



MINDS ON THE MOVE: NEW LINKS FROM PSYCHOLOGY TO TOURISM

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Abstract: This review, which is organised according to key themes, suggests that tourism researchers can profit from contemporary developments in mainstream psychology. The themes addressed are motivation and destination choice, attitudes and satisfaction, memory, and personal growth. Patterned and dual processing approaches to behaviour are highlighted. Additionally a framework for advancing the analysis of minds on the move should consider a range of dimensions including emic and etic approaches, transects across domains of inquiry, social as well as individual processes, longitudinal work, pan-cultural analysis and contextual classifications. It is argued that accessing psychology scholarship can build the capacity of tourism researchers. **Keywords:** psychology, motivation, attitudes, satisfaction, memory, personal growth. © 2012 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

INTRODUCTION

This article seeks to assist tourism scholars who need to deal with topics and interest areas which have their roots in mainstream psychology. It is addressed in particular to those who are most interested in how tourists think, feel and behave. As an area of study psychology consists of a vast assembly of ideas, theories and methods for systematically examining human behaviour and experience. It is predominantly focussed at the individual level but social processes and interaction are often viewed as strongly influencing core human functioning. Psychology has a rich history and an organised academy with literally thousands of scholars contributing to the discipline's ongoing evolution (Martin, Carlson, & Buskit, 2007). For tourism scholars the breadth and intense scrutiny of human behaviour and experience undertaken within psychology represents both a resource and a challenge. Mining a resource is not always a simple task as one needs to be careful with what is borrowed and how it is applied. Additionally there are

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challenges in being mindful of fresh opportunities and not being trapped by previous borrowings and sources of strength.

The emphasis in the following sections is on the work of modern twenty-first century psychology. Psychoanalysis and behaviourism, both fading traditions from earlier eras of inquiry, are not a part of the present compass of interest. There is a continuing thread of interest in these earlier traditions of intellectual inquiry as applied to tourism (cf. Kingsbury & Brunn, 2004; Tran & Ralston, 2006) but as Plog (1987) reported over a quarter of century ago, the concepts are loose, hard to pin down and difficult to apply in consensually agreed on ways. Additionally while psychologists, like some tourism researchers, are broadly interested in minds and existential concerns, our immediate concern does not extend to philosophical debates on the links between mind and body (Gould, 2004; Grayling, 2005). Instead, a view is adopted that we are concerned with minds on the move where the term mind refers to the lived and reported mental states of tourists.

The approach taken in this review is thematic. It is an approach that requires explanation. Typically, there have been somewhat separate fields of inquiry in such domains as memory and cognition, social psychology, clinical psychology, personality, physiological psychology and developmental psychology. Some more recent trends in the last decade have seen courses and texts in positive psychology, evolutionary psychology, cross-cultural psychology and health psychology. The implications of these divisions within psychology for tourism study are that particular topics need to be treated across these intra-discipline divides. Social behaviours and relationships, for example, are considered predominantly within social psychology but there are interesting sub-themes of inquiry and innovative ideas within cognition, personality, clinical studies, and importantly positive psychology. In this review we will try to link the thematic threads of inquiry across the contributions from different psychology fields (cf. Hofstede, 1995).

A small sample of the research in tourism which addresses mental processes and the embodied actions of those who travel is captured in some key monographs and overviews (Bowen & Clarke, 2009; Crouch, Perdue, Timmermans, & Uysal, 2004; Kozak & DeCrop, 2009; March & Woodside, 2005; Mazanec, Crouch, Ritchie, & Woodside, 2001; Morgan, Lugosi, & Ritchie, 2010; Pearce, 2005, 2011; Pizam & Mansfield, 2000; Ryan, 1995). A more specific appreciation of the linkages can be gleaned from a summary of the topic areas pertinent to publications in *Annals of Tourism Research* from a recent span of work, specifically 2007–2011. Other publication outlets may have somewhat different emphases but the broad ordering of interest areas listed in Table 1 is supported by comprehensive bibliometric counts and assessments of psychology related tourism studies (Barrios, Borrego, Vilagines, Olle, & Somoza, 2008).

As space does not permit full discussion of each of the topics identified in Table 1, they have been combined as coherently as possible into four broad sets of themes. Initially, two groupings of the themes represented in Table 1 will be considered. The themes are motivation and

Table 1. Numbers of recent articles linking psychology and tourism themes. *Annals of Tourism Research* 2007–2011

Directly related-major themes	Directly related-minor themes
Decision making, consumer behaviour (14)	Perceptions and memories (4)
Motivation (10)	Psychological benefits (3)
Satisfaction and attitudes (8)	Tourist experiences (3)
Social interaction (5)	Destination image (3)
	Identity and self concept (2)
Indirectly related-major themes	Indirectly related-minor themes
Knowledge and understanding (6)	Humour (1)
Heritage and interpretation (6)	Involvement and interest (1)

Note. “Directly-related themes” are tourism research topics that draw primarily from well-established psychological concepts and subfields. “Indirectly-related themes” are tourism research topics that draw primarily from other fields to which psychology also contributes, e.g., Education, Geography, Cultural Studies, or which draw from new or emerging areas of psychological research.

Major themes are those where more than five articles were identified; minor themes are those where fewer than five articles were identified.

decision making, and then attitudes and satisfaction. A second section of the paper will consider the more recent interests of tourism studies which can be linked to psychological inquiry. On this occasion the themes to be pursued are memory and personal growth. All of these topics will be considered not so much as inventories of the work already conducted in tourism but more in the spirit of how tourism scholars can re-conceptualise these issues by connecting to dominant considerations in up-to-date psychology research. In a further section some of the concepts borrowed originally from psychology which are now seen as of limited value will be reviewed. Finally, a broad guide to future work will be briefly documented.

