ting, Y. P., Geschke, A., & Malik, A. (2018). The carbon footprint of global tourism. *Nature Climate Change*, 8(6), 522.
- Leung, D., Law, R., Van Hoof, H., & Buhalis, D. (2013). Social media in tourism and hospitality: A literature review. *Journal of travel & tourism marketing*, 30(1-2), 3-22.
- Lix, L.M., Keselman, J. C., & Keselman, H. J., (1996). Consequences of assumption violations revisited: A quantitative review of alternatives to the one-way analysis of variance F test. *Review of Educational Research*, 66: 579-619.
- Lo, I. S., & McKercher, B. (2015). Ideal image in process: Online tourist photography and impression management. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 52, 104-116.
- Lo, I. S., McKercher, B., Lo, A., Cheung, C., & Law, R. (2011). Tourism and online photography. *Tourism Management*, 32(4), 725-731.
- Loyau, A., Saint Jalme, M., Cagniant, C., & Sorci, G. (2005). Multiple sexual advertisements honestly reflect health status in peacocks (*Pavo cristatus*). *Behavioral ecology and Sociobiology*, 58(6), 552-557.
- Mannell, R. C., & Iso-Ahola, S. E. (1987). Psychological nature of leisure and tourism experience. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 14(3), 314-331.
- Maslow, A. H. (1943). A theory of human motivation. *Psychological review*, 50(4), 370.
- Mason, R. S. (1998). *The economics of conspicuous consumption: Theory and thought since 1700*: Cheltenham. UK & Northampton.
- McCabe, S. (1999). The problem of motivation in understanding the demand for leisure day visits. *Consumer psychology of tourism, hospitality and leisure.*, 211-225.
- McKercher, B. (1993). Some Fundamental Truths About Tourism: Understanding Tourism's Social and Environmental Impacts, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 1:1, 6-16.
- Miller, G. (2000). *The Mating Mind: How Sexual Choice Shaped the Evolution of Human Nature*. Norwell, MA: Anchor Books.

- Mo, C., Howard, D., and Havitz, M. (1993). Testing an international tourist role typology. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 20, 319–335. doi: 10.1016/0160-7383(93)90058-B
- Mossberg, L. (2007). A marketing approach to the tourist experience. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 7(1), 59-74.
- Munar, A. M., & Jacobsen, J. K. S. (2014). Motivations for sharing tourism experiences through social media. *Tourism management*, 43, 46-54.
- Nederhof, A. J. (1985). Methods of coping with social desirability bias: A review. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 15(3), 263-280.
- Nicolau, J. L., & Mas, F. J. (2006). The influence of distance and prices on the choice of tourist destinations: The moderating role of motivations. *Tourism Management*, 27(5), 982-996.
- Nisbett, R. E., & Wilson, T. D. (1977). Telling more than we can know: Verbal reports on mental processes. *Psychological Review*, 84(3), 231.
- Pearce, P.L., & Lee U-I. (2005). Developing the travel career approach to tourist motivation. *Journal of Travel Research* 43(3): 226–237.
- Pearce, P. L., & Packer, J. (2013). Minds on the move: New links from psychology to tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 40, 386-411.
- Petrie, M., Tim, H., & Carolyn, S. (1991). Peahens prefer peacocks with elaborate trains. *Animal Behaviour*, 41(2), 323-331.
- Pizam, A., Neumann, Y., & Reichel, A. (1979). Tourist satisfaction: Uses and misuses. *Annals of Tourism research*, 6(2), 195-197.
- Prebensen, N. K., & Kleiven, J. (2006). Determined Sun-Seekers and Others—Travel Motives, Holiday Type, and Holiday Behavior Among Norwegian Charter Tourists. *Journal of Hospitality & Leisure Marketing*, 14(1), 75-97.

