

# A Cross-National Comparison of Intragenerational Variability in Social Media Sharing

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## Abstract

Given Millennials' early digital life experiences, the adoption of social media tends to be greater among members of this generation compared to older ones. However, studies that report such age-based generalizations tend to neglect the phenomenon of intragenerational variability in social media use, providing an oversimplified picture of how people behave. Moreover, studies that compare social media use across nations are lacking, and are also needed to establish the generality of this phenomenon. This paper investigates intragenerational variability in social media sharing among Millennial travelers in six nations (Canada, France, India, Japan, Mexico, and USA) using Destination Canada's Global Tourism Watch database. A latent class segmentation model is used to identify groups of travelers with different ways of using social media to share trip experiences. Results supported five unique classes of social media sharing, ranging from nonuse to highly integrated sharing across many platforms. Additionally, class membership is predicted by covariates (nationality, travel experience, and social media use and goals) and is predictive of destination advocacy (offering recommendations). The identification of different classes of social media sharing advances theory on intragenerational and cross-national variability, and informs the development of international strategies that target Millennial travelers based on their tendency to share and advocate.

## Keywords

millennials, social media, social networking, destination advocacy, international marketing strategy

## Introduction

As mobile and web-based technologies evolve, traditional ways of sharing trip experiences (postcards, pictures, and talk) are giving rise to new forms of communication (email, social networks, blogs, and online review sites) (Lu, Chen, and Law 2018). Increasingly, consumers are utilizing such platforms to share and discuss their experiences (Ben-Shaul and Reichel 2018; Kietzmann et al. 2011; Ring, Tkaczynski, and Dolničar 2016), with young adults exhibiting greater adoption levels and use of social media sites than older adults (Bizirgianni and Dionysopoulou 2013; Bolton et al. 2013; Rainie 2010). Recognizing these trends, researchers and travel organizations are very interested in explaining and availing of the benefits of understanding young travelers' online travel behaviors (Hays, Page, and Buhalis 2013).

Understanding young international travelers is a priority for many destination marketing organizations, including by Destination Canada, who have indicated in their 2015–2020 Corporate Plan that younger travelers take longer trips, exhibit greater overall spending than other segments and hold a higher repeat visitation potential as compared to other generational cohorts. Further, they are the fastest growing age cohort as they are expected to increase from 200 million travelers in 2015 to 300 million by 2020. Often

referred to as “digital natives,” members of the Millennial cohort are often portrayed to be tech-savvy and tend to adopt and use social media at a greater rate than older generations (Kilian, Hennigs, and Langner 2012; Kim, Xiang, and Fesenmaier 2015).

Assessing the generalizability of Millennial travelers' social media use requires empirical testing. Recently, two studies provided converging evidence that the use of social media for travel purposes varies greatly within the population of travelers. Ring, Tkaczynski, and Dolničar (2016) demonstrated that word of mouth is not a homogeneous activity; rather, tourists exhibit different ways of sharing holiday experiences with respect to content that is shared (visual/verbal) and the channel used to share it (offline/online). Similarly, Amaro, Duarte, and Henriques (2016)

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identified five segments of travelers that differ in their consumption and creation of social media for travel purposes, spanning the spectrum from inactive to fully engaged. Shifting the focus to generations of travelers, research has identified generational differences in Internet use in travel planning (Kim, Xiang, and Fesenmaier 2015; Xiang, Magnini, and Fesenmaier 2015), online travel information search (Beldona 2005; Beldona, Nusair, and Demicco 2009), and the adoption of mobile travel applications (Douglas, Lubbe, and Van Rooyen 2018; Gotardi et al. 2015). While intergenerational studies of the variety of ways that travelers engage with social media are receiving more attention than in the past, there is also likely to be significant within-generation heterogeneity.

Although intergenerational differences in social media use are widely acknowledged (Fietkiewicz et al. 2016; Kilian, Hennigs, and Langner 2012; Zhang, Abound Omran, and Cobanoglu 2017), researchers have rarely delved into intragenerational variance in social media use. However, an integrative literature by Bolton et al. (2013) poses some provocative questions to spur further investigation of how the Millennial Generation interacts with social media. Mindful of common generational study limitations, the authors advocate for research that avoids common problems such as focusing on the USA and/or (at most) one other country, relying solely on student samples, and not fully examining the drivers and outcomes of social media use. This paper, therefore, uses Bolton and colleagues' (2013) criticisms as the basis to design our study to investigate intragenerational and cross-national variance in social media use within a travel context, informed by cultural dimension theories that relate consumer behavior to culture (Steenkamp 2019).