Many readers of this paper will undoubtedly have some interest in psychology but not a formal training in the discipline. Contemporary tourism courses in business schools in particular tend to give only marginal attention to serious subject options in psychology. This paper offers some guidance to key recent developments but is necessarily selective. There are substantial resources to help scholars seeking to develop a richer understanding of what people do, why they do it and how they feel and think about their lives. The journals *Psychological Bulletin* and *Annual Review of Psychology* offer comprehensive reviews, often spanning several decades of work, that trace the intricate development of core ideas and evaluate their current status. Increasingly, major figures in the psychology field write more popular and accessible, but still research-derived, versions of their work in key monographs. In the present review examples include Argyle (2001), Seligman (2002), Nisbett (2003), Collett (2004), Wiseman (2007), Diener and Biswas-Diener (2008). Furnham (2008), Zimbardo and Boyd (2008), and Langer (2009). The approach of monitoring the accessible work of

well-established psychology scholars backed by detailed contemporary journal review articles offers stimulating educational pathways for many tourism students and scholars.

MOTIVATION AND DESTINATION CHOICE

Why people travel

Answering the question “Why do people travel?” is, in both an academic and applied sense, a formative but naïve question. It is akin to asking the equally broad question “What are the impacts of tourism?” A better approach for those seeking a rich understanding of motivation is why certain groups of people choose certain holiday experiences (see, for example, [Larsen, Øgaard, & Brun, 2011](#) study on the motivations of backpackers). Importantly, we need to answer these more specific questions without simply re-describing what we observe or seek to study. Such circularity is evident when assertions are made that people choose risky or adventurous activities because they are motivated by sensation or risk seeking ([Furnham, 2008](#)).

Studies of tourist motivation and the linked issue of how tourists choose their holiday destinations are fundamental to much tourism inquiry. Regrettably there has been a dependence on a limited slice of the psychological literature when motivation and decision making issues have been tackled in tourism research (cf. [Wlodkowski, 1993](#), who recognises twenty internationally credible motivation theories). For example, the approach of Abraham Maslow emphasising self-actualisation and a depiction of his work as involving a hierarchy of needs is a familiar model to nearly every business and tourism undergraduate. These ideas are frequently cited as pivotal contributions to our understanding of motivation ([Hsu & Huang, 2008](#)). Some sixty years after its initial formulation, it can be suggested that the value of Maslow’s work lies not in the hierarchical system associated with his studies but resides more simply in the diversity of motive forces he outlined. All five levels of Maslow’s hierarchy can be seen as co-acting in determining a complete motivational profile ([Hsu & Huang, 2008](#); [Pearce, 2011](#)). In particular new status- and relationship-informed patterns of motivational aspirations appear to be necessary in contemporary times as tourism researchers and others consider cultural groups and especially Asian nationalities which were not originally encompassed in Maslow’s work ([Pearce & Panchal, 2011](#); [Schutte & Ciarlante, 1998](#)).

The argument that there are other rich, even untapped, sources of ideas about motivation in fundamental psychology is supported by accessing recent writing on positive psychology ([Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2008](#)). In particular the notion that human beings seek to build their well-being in ways consonant with their values and related to acquiring key character strengths represents a teleological or forward looking approach to social motivation relevant to contexts such as tourism ([Csikszentmihalyi & Csikszentmihalyi, 2006](#); [Seligman, 2002](#)). These approaches may be contrasted with earlier but well known Freudian-de-

rived psychoanalytic or personality approaches built on deficit models where individuals are sometimes seen as trapped by their personal past or influenced by evolutionary imperatives. By way of contrast the newer motivation work suggests that individuals seek to maximise their overall state of well-being. This newer emphasis considers not only immediate sensory pleasures (although these remain important) but also includes attempts to achieve desired goals such as respect, status, enhanced relationships, altruism, self-regulation, zest, and several other eudemonic outcomes (Park, Peterson, & Seligman, 2006). This kind of thinking enriches tourism researchers' attempts to understand why people travel, compared with older notions based on the more limited deficit models of arousal, personality malfunctioning, anxiety or stereotyped applications of Maslow's formulation (Ateljevic, 2000; Crompton, 1979; Gnoth, 1997; Iso-Ahola, 1982; Plog, 1974).

A number of tourism based motivation commentators have specified what is required of theory in this area. The requirements include a treatment of the multi-motive drivers of tourist behaviour, an ability to consider the dynamic and changing nature of an individual's motivation across their tourism experiences and the need for theories and conceptual systems to function as integrative and predictive but also empirically accessible foundations for research (Bowen & Clarke, 2009; Hsu & Huang, 2008; Pearce, 1992, 2005). A major candidate for developing the study of tourist motivation according to these requirements is the travel career pattern approach reported initially by Pearce and Lee (2005) and recently augmented by linking the concepts to core work in affective neuroscience (Panksepp, 2005; Pearce, 2011). The material on motivation (and emotions) from neuroscience adds to the value of tourism studies by providing contemporary support for the importance of the physiological need for change and social contact. For example, the contribution of affective neuroscience ideas to the travel career model lies in recognising that core affective states such as 'seeking' (e.g., the need to deal with novelty and change in one's environment) and 'care' (e.g., the need to build relationships), directly support the motives that are central to the travel career approach. Other basic affective processes underlie the peripheral motive links.

Both in linking to the teleological concerns of positive psychology and by considering the applicability of neuroscience findings the potential exists for tourism researchers to build more complete and solidly based motivation research. In summary, new views of tourist motivation will be oriented more towards a view of tourists as actors who are self-determining, creative, forward looking opportunists who benefit from their own learning and previous experience without being trapped by their personal past. Some of their motivation and experience will be linked to deep and basic emotions but this view is not incompatible with the suggestion that there are key culturally relevant values which may shape the directions of individual ambition.