- Rae, J. (1905). *The sociological theory of capital: being a complete reprint of the new principles of political economy, 1834*. Macmillan.
- Rigdon, M., Ishii, K., Watabe, M., & Kitayama, S. (2009). Minimal social cues in the dictator game. *Journal of Economic Psychology, 30*(3), 358-367.
- Roney, J. R. (2003). Effects of visual exposure to the opposite sex: Cognitive aspects of mate attraction in human males. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 29*(3), 393-404.
- Ryan, C. (1998). The travel career ladder an appraisal. *Annals of Tourism Research, 25*(4), 936-957.
- Saad, G. (2007). *The evolutionary bases of consumption*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Sawilowsky, S. S., & Blair, R. C. (1992). A more realistic look at the robustness and Type II error properties of the t test to departures from population normality. *Psychological Bulletin, 111*(2), 352.
- Selstad, L. (2007). The social anthropology of the tourist experience. Exploring the “middle role”. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism, 7*(1), 19-33.
- Sirgy, M. J., & Su, C. (2000). Destination image, self-congruity, and travel behavior: Toward an integrative model. *Journal of Travel Research, 38*(4), 340-352.
- Smith, J. M., & Harper, D. (2003). *Animal signals*. Oxford University Press.
- Strandberg, C., Nath, A., Hemmatdar, H., & Jahwash, M. (2018). Tourism research in the new millennium: A bibliometric review of literature in Tourism and Hospitality Research. *Tourism and Hospitality Research, 18*(3), 269-285.
- Sundie, J. M., Kenrick, D. T., Griskevicius, V., Tybur, J. M., Vohs, K. D., & Beal, D. J. (2011). Peacocks, Porsches, and Thorstein Veblen: Conspicuous consumption as a sexual signaling system. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 100*(4), 664.

- Trigg, A. B. (2001). Veblen, Bourdieu, and conspicuous consumption. *Journal of Economic Issues*, 35(1), 99-115.
- Turnbull, D. R., & Uysal, M. (1995). An exploratory study of German visitors to the Caribbean: Push and pull motivations. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 4(2), 85-92.
- Veblen, T. (2008). *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*. Radford, VA: Wilder Publications. (Original work published 1899).
- Wahlers, R. G., & Etzel, M. J. (1985). Vacation preference as a manifestation of optimal stimulation and lifestyle experience. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 17(4), 283-295.
- Wirtz, D., Kruger, J., Scollon, C. N. & Diener, E. (2003) What to do on spring break? The role of predicted, on-line, and remembered experience in future choice, *Psychological Science*, 14, pp. 520–524.
- World Tourism Barometer (2018). *UNWTO World Tourism Barometer*, 16(5).
doi:10.18111/wtobarometereng.2018.16.issue-5
- World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) (2018). *UNWTO 2017 Annual Report*, UNWTO, Madrid.
- World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC) (2018). *Economic Impact 2018 World*. March 2018. London.
- Xiang, Z., & Gretzel, U. (2010). Role of social media in online travel information search. *Tourism Management*, 31(2), 179-188.
- Yiannakis, A., and Gibson, H. (1992). Roles tourists paly. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 19, 287–303. doi: 10.1016/0160-7383(92)90082-Z
- Yoon, Y., & Uysal, M. (2005). An examination of the effects of motivation and satisfaction on destination loyalty: a structural model. *Tourism management*, 26(1), 45-56.

- Yousaf, A., Amin, I., Santos, C., & Antonio, J. (2018). Tourist's motivations to travel: A theoretical perspective on the existing literature. *Tourism and Hospitality Management, 24*(1), 197-211.
- Yuan, S., & McDonald, C. (1990). Motivational determinates of international pleasure time. *Journal of Travel Research, 29*(1), 42-44.
- Zahavi, A. (1974). Communal nesting by the Arabian babbler: a case of individual selection. *Ibis, 116*(1), 84-87.
- Zahavi, A. (1975). Mate selection—a selection for a handicap. *Journal of Theoretical Biology, 53*(1), 205-214.
- Zahavi, A., & Zahavi, A. (1999). *The handicap principle: A missing piece of Darwin's puzzle*. Oxford University Press.
- Zeng, B., & Gerritsen, R. (2014). What do we know about social media in tourism? A review. *Tourism Management Perspectives, 10*, 27-36.