Addressing such questions requires access to the kinds of large data sets generated by government agencies and tourism associations that monitor and track travel behavior. This study uses Destination Canada's annual Global Tourism Watch (GTW) survey to conduct in-depth analysis of the indicators, covariates, and distal outcomes of social media use using data gathered from real-world travelers from multiple nations. A latent class segmentation model is used to identify unobserved, or latent, patterns of social media sharing that exist across subgroups of Millennial travelers. Findings from this study enhance our knowledge about the nature and extent of intra-cohort variance in Millennials' use of social media. This has implications for future theoretical research and for tourism marketing managers, who seek insight that informs the development of international marketing programs and social media planning.

## Research Questions

### *Generational Differences in Social Media Sharing*

Although names for the cohort born between 1980 and 1999 vary—Generation Y, Millennials, Nexters, and the Nexus

Generation (Benckendorff, Moscardo, and Pendergast 2010; Ng, Schweitzer, and Lyons 2010)—this article will follow the most prevalent naming convention of “Millennial(s)” when describing this generational age group. As the first generation to use some form of technology throughout their entire lives, behaviors by Millennials in regard to the way they interact with technology in general, and social media specifically, warrants a close examination.

The Millennial generation is an important target market for marketers (Schewe et al. 2013) and is on the cusp of surpassing Baby Boomers as America's largest living adult generation (Fry 2018). This cohort exhibits a higher propensity toward Internet use and lower brand loyalty than other generations (Reisenwitz and Iyer 2009; Williams et al. 2012). They like to create content as well as consume it (Beldona, Nusair, and Demicco 2009; Benckendorff, Moscardo, and Pendergast 2010; Bolton et al. 2013). Millennials represent the current and future visitor market (Pendergast 2010), establishing their impact on tourism as a top priority for generational marketers. Given the fundamental importance of age cohorts as a market segmentation and targeting criterion, along with the opportunity to assess the convergent validity of recent study findings (i.e., Amaro, Duarte, and Henriques 2016; Ring, Tkaczynski, and Dolničar 2016) with findings derived from a new data set, our first research question is as follows:

*Research question 1:* Do Millennials differ from older generations in their ways of sharing travel experiences?

### *Profiling Millennials' Social Media Sharing*

Social media itself is defined within the field of tourism marketing as consumer-generated media impressions informed by experience and shared online (Xiang and Gretzel 2010). The surge in mobile activity in the population at large opens up new communication channels, particularly among Millennials who are particularly keen to share using social media (Bilgihan and Wang 2016; Nyheim et al. 2015; Sánchez Abril, Levin, and Del Riego 2012). This can be used to explain the significance of the digital world for this cohort, as a Millennial-aged student's network of “friends”—or those in their social networks—is often higher than 200, more than the number they interact with in their real-world settings (Hogan 2010). This suggests deeper needs of social interaction that Millennials explore in an online community, through the process of “socializing” over content that they themselves create and disseminate.

Despite research on the varieties of Millennial travel and technology usage, there is a demand for more studies that investigate *how* Millennials are sharing their travel experiences using social media, given their heightened desire to like, post, and share (Mangold and Smith 2012; Moore 2012; Smith 2012). Research has focused on overall levels of social media sharing among Millennials, but has rarely considered

the variance found within the cohort. Following arguments advanced by Bolton et al. (2013) and Kilian, Hennigs, and Langner (2012), we want to assess if Millennials are a homogeneous group, or if submarkets exist that differ in social media sharing. A methodical data-driven exploration of market structure can yield market segments that lead to an improved basis for market-driven decisions (Dolničar 2004; Ernst and Dolničar 2018). Thus, to investigate intragenerational variance in the ways of using social media, we pursued the following question:

*Research question 2:* Is social media sharing homogeneous among Millennial travelers, or do they demonstrate distinct levels and patterns (latent classes) of social media use?

### **Individual-Level Predictors of Social Media Sharing**

Despite recognition of likely intragenerational differences, very few studies actually employ measures in their methodologies to tease out the sources of variance in a systematic way (Bolton et al. 2013; McGlynn 2005; Schewe et al. 2013). As such, research has called for *within-age* cohort variability, in regard to an empirical measurement of factors that occur amongst those in the same generation such as their various values, attitudes, and behaviors (Schewe and Noble 2000). In the cohort segmentation literature, arguments for a deeper exploration of within-cohort variability suggest that there are important differences even within generational cohorts and that a better understanding of this variability will result in more effective targeting by marketers (Pennington-Gray, Fridgen, and Stynes 2003).