An interesting connection can be noted between this psychology-derived literature and other assessment and category systems which address the roots of tourist travel style and experience. For example, a hybrid blend of motives, interests and travel types underlies Cohen's well

known division of tourists into recreational, diversionary, experimental, experiential and existential categories (Cohen, 1979). Much of the attention using this scheme has been on whether or not special sub-groups such as backpackers are best described by the existential category or by the other labels (Maoz, 2005; Noy, 2004). The category scheme devised by Cohen has been and remains influential. It can be seen as an intuitive sorting of sets of motives which are then linked to tourist characteristics. As the detailed work on the tapestry of tourist motives evolves, contemporary work on motivation patterns may identify common staged or sequential patterns closely aligned to Cohen's formulation.

Destination choices

One way, but not the only way, of integrating travel motivation studies into other aspects of tourism research lies in connecting the motivation models and patterns to destination choice studies. There are many kinds of travel decisions and choices including selecting transport, accommodation and activity options. In more recent times the advent of consumer referral and evaluation systems, including popular internet sites such as TripAdvisor, have stimulated researchers' interest in tourists' within-destination choices. Nevertheless, the overriding historical concern of tourism researchers has been in destination image and selection (March & Woodside, 2005; Pike, 2002). Two broadly similar models, that of Um and Crompton (1990) and Woodside and Lysonski (1989) have dominated the field. These approaches and their derivatives systematically pursue a highly rational, choice set based, sequential process. This process consists of tourists supposedly engaging in an orderly sorting of alternatives, refining and filtering the options according to individual motives and the tourists' personal circumstances, and ultimately selecting the one final destination. The approach implicitly leans on the structured, orderly choice model of decision making summarised in earlier cognition and social psychology studies by Janis and Mann (1973).

Goldstein (2011) reports more up-to-date work in cognition which reveals that the nature of decision making and the processes it involves are powerfully affected by how problems are presented. In some circumstances individuals will be rational and follow logical routes while in others a range of biases and emotion-charged heuristics will be employed. The application of the heuristics approach to decision making can be illustrated by considering accommodation choices linked to TripAdvisor. How are the comments read? Do would-be accommodation users follow a carefully structured elimination process built on rational consideration of the available options? Or do they glance at the first two or three comments and search for a heuristic such as a really negative comment which overpowers all the others?

The potential answers to these questions are being worked out in the consumer behaviour and tourism studies literature and are beginning to involve the use of tourist motivation perspectives to illuminate the

process (e.g. Yoo & Gretzel, 2008; Zhang, Pan, Smith, & Li, 2008). Motivation patterns provide the value and importance to the weightings of risk that tourists make in using information. The operation of availability heuristics (existing and recent knowledge) and representativeness heuristics (tried routines) seem to figure in some tourists' decisions and play a role in the emotional input into choices (De Martino, Kumaran, Seymour, & Dolan, 2006). These influences interact with the rational processes that are the focus of approaches such as expected utility theory, the approach which has underpinned most tourism models of destination decision making (Goldstein, 2011).

Despite these beginnings, a fully adequate link between understanding motives theoretically and applying them to destination choice models and problems has not yet been developed. Much of the tourism industry and applied literature uses features of the destination as *de facto* motives and while this contradicts the proper definition of motives as inherently push factors, there is a need to construct more bridges between these kinds of applied inquiries into motives and choices and the more formal academic literature.

ATTITUDES AND SATISFACTION

New directions in attitude research

Some human behaviours have a predominantly instinctual or fixed biological basis; breathing, coughing, laughing, salivating, and becoming sexually aroused are only partially under conscious control. Much other human behaviour is assumed to be reliant on the operation and influence of a "mental or neural state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related" (Allport, 1935, p. 799). These states are attitudes. The long history of attitude research in psychology has seen several shifts of emphasis but there is continuing agreement that attitudes have an affective or evaluative component, a cognitive or knowledge based dimension and an implicit behavioural link (Furnham, 2008; McGuire, 1986). Unlike motives, attitudes are not so much drivers of behaviour but subtle summaries, shapers and modifiers of behavioural directions.

The assessment of attitudes in tourism study is the basis of much research activity. There are appraisals of tourists' attitudes to destinations (e.g., Litvin & MacLaurin, 2001; Nadeau, Heslop, O'Reilly, & Luk, 2008; Um & Crompton, 1990) and tourism products (e.g., Chang, Kivela, & Mak, 2010; MacKay & Campbell, 2004; Park & Gretzel, 2011). There are also traditions of assessing attitudes to the people tourists encounter while travelling (e.g., Anastasopoulos, 1992; Nyau-pane, Teye, & Paris, 2008; Uriely & Reichel, 2000). In turn, studies of residents' attitudes to tourists occupy considerable space in the pages of tourism journals and monographs (e.g., Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Lindberg & Johnson, 1997; Vargas-Sánchez, Porras-Bueno, & Pla-

za-Mejía, 2011; Ward & Berno, 2011). A caveat about knowing what has been borrowed and how that study topic may be changing was delivered in the introduction to this paper. Such a caution is of particular relevance to the theme of attitudes.

The issues of interest can be developed by exploring some of the history of, and fundamental challenges to attitude research. In an early phase of attitude research in psychology—a period both pre-dating and flowing from Allport's definition—there was much emphasis on how to measure attitudes. The Likert and Thurstone scales used in much attitude research derive from this period in the 1930s and were developed through studies of soldiers' attitudes, work concerned with racial prejudice and reactions to the introduction of television in the 1950s and 1960s (Oppenheim, 1966; Sellitz, Jahoda, Deutsch, & Cook, 1959). Studies of the relationships between attitudes and behaviour, followed by concerns with how to influence behaviour through persuasive communication (built largely on the much cited Reasoned Action model of Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975 and its subsequent development, Ajzen's 1991 Theory of Planned Behaviour) were major steps in the trajectory of attitude work.