Appendix

A: A collection of Push and Pull factors

Authors	Push factors	Pull factors	Overlapping constructs	Unique constructs	Sample
Dann (1977;1981)	Anomie, Ego-enhancement		Escape (Anomie)	Ego-enhancement	Tourists visiting Barbados
Yuan & McDonald (1990)	Escape, Novelty, Prestige, Enhancement of Kinship\Relationships, Relaxation, Culture	History, Wilderness, Ease of Travel, Cosmopolitan Environment, Facilities, Hunting, Budget	Escape, Novelty, Budget, Relaxation, Prestige	Hunting, Facilities, Cosmopolitan Environment,	Japan, UK, Germany, France
Jamrozny & Uysal (1994)	Escape, Novelty, Family and Friends, Sports, Adventure and Excitement, Familiar Environment, Luxury, Prestige.	Active Sports Environment, Unique Nature, Safety, Sunshine, Budget, Cultural Activities, Entertainment, Sightseeing, Local Culture, Different Culture, Urban Uniqueness.	Escape, Novelty, Relationships, Sports, Prestige (ego enhancement), Budget, Culture, Prestige	Sunshine, Unique Nature, Sightseeing, Luxury, Cultural activities, Urban Uniqueness.	German
Turnbull & Uysal (1995)	Cultural Experiences, Escape, Visiting Family, Sport, Prestige.	Heritage/culture, City Enclave, Comfort/Relaxation, Beach Resort, Outdoor Resources, Rural and Inexpensive.	Culture, Escape, Family, Prestige, Sport, Relaxation, Budget, Sport	City Enclave, Outdoor Resources, Rural Experiences,	German sub-sample (travelers to Caribbean, north-and south-America)
Yoon & Uysal (2005)	Safety and Fun, Escape, Knowledge and Education, Achievement, Family Togetherness, Relaxation, Excitement, Away from Home.	Modern Atmosphere, Wild Space, Reliable Weather, Natural Scenery, Budget, Water Activities, Interesting Town, Nightlife, Cleanness and Shopping, Culture, Scenery.	Escape, Family togetherness, Relaxation, Culture, Budget, Shopping, Wild space	Modern Atmosphere, Weather, Water Activities, Excitement, Cleanness,	Tourists visiting Northern Cyprus.

B: Experiment One, Survey version 1, 2, 3, and 4

Note: Only the items (p. 1-2) preceding the experiment are included from the larger survey. This is done in agreement with the head researcher Prof. Svein Larsen.

Holiday trips and destinations

Thank you very much for participating in this study about travelling, conducted at the University of Bergen, Norway.¹ On the next four pages, you will find questions about your experiences while travelling. There are no “right” or “wrong” answers. We are just interested in your opinions. All data will be treated confidentially and used for research purposes only.

3. Female Male

4. Your age: _____

5. Your nationality: _____

6. My stay in **Bergen** lasts _____ days.

7. My stay in **Norway** lasts _____ days.

8. Where is your current residence?

1. Europe

4. Oceania

2. North America

5. Asia

3. South America

6. Africa

9. Where did you sleep last night?

1. Camping facility/I camped

3. In a HI-hostel (Hostelling International)

2. Private pension/private hostel

4. In a hotel

5. On a cruise ship

6. Other, please specify (home, on a plane, /airbnb): _____

10. Are you an international or a domestic tourist?

1. International

2. Domestic

11. How are you traveling?

1. I am part of an organized travel group.

2. I am *not* part of an organized travel group.

12. Apart from overnight costs, how much money do you estimate that you will spend today?

Please indicate total amount and currency (NOK/US\$/GB£/Euro)

13. How is the weather today?

						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

¹If you have any questions concerning this study, please contact us at: svein.larsen@uib.no

Edvard Grieg (1843-1907) was a Norwegian composer and pianist. Grieg is widely considered one of the leading composers of the romantic era and his music is admired worldwide. His personal residence, Troldhaugen, has opened as a museum with guided tours, where guests get an authentic experience of how Grieg worked and lived.