There are many individual-level factors that are likely to influence adoption of social media sharing, including both stable factors (socio-economic status, personal values/preferences, age/life stage) and dynamic factors (goals, emotions, norms/identity) (Bolton et al. 2013). For example, associations and identification with one's generation (e.g., Millennial, Gen X, or Baby Boomer) may vary within-cohort (Gardiner, Grace, and King 2013), leading to varying levels of acceptance of generational norms or stereotypical behaviors. Likewise, the media usage behaviors of Millennials are likely tethered to individuals' motives for use (Kilian, Hennigs, and Langner 2012). Understanding individual differences can also help to predict intragenerational variability in tourist-specific behaviors such as the growth of volunteer tourism, consideration of the environmental impact of travel behavior, and use of Internet to share travel experiences (Moscardo and Benckendorff 2010). To get a sense of how individual factors play a role in explaining variability in Millennial social media use, we asked,

*Research question 3:* Do individual-level factors (travel experience, social media experience, and social media

use goals) predict social media sharing (latent class membership)?

### **Nationality as a Predictor of Social Media Sharing**

Geographic segmentation, or the consumer's location of residence, is an important basis of segmentation because tourism organizations typically want to attract tourists from neighboring states, provinces, regions, or countries (Dolničar, Grün, and Leisch 2018). For example, Destination Canada targets tourists in nations including Australia, China, France, Germany, and South Korea. To reach travelers in these nations, the agency tailors its communication messages in a number of different languages and selects media outlets that reach prospective international travelers.

Although individual travelers within a nation exhibit variable tastes, preferences, and practices, culture is a force that attenuates variability in values, behavioral norms, and patterns of behavior within nations (Agarwal, Malhotra, and Bolton 2010; Crotts 2004; Steenkamp and Ter Hofstede 2002). Scholars contend that although nations may not be a perfect measure of culture (Hofstede 2003), it serves as an effective proxy of one's cultural background in business and management research (Reisinger and Crotts 2010; Seabra et al. 2013) and provides a gateway to explore cultural dimensions theory and the links between macro dimensions (i.e., power distance, individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, long-term orientation, and indulgence), values, and behavior (Huang and Crotts 2019; Litvin, Crotts, and Hefner 2004; Pizam and Fleischer 2005; Steenkamp 2001; Yuksel, Kilinc, and Yuksel 2006).

Social media is a global phenomenon and therefore research needs to look beyond a single geographic location to understand the influence of cultural values on perceptions and images of destinations (Calantone et al. 1989; MacKay and Fesenmaier 2000; San Martín and Del Bosque 2008). Despite knowing this, single-country studies are typically used to make observations regarding this important generational cohort (Garikapati et al. 2016; Gotardi et al. 2015; Ralph 2015). Limited research has found multicountry variation among Millennials, but often focuses on up to just three countries, which ignores certain key tourist markets (Schewe et al. 2013), or uses a homogeneous population, particularly with a student sample, which may not measure the wide range of actual tourist behaviors (Di Pietro, Di Virgilio, and Pantano 2012; Hahm, Upchurch, and Wang 2008; Isacsson and Gretzel 2011).

Cross-national variability in Millennials' social media sharing is expected. Berthon et al. (2012) assert that social media is a function of the technology, culture, and government of a particular country. Take the following independent studies for demonstrative examples of this: Chinese users are more closely connected to their social network contacts than are Americans, who preferred loose and disjointed networks (Chu and Choi 2011). Sites that use more bandwidth, such as

video-based YouTube, are less prevalent in emerging countries like India and Mexico (Berthon et al. 2012). Facebook use in most countries is high except in China, where government restricts its use (Berthon et al. 2012). Finally, American travelers are more likely to post content with higher levels of hedonic pleasure and self-enhancement than travelers from other nations (Yoo and Gretzel 2011). From these examples, it is suggested that this study has the unique opportunity to look within the Millennial generation's specific social media and travel patterns across the most important tourist countries to (and within) Canada to determine the further variations that may exist within Millennial-cohort travelers. To examine the macro-level differences that likely exist among nations, we ask:

*Research question 4:* Does nationality predict social media sharing (latent class membership)?

### **Advocacy as a Distal Outcome of Social Media Sharing**

Brand advocacy plays a vital role in marketing as word of mouth is one of the most important and effective communication channels (So et al. 2018; Urban 2005). The role of advocacy in travel evolved rapidly with the rise of social media as travelers now have the opportunity to share their recommendations real-time via rating sites, tweets, social network postings, and picture-sharing. Today's tourists prefer unbiased and honest information regarding the places they intend to visit, which they feel comes not from the destinations but from those in their social networks (Kang and Schuett 2013).