These traditions continue but have been relocated to some extent by an integration of attitude studies into the broad social cognition field which deals with how information is processed. Howarth (2006) characterises this approach as a view of human beings as "thinking machines". Importantly, there is now a pervasive interest in dual processing approaches to understanding such thinking, much of which is relevant to attitude analysis. In essence it is frequently argued that attitudes can be developed in one of two ways, the first is by deep processing or mindfulness and the second by shallow processing or mindlessness (Langer, 1989, 2009). There are other terms for these two pathways including the Elaboration Likelihood Model (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986) and two systems approach (Kahneman, 2011) but at core, one route provides well learned and accessible recall of information and perspectives while the other involves a ready acceptance of information which later may not be recalled or employed. Further attention to the specifics of the dual processing approach will be pursued in a later section on memory (Smith & DeCoster, 2000).

Much of the development of these directions in attitude research occurred in North America. A largely European re-assessment of the cross-Atlantic work has been growing in recent decades. The challenge to existing approaches is fuelled by the limited success of linking attitudes and behaviour and the modest outcomes of persuasive communication efforts. The European researchers have been led in particular by those espousing a social representations framework (Farr & Moscovici, 1984; Moscovici, 1990). In this view it is not sufficient to describe the content of attitudes and how they might develop or change solely at the individual level because they must be explained in relation to the social world in which the individual moves (Jahoda, 1992; Moscovici, 1990). The move amounts to a re-direction of attitude research emphasising the socially shared nature of people's summary and anticipatory responses and directing attention to, for example, racist talk and discourse rather than

racist attitudes (Augoustinous & Reynolds, 2001; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). The approach is able to handle contradictory attitudes (or at least differences in attitudes expressed in survey responses as opposed to those expressed in conversation) and provides a strong basis for researchers to re-engage in critical commentary regarding issues of power and social justice. Such critical commentary tends to be marginalised when working within the strongly individualist tradition that treats people only as thinking machines.

The implications for tourism study may be developed as follows. Tourism researchers have arguably lost the dynamic, performative and communication dependent character of attitudes by reducing their assessment to tables of means derived from Likert scale responses (Crang, 1997; Moore, 2002). It can be suggested, following the recent reviews of the term, that the attitudes tourists hold towards the people and places visited are not fixed and standard entities but shifting, socially negotiated communications. Such exchanges are highly dependent on to whom tourists are speaking, the context of the conversation and its implications. In this sense attitudes and the values they represent are context dependent and contain insights about the people who trade these reactions.

It has of course been convenient in psychology and tourism studies to be able to measure attitudes in numerical terms and to use these measures to develop a statistically based understanding of the patterns and forces shaping attitude change (cf. Pizam & Mansfield, 2000). The recurring criticism here though is that this approach has been less effective in stimulating thought about the ways in which people acquire their views, present their attitudes and influence others. It is possible therefore to suggest ways in which the current work can be supplemented.

A focus on the storytelling of tourists represents one way to conceive of this more social, communication linked role of attitudes (cf. Woodside, Cruikshank, & Dehuang, 2007). Many researchers are now suggesting that the concept of narrative or storytelling can be seen as central to the tourist experience (Guthrie & Anderson, 2010; Moscardo, 2010; Noy, 2004). Stories are effective summaries of the tourists' encounters. They are packaged and delivered to others in discrete units to suit particular time frames and circumstances. Attitudes lie entangled within these narratives which draw on the broader concept of social representations; that is our everyday socially influenced theories about how the world works. Some narratives are distilled attitudes in the sense that they crystallise and highlight the positive and negative critical encounters which constitute an important part of holiday taking (Pritchard & Havit, 2006). Importantly travel stories are often told more than once and in the telling and re-telling they form a solid data unit in the individual's memory store. In the re-telling process the actual people and encounters are re-imaged and re-imagined and take on the special character of central components of representations.

When seen in this way attitudes derived from travel experiences are more than sets of evaluative responses to structured question formats; they are packages of information which are traded in daily life. The ap-

proach here can be seen as supplementing the standard attitude research. The latter is still of value in identifying some of what people think and experience but can benefit from newer work tracing how these perspectives are derived, communicated and updated to fit in with the commerce of social information exchange. Additional links to the nature of memory and the way information is processed and stored will be considered in a later section of this review.

New dimensions in satisfaction research

Studies of satisfaction in tourism represent one use of the more traditional approaches to attitudes. The work is valuable but there are ways to refresh the quality of what tourism researchers do. Ryan (2000) suggests that there are so many studies of satisfaction in the consumer behaviour literature that it would be an act of insanity or megalomania to try to review them. Potentially ignoring such advice, Bowen and Clarke (2009) do bravely provide a review of the tourism satisfaction literature which summarises both much earlier work and industry practices. Their conclusion suggests some new directions for satisfaction studies. The remarks echo earlier comments by Kozak (2001) and Pearce (2005). Bowen and Clarke conclude their review under the heading “Satisfaction is not enough” and observe:

“Despite the voluminous academic writings on the subject of satisfaction and the industry obsession with satisfaction scores, perhaps it is time to think more closely about what satisfaction means in day to day conversation (something that is OK)—and figure out another more suitable term to capture what tourists truly seek” (2009: 155).

The comment is timely but it is not simply a matter of finding another term. For researchers interested in the development of this area, seven challenges can be highlighted. The first and foremost issue is to recognise exactly what is meant by satisfaction. A return to mainstream psychology is again instructive at this point. Within psychology satisfaction has no particular role or status as a concept. The derivation of the term in tourism research is via consumer behaviour studies and the roots of that approach are simply making an evaluative assessment of an item, good or service (Argyriou & Melewar, 2011; Schwarz, 2006). This evaluative emphasis locates satisfaction assessment within the mainstream traditions of individual attitudes which have already been considered. Satisfaction as studied in tourism and much consumer behaviour is a specific type of attitude, one which occurs in a post-purchase or post-consumption time frame. Importantly, the interpretation of satisfaction as an attitude directs attention to the full sense of the term which, as noted previously, commonly highlights affective, cognitive and implicit behavioural elements. Satisfaction as a type of attitude is particularly likely to be influenced by the social context, and communicated to others in the tourist's social world (Coghlan & Pearce, 2010; Pearce, 2005; Pearce & Panchal, 2011; Ryan, 1995). As suggested ear-

lier, narrative analysis can enhance the studies of attitudes of any type because the approach can address the social and dynamic nature of the concept (Guthrie & Anderson, 2010; Pearce, 2010).