How likely is it that *you* would visit the museum if you had the time and opportunity?

Very unlikely
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Very likely

How likely is it that a *typical tourist* would visit the museum if s(he) had the time and opportunity?

Very unlikely
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Very likely.

I have already visited/planned to visit the museum.

True

Not true

Holiday trips and destinations

Thank you very much for participating in this study about travelling, conducted at the University of Bergen, Norway.² On the next four pages, you will find questions about your experiences while travelling. There are no “right” or “wrong” answers. We are just interested in your opinions. All data will be treated confidentially and used for research purposes only.

3. Female Male

4. Your age: _____

5. Your nationality: _____

6. My stay in **Bergen** lasts _____ days.

7. My stay in **Norway** lasts _____ days.

8. **Where is your current residence?**

1. Europe

4. Oceania

2. North America

5. Asia

3. South America

6. Africa

9. **Where did you sleep last night?**

1. Camping facility/I camped

3. In a HI-hostel (Hostelling International)

2. Private pension/private hostel

4. In a hotel

5. On a cruise ship

6. Other, please specify (home, on a plane, /airbnb): _____

10. **Are you an international or a domestic tourist?**

1. International

2. Domestic

11. **How are you traveling?**

1. I am part of an organized travel group.

2. I am *not* part of an organized travel group.

12. **Apart from overnight costs, how much money do you estimate that you will spend in Bergen today?**

Please indicate total amount and currency

(NOK/US\$/GB£/Euro): _____

²If you have any questions concerning this study, please contact us at: svein.larsen@uib.no

13. How is the weather today?

							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

14. What kind of weather did you expect to encounter in Bergen?

							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Edvard Grieg (1843-1907) was a Norwegian composer and pianist. Grieg is widely considered one of the leading composers of the romantic era and his music is admired worldwide. His personal residence, Trolldhaugen, has opened as a museum with guided tours, where guests get an authentic experience of how Grieg worked and lived. **At the end of each tour, guests may take photos of themselves in front of the noble residence.**

How likely is it that *you* would visit the museum if you had the time and opportunity?

Very unlikely						Very likely
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

How likely is it that a *typical tourist* would visit the museum if s(he) had the time and opportunity?

Very unlikely						Very likely.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

I have already visited/planned to visit the museum.

True Not true

Holiday trips and destinations

Thank you very much for participating in this study about travelling, conducted at the University of Bergen, Norway.³ On the next four pages, you will find questions about your experiences while travelling. There are no “right” or “wrong” answers. We are just interested in your opinions. All data will be treated confidentially and used for research purposes only.

3. Female Male

4. Your age: _____

5. Your nationality: _____

6. My stay in **Bergen** lasts _____ days.

7. My stay in **Norway** lasts _____ days.

8. **Where is your current residence?**

1. Europe

4. Oceania

2. North America

5. Asia

3. South America

6. Africa

9. **Where did you sleep last night?**

1. Camping facility/I camped

3. In a HI-hostel (Hostelling International)

2. Private pension/private hostel

4. In a hotel

5. On a cruise ship

6. Other, please specify (home, on a plane, /airbnb): _____

10. **Are you an international or a domestic tourist?**

1. International

2. Domestic

11. **How are you traveling?**

1. I am part of an organized travel group.

2. I am *not* part of an organized travel group.

12. **Apart from overnight costs, how much money do you estimate that you will spend in Bergen today?**

Please indicate total amount and currency (NOK/US\$/GB£/Euro)

³If you have any questions concerning this study, please contact us at: svein.larsen@uib.no

13. What kind of weather did you expect to encounter in Bergen?

							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

14. How is the weather today?

							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Edvard Grieg (1843-1907) was a Norwegian composer and pianist. Grieg is widely considered one of the leading composers of the romantic era and his music is admired worldwide. His personal residence, Trolldhaugen, has opened as a museum with guided tours, where guests get an authentic experience of how Grieg worked and lived. **At the end of each tour, guests may take photos of themselves in front of the noble residence for their social media accounts.**

How likely is it that *you* would visit the museum if you had the time and opportunity?