Second, by recognising that satisfaction has core emotional components, a wider array of emotional states beyond the one simple term of favourability can usefully be employed to assess outcomes. Richins (1997) argues that consumption emotions differ in character and intensity from emotions that are experienced in other contexts. She generated a list of affective states that capture a substantial array of consumption emotions. Her list of potential emotional states which could be used to capture how tourists feel about the diverse experiences in which they may be involved include happy, contented, optimistic, pleased, worried, frustrated, tense, lonely, unfulfilled, discontented, irritated, sad and depressed.

Third, measuring satisfaction as a post-experience outcome can benefit from a triangulation of methods. Assessing satisfaction and other evaluation responses with different tools enables researchers to check the reliability of the information received. In particular, adopting varied methods usually alters the different social contexts in which data are collected thus modifying the reactive effects of any one measurement approach. Collecting information through survey responses is its own distinctive form of communication; enhancing that communication channel by permitting data from other pathways is likely to be instructive.

A fourth issue for future attention is allied to our triangulation concern. In the existing work there is a close alignment between methods and conceptual approaches in this area. The popular expectancy disconfirmation paradigm (EDP)—where satisfaction is defined as the meeting or exceeding of expectations—works in some contexts and for some familiar products (Kozak, 2001). The EDP framework goes too far however in equating satisfaction with its expectations-based assessment. As a number of commentators have noted, expectations may be vague and inadequate as well as very difficult to measure in advance of tourists' actually participating in the experience (Botterill, 1987; DeCrop, 2001; Pearce, 2005). These difficulties should not result in a view that satisfaction has not occurred. Measuring expectations and outcomes can be still seen as appropriate when satisfaction is conceptualised as a post-consumption attitude but such an approach may be restricted to fewer components of the evaluative array. More frequent uses of the benchmarking and importance-performance approaches and direct post-trip evaluation techniques are recommended so that continuing confusion resulting from defining satisfaction through one type of measurement is not perpetuated (Pearce & Benckendorff, 2006).

A fifth and further issue is the need to assess more thoughtfully the interplay for tourists between their individual satisfaction and the satisfaction of other members of their travel party. The dominant tradition in satisfaction research, in fact almost the exclusive tradition, is to ask individuals for their own evaluations of their travels. Diener and Biswas-Diener (2008) observe that some respondents in Asian cultures, and potentially many other tourists, see their happiness and satisfaction

as entirely bound up with and dependent on the good times of their close group. Collecting the perspectives of individuals on how other members of their travel party have enjoyed the experience as well as recording their own evaluations might enrich the way tourist behaviour is assessed in an interconnected social world.

A sixth issue lies in the timing of tourists' evaluations. Much research is done very close to the conclusion of the holiday or experience, and the persistence of high levels of satisfaction is under-researched. Satisfaction may fade with time, thus generating particularly noisy data for those who try to build models of likely repeat purchasing (Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2008; Etzion, 2003). A particularly interesting suggestion offered by Diener and Biswas-Diener is that the conclusion or final stages of an experience are the most powerful when that event is remembered. The implication for tourism researchers consists of pursuing more panel studies or carefully thought out cross-sectional designs to monitor evaluation decay and retention. These developments derive closely from psychological research emphasising the importance of how problems and questions are timed, framed and presented when people make judgments, choices and evaluations (Goldstein, 2011).

A further and final issue of interest for those wishing to develop new dimensions in satisfaction research is highlighted by the subtle issue of the loyalty-satisfaction link in tourism. The term "transferred loyalty" usefully captures the situations where tourism loyalty may be transferred to other similar products due to the power of novelty motives to also shape tourist behaviour. In these cases satisfaction may have been very high but it is the basket of similar products and experiences which may receive the benefit of the tourists' next set of good times rather than the same business or location (Pearce & Kang, 2009).

MEMORY

The relevance of memory research to tourism studies is under-appreciated (Braasch, 2008). One kind of relevance includes attending to the types of memory which have been identified. Memory underpins how tourists deal with immediate travel experiences as well as how they recall their travels. For example, many mundane tasks such as reading a map or remembering a flight number rely on short term human memory abilities, but pivotal post-tourism activities such as savoring the past invoke long term memory.

The categories or types of memory which are recognised in psychology move beyond an everyday division of our abilities into short and long term memory. Instead it is more informative to view the memory divisions as consisting of working memory and two facets of long term memory (Goldstein, 2011; Wiseman, 2007). Working memory, which lasts for only 30 or so seconds without conscious repetition of information, involves our capacity to attend to auditory and verbal information as well as to visual and spatial material. The working memory system has been elaborated in some detail by Baddeley, Eysenck, and Anderson (2009) who observe that there are cognitive organisers which

can link components of short term memory to long term memory. They also note that working memory may retain immediate sensory impressions for a mere few seconds before much information is discarded. Enhancing tourism researchers' familiarity with developments in the study of working memory might assist work in such areas as the learning of skills, the use of technology and mobile recommender systems and the recall of immediate information relevant to rapid decision making (Yoo & Gretzel, 2008).