Very unlikely Very likely

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

How likely is it that a *typical tourist* would visit the museum if s(he) had the time and opportunity?

Very unlikely Very likely.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I have already visited/planned to visit the museum.

True Not true

Holiday trips and destinations

Thank you very much for participating in this study about travelling, conducted at the University of Bergen, Norway.⁴ On the next four pages, you will find questions about your experiences while travelling. There are no “right” or “wrong” answers. We are just interested in your opinions. All data will be treated confidentially and used for research purposes only.

3. Female Male

4. Your age: _____

5. Your nationality: _____

6. My stay in **Bergen** lasts _____ days.

7. My stay in **Norway** lasts _____ days.

8. **Where is your current residence?**

1. Europe

4. Oceania

2. North America

5. Asia

3. South America

6. Africa

9. **Where did you sleep last night?**

1. Camping facility/I camped

3. In a HI-hostel (Hostelling International)

2. Private pension/private hostel

4. In a hotel

5. On a cruise ship

6. Other, please specify (home, on a plane, /airbnb): _____

10. **Are you an international or a domestic tourist?**

1. International

2. Domestic

11. **How are you traveling?**

1. I am part of an organized travel group.

2. I am *not* part of an organized travel group.

12. **Apart from overnight costs, how much money do you estimate that you will spend today?**
Please indicate total amount and currency (NOK/US\$/GB£/Euro)

13. **How is the weather today?**



2



6



⁴If you have any questions concerning this study, please contact us at: svein.larsen@uib.no

Edvard Grieg (1843-1907) was a Norwegian composer and pianist. Grieg is widely considered one of the leading composers of the romantic era and his music is admired worldwide. His personal residence, Troldhaugen, has opened as a museum with guided tours, where guests get an authentic experience of how Grieg worked and lived. **At the end of each tour, members of staff offer to take photos of guests in front of the noble residence for the museum's social media accounts.**

How likely is it that *you* would visit the museum if you had the time and opportunity?

Very unlikely
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Very likely

How likely is it that a *typical tourist* would visit the museum if s(he) had the time and opportunity?

Very unlikely
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Very likely.

I have already visited/planned to visit the museum.

True

Not true

C: Nonparametric results Study 1

Since all the conditions failed the assumption of normal distribution, as assessed by a Saphiro-Wilks test ($p < .05$), a Kruskal-Wallis H test was preferred over a one-way analysis of variance. A Kruskal-Wallis H test was run to determine if there were differences in the likeliness to visit (LTV) scores between four groups of participants exposed to different conditions of the Grieg-scenario: “Baseline” ($n = 373$), “Personal Photo” ($n = 371$) “Photo and Social Media” ($n = 369$) and “Staff Photo” ($n = 372$). Distributions of likeliness to visit scores were similar for all groups, as assessed by visual inspection of a boxplot (see, Boxplot 1). The median LTV scores were equal ($Mdn = 4.00$) and not statistically significantly different between the conditions, $H(3) = .13, p = .987$.

Since the dependent variables likely to visit and likely to visit typical tourists failed the assumption of normal distribution, as determined by a Saphiro-Wilks test ($p < .05$), a Wilcoxon signed-rank test was preferred over a paired samples t-test. In addition to indicating how likely they were to visit the museum, most participants ($n = 1442$) successfully reported how likely they thought a typical tourist is to visit Troidhaugen. The participants answering both questions were included for the analysis and the different conditions of the scenario-description were pooled together for the analysis, as the Kruskal-Wallis test revealed no significant group differences. A Wilcoxon signed-rank test determined that tourists assigned a greater likeliness of typical tourists ($M = 4.32$) to visit the museum than they did ($M = 4.12$), and that the difference was statistically significant $z = 3.37, p < .001$.

For exploratory purposes, a Kruskal-Wallis H test was conducted on the participants ($N = 313$) who responded that they had and/or planned to visit Troidhaugen. Distributions of LTV scores were different for all groups, as assessed by a visual inspection of a boxplot. Likely to visit scores were statistically significantly different between the levels of self-promotion, $\chi^2(3) = 62.06, p < .001$. Consequently, a pairwise comparison was executed using

Dunn's (1964) procedure with a Bonferroni correction for multiple comparison. The post hoc analysis revealed statistically significant differences between the Baseline (mean rank = 91.29) and Personal Photo (mean rank = 176.10) ($p < .001$), Baseline and Staff Photo (mean rank = 177.66) ($p < .001$), and Baseline and Photo and Social Media (mean rank = 182.46) ($p < .001$). However, no difference between the self-promotion groups were detected ($p > .05$).

A Wilcoxon signed-rank test was conducted to detect if the participants ($N = 303$), who responded that they had and/or planned to visit Troidhaugen, ascribed a different likeliness to visit for typical tourists, compared to themselves. The different conditions of the scenario-description were pooled together for the analysis, as the Kruskal-Wallis test revealed no significant differences between the groups. The difference scores mimicked a symmetrical distribution, as assessed by a visual inspection of the histogram. Of the 305 participants, 155 indicated that they were more likely than "typical tourists" were to visit the museum, while 61 subjects indicated a reverse relationship, and 87 indicated the same likeliness. There was a statistically significant increase in likeliness to visit ($Mdn = 1.00$) when subjects reported their own likeliness ($Mdn = 6.00$), compared to that of typical tourists ($Mdn = 5.00$), $z = -4.79$, $p < .001$.

D: Experiment Two, Survey Version 1, 2, 3, and 4

Note: All versions were printed in black and white.

Takk for at du deltar i denne studien om reiser, utført ved Universitetet i Bergen. Det finnes ingen "rette" eller "gale" svar. Vi er bare interessert i dine meninger. Alle data er anonyme og vil bli behandlet konfidensielt og brukt for forskningsformål.

1. Kvinne Mann Andre 2. Alder: _____

Hvor attraktive er følgende reisemål for deg?

	Lite attraktivt					Veldig attraktivt	
Machu Picchu i Peru	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mallorca i Spania	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kristusstatuen i Brasil	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gran Canaria i Spania	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



Machu Picchu

Forestill deg at du besøker **Machu Picchu i Peru**. Under oppholdet tar du bilder av deg selv foran ruinene til Inkaenes tapte by. På hjemreisen oppdager du at du har mistet minnebrikken med alle bildene på.

	Ikke uheldig					Veldig uheldig	
Hvor uheldig er du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Ikke skuffet					Veldig skuffet	
Hvor skuffet blir du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



Palma de Mallorca

Forestill deg at du besøker **Mallorca i Spania**. Under oppholdet tar du bilder av deg selv langs promenaden i Palma. På hjemreisen oppdager du at du har mistet minnebrikken med alle bildene på.

	Ikke uheldig					Veldig uheldig	
Hvor uheldig er du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Ikke skuffet					Veldig skuffet	
Hvor skuffet blir du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



Kristusstatuen

Forestill deg at du besøker **Kristusstatuen i Brasil**. Under oppholdet tar du bilder av deg selv foran statuen. På hjemreisen oppdager du at du har mistet minnebrikken med alle bildene på.

	Ikke uheldig					Veldig uheldig	
Hvor uheldig er du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Ikke skuffet					Veldig skuffet	
Hvor skuffet blir du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



Maspalomas

Forestill deg at du besøker **Gran Canaria i Spania**. Under oppholdet tar du bilder av deg selv foran sanddynene i Maspalomas. På hjemreisen oppdager du at du har mistet minnebrikken med alle bildene på.

	Ikke uheldig					Veldig uheldig	
Hvor uheldig er du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Ikke skuffet					Veldig skuffet	
Hvor skuffet blir du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Takk for hjelpen.

Spørsmål kan rettes til førsteamanuensis Katharina.Wolff@uib.no

Version 2

Takk for at du deltar i denne studien om reiser, utført ved Universitetet i Bergen. Det finnes ingen "rette" eller "gale" svar. Vi er bare interessert i dine meninger. Alle data er anonyme og vil bli behandlet konfidensielt og brukt for forskningsformål.