There are two key components of our longer term memory systems: one is referred to as semantic memory (memory of factual and conceptually based material) and the other is episodic memory (memory of personal experiences). A further term superimposed on these two expressions is that of autobiographical memory. Rubin (2005) has defined autobiographical memory as recollected events that belong to the person's past. It is proposed that these autobiographical memories are effectively accessed by mental time travel where we place ourselves back in a specific situation using a range of cues and sensory modalities. Autobiographical memory is mostly episodic memory but may contain some semantic components such as broad facts about a place. Autobiographical memories are fundamentally constructed and reconstructed and subject to distortions due to later experiences, suggestions and context. The essence of this idea was first captured by Bartlett (1932) who controversially suggested that there is no such thing as memory only the process of remembering. Bartlett's approach moves beyond notions of memory as a fixed file of established immutable disks in the human brain.

A notable aspect of autobiographical memory is termed the reminiscence bump. The term describes an enhanced ability for those over forty years of age to recall early adulthood years when self-image, life scripts and identity issues feature in many people's lives. Zimbardo and Boyd (2008) and Diener and Biswas-Diener (2008), among others, have viewed the malleability of autobiographical memories as a significant, clinically relevant advantage for human well-being since one's ability to focus more on positive past experiences rather the difficult times is linked to measures of current happiness.

Opportunities exist for tourism researchers to further explore emotional episodes in long term travel memories, such as learning from danger and recalling intimate and existential moments. A start has been made but the work is not common (Ballantyne, Packer, & Sutherland, 2011; Braasch, 2008; Kim, Brent Ritchie, & McCormick, 2010; Small, 2002). In particular the opportunity to study tourism memories characterised by different emotional outcomes might provide a breadth of naturalistic freshness to the memory research field (Levine & Pizarro, 2004).

A second kind of relevance deriving from the memory research in psychology underpins much of the previous discussion about attitudes, persuasion and decision making. It has been argued for some time that there are two processing systems for memory formulation and that these processes cross-cut the content or temporal memory categories. As briefly noted in the preceding sections on decision making and atti-

tudes, there are somewhat similar underlying motifs for how such processes may work (Argyriou & Melewar, 2011). In essence one approach describes human cognitive processes as involving considered, rational extensive processing of information while a second pathway emphasises a more rapid, routine, script following and shallow processing of information. These systems are variously labelled as the heuristic-systematic model (Chaiken, Lieberman, & Eagly, 1989), the elaboration-likelihood model (O'Keefe, 2008; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986), experiential-rational processing (Epstein, 1991), fast and slow thinking (Kahneman, 2011) and mindfulness-mindlessness (Langer, 1989, 2009). Other similar dual processing formulations exist. The special contribution of the memory research to the understanding of dual processing lies in the identification of two neuropsychologically based memory systems. Smith and DeCoster (2000) suggest that the notion of two memory systems underlies much other dual process thinking in cognitive and social psychology. Current thinking in these areas could in turn reshape and influence future tourism research efforts.

A memory system as employed here is a set of acquisition, retention and retrieval mechanisms tied to different parts of the brain. There are good evolutionary psychology reasons why higher order species but particularly humans have developed two memory systems. (Note these are not the temporal content systems, working and long term memory reviewed earlier, but areas of the brain and associated mechanisms which serve those content categories.) The evolutionary reasons for the two systems can be traced to the need to store information on the generally stable properties of the environment. Such well organised and well justified stored information built on slow learning can be based on a large sample of experiences to shape behavioural choices in regular situations. There is, though, the need for a second memory store; one which can rapidly construct new representations based on limited evidence and exposures. In addition to these differences in the speed of processing, the two systems attend to different types of information—slow learning attends to regularities and fast learning to novel, interesting and unexpected material. The dual processing approaches which we have indicated as operating in persuasive communication, attitude change and decision making are arguably dependent on and are built on these core physiologically different human memory mechanisms.

What kinds of implications do these perspectives suggest for tourism studies? In addition to helping researchers clarify the terminology which can be used in this field, the ongoing research in human memory suggests several directions for tourism research. As Braasch (2008) has highlighted, tourism researchers need to embrace the concepts of malleability and continuous reconstruction of memory observed by their psychological counterparts. These points reinforce the value of the storytelling perspective identified earlier. How memories are recounted and relayed is a very social process not just a cognitive process and the telling and re-telling of stories solidifies key tourism events and encounters and may even create imagined new ones (cf. Loftus & Pickrell, 1995).

These points suggest specific ways in which tourism researchers can pursue their questions about memory. Not only can research concentrate on to whom the stories are told and where they are communicated but the topic of what stories and episodes are not told can be explored. Noy (2004) has provided an extended example of the interactivity between researcher and returning backpacker tourists in exactly this way. The rising use of photographs and souvenirs as facilitating objects in tourism memory research offers further promise. This promise is not simply restricted to explaining the value of the souvenirs but instead such items can be the stimuli for asking about a broader holiday context, other activities of that day or period, queries about what was not bought or photographed and the relationships generated in these encounters (Rakic & Chambers, 2012; Scarles, 2012). The multisensory encoding of memories is a rich part of the brain-based psychology research on memory. Ethnographic and recall studies could more directly exploit tourists' recall of taste, sounds and smells (cf. Jacobsen, 2008). At the broadest level memory research and studies in the experience economy need to develop not just a short term relationship but a long lasting and mutually engaging affair. After all, according to Kahneman (2011, p. 388) "tourism is about helping people construct stories and collect memories".

PERSONAL GROWTH

For some time the work of clinical psychologists attempting to ameliorate human problems has co-existed with psychology approaches concerned with enhancing human functioning. These ideas were developed in the early work of Rogers (1963) and Maslow (1970) and most importantly have been reinvigorated with the rise of positive psychology (Seligman & Csikszentmihayli, 2000). In addition to the work of the positive psychologists there is much material written about personal growth in what can be described as the popular psychology or self-help literature. The popular works include a colourful array of material which proffers such advice as interpreting other people's behaviour, building relationships, managing one's time and superior ways to reach enlightenment. While good academic work underpins some of these works (e.g., Collett, 2004) much of the material consists of cleverly packaged schemes deriving from the authors' personal experiences. The positive psychologists have been keen to distance themselves from faddish trends in this popular press and build their work on high standards of post-positivist inquiry while still dealing with such topics as happiness, well-being and human flourishing (Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2008; Pearce, 2009).