1. Kvinne Mann Andre 2. Alder: _____

Hvor attraktive er følgende reisemål for deg?

	Lite attraktivt					Veldig attraktivt	
Gran Canaria i Spania	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kristusstatuen i Brasil	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mallorca i Spania	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Machu Picchu i Peru	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



Maspalomas

Forestill deg at du besøker **Gran Canaria i Spania**. Under oppholdet tar du bilder av deg selv foran sanddynene i Maspalomas. På hjemreisen oppdager du at du har mistet minnebrikken med alle bildene på.

	Ikke uheldig					Veldig uheldig	
Hvor uheldig er du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Ikke skuffet					Veldig skuffet	
Hvor skuffet blir du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



Kristusstatuen

Forestill deg at du besøker **Kristusstatuen i Brasil**. Under oppholdet tar du bilder av deg selv foran statuen. På hjemreisen oppdager du at du har mistet minnebrikken med alle bildene på.

	Ikke uheldig					Veldig uheldig	
Hvor uheldig er du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Ikke skuffet					Veldig skuffet	
Hvor skuffet blir du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



Palma de Mallorca

Forestill deg at du besøker **Mallorca i Spania**. Under oppholdet tar du bilder av deg selv langs promenaden i Palma. På hjemreisen oppdager du at du har mistet minnebrikken med alle bildene på.

	Ikke uheldig						Veldig uheldig	
Hvor uheldig er du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	Ikke skuffet						Veldig skuffet	
Hvor skuffet blir du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	



Machu Picchu

Forestill deg at du besøker **Machu Picchu i Peru**. Under oppholdet tar du bilder av deg selv foran ruinene til Inkaenes tapte by. På hjemreisen oppdager du at du har mistet minnebrikken med alle bildene på.

	Ikke uheldig						Veldig uheldig	
Hvor uheldig er du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	Ikke skuffet						Veldig skuffet	
Hvor skuffet blir du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Takk for hjelpen.

Spørsmål kan rettes til førsteamanuensis Katharina.Wolff@uib.no

Version 3

Takk for at du deltar i denne studien om reiser, utført ved Universitetet i Bergen. Det finnes ingen "rette" eller "gale" svar. Vi er bare interessert i dine meninger. Alle data er anonyme og vil bli behandlet konfidensielt og brukt for forskningsformål.

1. Kvinne Mann Andre 2. Alder: _____

Hvor attraktive er følgende reisemål for deg?

	Lite attraktivt					Veldig attraktivt	
Machu Picchu i Peru	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mallorca i Spania	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kristusstatuen i Brasil	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gran Canaria i Spania	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



Machu Picchu

Forestill deg at du besøker **Machu Picchu i Peru**. For å promotere reisemålet på sosiale medier lager Norges største reisemagasin, *Reiselyst*, en reportasje hvor de tar bilder av deg foran ruinene av Inkaenes tapte by. Du tar derfor ikke egne bilder av turen. Under hjemreisen får du en email av reisemagasinet, som meddeler at de har mistet bildene fra turen.

	Ikke uheldig					Veldig uheldig	
Hvor uheldig er du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Ikke skuffet					Veldig skuffet	
Hvor skuffet blir du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



Palma de Mallorca

Forestill deg at du besøker **Mallorca i Spania**. For å promotere reisemålet på sosiale medier lager Norges største reisemagasin, *Reiselyst*, en reportasje hvor de tar bilder av deg langs promenaden i Palma. Du tar derfor ikke egne bilder av turen. Under hjemreisen får du en email av reisemagasinet, som meddeler at de har mistet bildene fra turen.

	Ikke uheldig					Veldig uheldig	
Hvor uheldig er du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Ikke skuffet					Veldig skuffet	
Hvor skuffet blir du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



Kristusstatuen

Forestill deg at du besøker **Kristusstatuen i Brasil**. For å promotere reisemålet på sosiale medier lager Norges største reisemagasin, *Reiselyst*, en reportasje hvor de tar bilder av deg foran statuen. Du tar derfor ikke egne bilder av turen. Under hjemreisen får du en email av reisemagasinet, som meddeler at de har mistet bildene fra turen.