The recent work on human flourishing and personal growth in psychology offers several directions for tourism researchers. It identifies large scale human values, validated across countries, which help define growth trajectories for human well-being. Some of these values were identified in the earlier section concerned with motivation and include major categories for personal growth such as wisdom and knowledge,

courage, humanity, justice, temperance and transcendence (Seligman, Steen, Park, & Peterson, 2005). Twenty-four more specific positive human qualities flesh out these superordinate categories. Examples include bravery, modesty, forgiveness, persistence, love of learning, kindness, fairness, teamwork, gratitude and appreciation of beauty. These categories offer an agenda for studying in more detail the effects of positive holiday experiences on the qualities and perspectives of returning tourists. Some work in tourism has taken up this kind of challenge, beginning with studies of tourists' learning, the development of tourists' relationships and tourists' empathy towards those they visit (Bowen & Schouten, 2008; Desforges, 2000; Maoz, 2008; Noy, 2004; O'Reilly, 2006; Pearce & Foster, 2007; Wickens, 2002). A profitable mix of qualitative and quantitative work could continue to develop these benefits of travelling for personal growth and the building of self-determined desirable values.

The topic of relationships and personal growth is perhaps one of the more challenging potential research themes in tourism studies which could benefit from constructs and approaches in social and positive psychology. There is a moderate amount of descriptive work in tourism studies regarding the importance of building and consolidating relationships during travel (Bazerman, 2003; Fluker & Deery, 2003; Swain & Momsen, 2002; Waite & Markwell, 2006). Two key concepts from psychology may inject new life into these studies. First the concepts of stages and phases in relationships can be carefully considered and these transitions linked to tourists' experiences (Argyle, 2001; Harris, 2005). In this approach a generic view of types of relationships is less important than the engagement and trajectory of the relationship of interest. In particular the role of tourist experiences in facilitating or reshaping relationship stages and transitions might be of special interest. A second style of work derives from the specific stress reduction work of Sheldon Cohen (Cohen, 2005). This approach emphasised that two subtly different measures—social support (having immediate others to turn to) and social integration (being well embedded in one's community with many links)—were pivotal in building ongoing positive emotions and positive health. The testing of these concepts in tourism studies linked to the stages of relationships may offer insights as to how travel can build and broaden the well-being of tourists (cf. Fredrickson, 2001).

Other potential research themes relating to personal growth focus on the ways in which tourism experiences might contribute to changes in the way people see the world and respond to others. What new skills and competencies do people build as a result of a tourism experience? How can tourism induce changes in socially responsible behaviours, for example, by encouraging more sustainable and environmentally responsible behaviour (Ballantyne & Packer, 2005; Ballantyne, Packer, & Falk, 2011; Storksdieck, Ellenbogen, & Heimlich, 2005)? The effective tracking of such changes in personal growth is not yet a convincing part of tourism study but it does offer long term challenges to those interested in how tourism deeply affects its participants.

A small caveat from the history of psychology research helps clarify what is mutable and what can be seen as less likely to change in these personal growth studies. For example, the personality modifications trialled in early sensitivity training groups failed to endure because the working environment to which participants returned did not change (Rowan, 1998). Nevertheless, it can be argued that changes in values and even interpersonal styles are possible if individuals are able to repeatedly monitor their behaviour in the worlds to which they return (Kleinke, 1978). The process of redecorating one's world with travel reminders and visual souvenirs as reported by Rakic and Chambers (2012) can be a part of this refreshing of one's world to support desired personal changes resulting from existentially important and life influencing travel.

CAUTIOUS BORROWING

Zimbardo and Boyd (2008) suggest that as individuals seeking a positive sense of well-being we should adopt a particular kind of balance in the way we see the past, live in the present and anticipate the future. In particular we should see only the positive aspects of the past and dwell infrequently on what has troubled us before. Simultaneously we should aim to live mainly in the present with some but not too much of a focus on the future. There is perhaps some guidance in these broad recommendations for tourism researchers and their view of psychology. We do need to recognise that some older psychology ideas may no longer be helpful, and may in fact do more harm than good. Zimbardo and Boyd's advice suggests that we might discard some past approaches, focus more on contemporary studies and anticipate links to the new technologies and futures of psychology study.

Some past approaches that may have outlived their usefulness include those that view human behaviour as being driven by cognitive models of balance and symmetry. Examples include cognitive dissonance theory, balance theory and social equity (Evans, 1980). There is now plenty of evidence that these kinds of approaches underestimate the human ability to live with contradictions and ambiguity (Goldstein, 2011; Nisbett, 2003). Substantial modifications and qualifications will thus be required if these balance and dissonance notions are to be incorporated into tourism research in the future.

Single trait theories of personality and motivation should also be used with caution in tourism study. Ideas deriving from Freudian and psychoanalytic theory as well as early tourism notions such as Plog's allocentric–psychocentric model of motives or Iso-Ahola's notion of arousal often simply re-describe rather than explain motivation and behaviour. Similarly, approaches built on simple trait theories of personality offer little in the way of predictive power. Contemporary approaches which recognise the “big five” core and stable dimensions of personality (usually described as extraversion, neuroticism, openness, agreeableness and conscientiousness) suggest that patterned responses to human settings including tourism may be better understood by

being linked to an array of forces (Martin et al., 2007). Rather than viewing isolated dimensions as driving conduct, future research into tourist behaviour may benefit more from advanced statistical treatment of patterned relationships. Of particular interest here is the rising recognition of conscientiousness as a leading personality factor influencing positive health. The study of those with a personality pattern of high conscientiousness and low neuroticism suggests that vacation outcomes for this group are very worthwhile (Besser & Shackelford, 2007).

Increasingly, the search for universal qualities or characteristics of tourists and groups of holidaymakers will need to be challenged. For studies of tourists and tourism, the contexts and locations matter considerably and are inevitably subtly different. Key sources of variation include the kinds of other tourists involved, the settings in which they spend their time and the diversity of other people they encounter. Nisbett (2003) in his volume *The Geography of Thought* pays attention to some of the ways in which context matters. A careful reading of this work by tourism researchers may assist in both designing and interpreting information from different contexts in more subtle ways.

There are other ideas core to the history of psychology and its development which are a part of the broader social science understanding of human behaviour. Some of these ideas, while still accepted and current in the basic psychology lexicon, need to be applied to tourism settings with care. A key example is the work on classical and operant conditioning, most directly associated with the pioneering efforts of Pavlov and Skinner respectively. Sometimes these ideas are loosely applied to tourism marketing and its influence on behaviour and decision making. It is not that this work is out-dated but rather the problem resides in over-generalising the concepts to fields and settings to which they do not properly apply. Studies of learning in tourism for example rarely feature classical conditioning scenarios involving the pairing of unconditional and conditional stimuli. Similarly while reward and punishment may have relevance for certain behaviours and hence operant conditioning prevails, much of the interest in tourism learning is social and involves richer cognitive mechanisms. The message from this theme is that the transplanting of ideas needs to be carefully managed.

ANTICIPATING THE FUTURE

Over thirty years ago Cohen (1979) argued for a four pronged approach to the study of tourism built on stressing an emic, processual, contextual, and comparative agenda. It is possible to renovate these touchstones for considering tourism studies, at least in the area of considering the behaviour and experience of tourists as informed by psychology inquiry. It can be suggested that instead of these terms being seen as absolute they represent ranges of activity for consideration with the potential for some studies to focus on select aspects of the range while others pursue the alternate positions. Ranges of inquiry along six dimensions are suggested in Table 2 and discussed below. In essence these dimensions deliver the choices and specifications for tourism stud-

Table 2. Ranges of inquiry for tourism studies informed by psychology

Dimension	Range
Perspective	Emic → Etic
Focus	Individual functioning → Group processes
Domain of inquiry	Single → Multiple
Timeframe	Cross-sectional → Longitudinal
Cultural context	Culturally tied → Pan-cultural
Tourism setting	Generic → Specific

ies informed by psychology, and provide both an agenda for future research and a framework for interpreting and benefiting from studies of tourist behaviour and experiences.

Perspective

The perspective taken by researchers in studies needs to be explicitly acknowledged. *Emic* views are genuinely driven from the participants’ full frame of reference, *etic* perspectives from the researchers’ imposed categories and assessments. Tourism research might benefit from a greater use of emic approaches that allow a deeper investigation of the ways tourists see their experiences.

Focus

Much work in social and cognitive psychology is confined to the effects of *individual functioning* but newer approaches to attitudes and framing are required to develop a detailed view of how attitudes, satisfaction and decisions originate and are communicated. Attentiveness to the social context and a focus on social representations and *group processes* can advantage tourist experience studies.

Domain of inquiry

This review has focused on some of the contributions to tourism research that can be drawn from *one specific domain* of enquiry—psychology. However, we have alluded to the benefits of incorporating *multiple domains*—physiological and social as well as psychological. Providing conceptual systems which do not contradict one another across levels of analysis is becoming increasingly possible as neuroscience, cognition and social processes are mapped together. Tourism research should attend to and desirably be consistent with these links.

Timeframe

The dominant studies in tourism are “one shot” *cross-sectional* studies assessing processes happening at one point in time. For many of the

newer topics of interest, notably memory and personal growth, *longitudinal* studies that track tourists' behaviour and experience over a longer period may be appropriate.

Cultural context

Psychology has acknowledged its own cultural relativism and the newer positive psychology work reaches beyond the narrow confines of select student samples. Scholars in tourism studies also need to address their behavioural and experiential agenda through different cultural lenses. Whether they are *culturally tied* or *pan-cultural*, tourism studies need to acknowledge the important influence of cultural context and in so doing might enhance psychological inquiry.

Tourism setting

Tourism settings, like tourists, are subtly different and mapping the diversity of contexts and settings is still an underachievement in tourism scholarship. The settings in which tourism research is undertaken vary from *generic* to *specific* tourism settings. More work specifying how settings can be compared is to be encouraged.

The results of these choices by researchers will continue to define how tourism studies bearing on human behaviour unfold. It is credible to suggest that coverage of the range of possibilities will be more powerful and compelling than a concentration on select styles and accompanying themes.

CONCLUSION

The thematic approach employed in this review has left unexplored some territories of interest for tourism study. For example there is plenty of room to develop the application of attribution theory—how people constitute their everyday explanations of the world. This rich work in understanding explanation has much to offer studies of tourism services. In particular, the satisfaction work reviewed earlier can be supported by studies of complaints and their forms and justification. The important topic of crowds, crowding and the social response to the press of other people also deserves attention. More specifically the ways in which tourists co-exist and deal with others can build on psychological and social communication analyses (Collett, 2004). Berino and Ward (2005) review some ways in which tourism studies and psychology researchers could interact for mutual benefit, in their case they argued for more mutually influential work in the study of cultural contact and learning. There is some way to go before tourism scholars can provide the innovations in concepts and methods that might excite a broad band of psychologists. Nevertheless, psychology studies are often insensitive to context and there is some promise that the continued study of tourists and their settings might contribute important new per-

spectives to the development and application of psychology itself. In this regard, tourism provides a “typically positive real-life situation” (Besser & Shackleford, 2007, p. 1334) in which psychological theories and concepts might be tested and validated. **A**

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