	Ikke uheldig					Veldig uheldig	
Hvor uheldig er du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Ikke skuffet					Veldig skuffet	
Hvor skuffet blir du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



Maspalomas

Forestill deg at du besøker **Gran Canaria i Spania**. For å promotere reisemålet på sosiale medier lager Norges største reisemagasin, *Reiselyst*, en reportasje hvor de tar bilder av deg foran sanddynene i Maspalomas. Du tar derfor ikke egne bilder av turen. Under hjemreisen får du en email av reisemagasinet, som meddeler at de har mistet bildene fra turen.

	Ikke uheldig					Veldig uheldig	
Hvor uheldig er du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Ikke skuffet					Veldig skuffet	
Hvor skuffet blir du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Takk for hjelpen.

Spørsmål kan rettes til førsteamanuensis Katharina.Wolff@uib.no

Version 4

Takk for at du deltar i denne studien om reiser, utført ved Universitetet i Bergen. Det finnes ingen "rette" eller "gale" svar. Vi er bare interessert i dine meninger. Alle data er anonyme og vil bli behandlet konfidensielt og brukt for forskningsformål.

1. Kvinne Mann Andre 2. Alder: _____

Hvor attraktive er følgende reisemål for deg?

	Lite attraktivt					Veldig attraktivt	
Gran Canaria i Spania	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kristusstatuen i Brasil	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mallorca i Spania	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Machu Picchu i Peru	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



Maspalomas

Forestill deg at du besøker **Gran Canaria i Spania**. For å promotere reisemålet på sosiale medier lager Norges største reisemagasin, *Reiselyst*, en reportasje hvor de tar bilder av deg foran sanddynene i Maspalomas. Du tar derfor ikke egne bilder av turen. Under hjemreisen får du en email av reisemagasinet, som meddeler at de har mistet bildene fra turen.

	Ikke uheldig					Veldig uheldig	
Hvor uheldig er du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Ikke skuffet					Veldig skuffet	
Hvor skuffet blir du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



Kristusstatuen

Forestill deg at du besøker **Kristusstatuen i Brasil**. For å promotere reisemålet på sosiale medier lager Norges største reisemagasin, *Reiselyst*, en reportasje hvor de tar bilder av deg foran statuen. Du tar derfor ikke egne bilder av turen. Under hjemreisen får du en email av reisemagasinet, som meddeler at de har mistet bildene fra turen.

	Ikke uheldig					Veldig uheldig	
Hvor uheldig er du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Ikke skuffet					Veldig skuffet	
Hvor skuffet blir du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



Palma de Mallorca

Forestill deg at du besøker **Mallorca i Spania**. For å promotere reisemålet på sosiale medier lager Norges største reisemagasin, *Reiselyst*, en reportasje hvor de tar bilder av deg langs promenaden i Palma. Du tar derfor ikke egne bilder av turen. Under hjemreisen får du en email av reisemagasinet, som meddeler at de har mistet bildene fra turen.

	Ikke uheldig						Veldig uheldig	
Hvor uheldig er du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	Ikke skuffet						Veldig skuffet	
Hvor skuffet blir du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	



Machu Picchu

Forestill deg at du besøker **Machu Picchu i Peru**. For å promotere reisemålet på sosiale medier lager Norges største reisemagasin, *Reiselyst*, en reportasje hvor de tar bilder av deg foran ruinene av Inkaenes tapte by. Du tar derfor ikke egne bilder av turen. Under hjemreisen får du en email av reisemagasinet, som meddeler at de har mistet bildene fra turen.

	Ikke uheldig						Veldig uheldig	
Hvor uheldig er du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	Ikke skuffet						Veldig skuffet	
Hvor skuffet blir du?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Takk for hjelpen.

Spørsmål kan rettes til førsteamanuensis Katharina.Wolff@uib.no