In its most basic form, advocacy acts as a form of loyalty—specifically, a unique combination of attitudinal and behavioral loyalty in which there exists a strong intention to recommend the good or service to others (Schepers and Nijssen 2018), and in a tourism context, an increased intention to revisit the destination again (Han, Kim, and Kim 2011). These forms of loyalty have also been referred to as social advocacy (recommending the good or service to others) and physical advocacy (consuming the offering or experience again) (Kumar and Kaushik 2017). Despite the important links between consumer-generated media and brand advocacy, consideration of advocacy within the tourism literature remains sparse and disparate (Bilro, Loureiro, and Ali 2018) and we are just starting to study how numerical ratings, text reviews, and pictures posted by tourists may influence potential tourists' decision making (Amaro, Duarte, and Henriques 2016; Ring, Tkaczynski, and Dolničar 2016; H.-y. Zhang et al. 2017). Given that customer advocacy is “a requirement for brand management success in the era of social media” (So et al. 2018, p. 729), players in the travel industry must develop ways of discerning the likelihood of travelers to recommend and advocate on behalf of a destination. Accordingly, we ask:

*Research question 5:* Does social media sharing (latent class membership) predict the tendency of travelers to offer recommendations (to be “promoters”)?

## **Methods**

### **Research Approach**

In this article, we study cross-nation inter- and intragenerational variability in social media sharing. First, we examine intergenerational differences in sharing travel experiences during and after travel, with a focus on Millennials and national cultural dimensions. Second, we investigate intragenerational variability using a latent class segmentation model to test whether Millennials exhibit different ways of sharing travel experiences using social media.

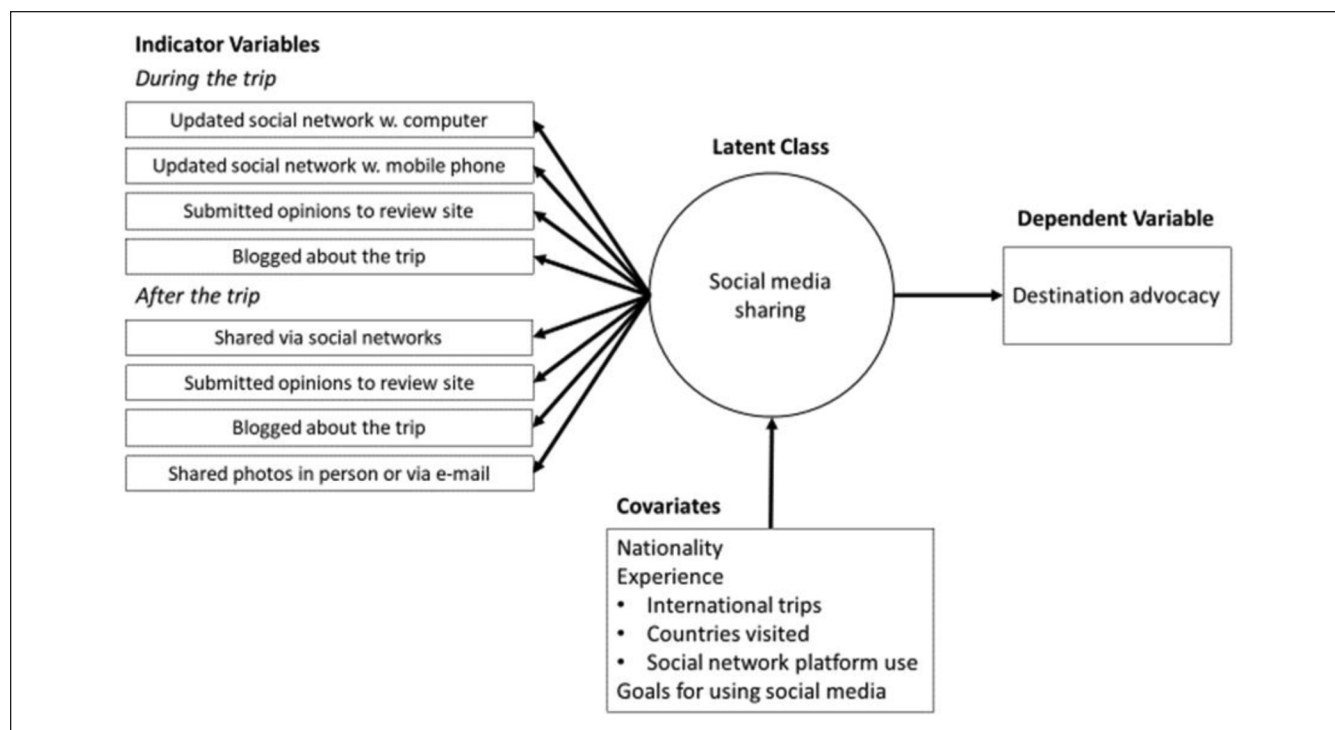
The objective of latent class analysis (LCA) is to “simultaneously estimate the number of segments, their size and composition, and the segment-specific regression coefficients” (DeSarbo, Kamakura, and Wedel 2006, p. 397). This model-based technique has become increasingly popular among researchers and data analysts who appreciate its ability to overcome many of the problems with traditional cluster analysis techniques, particularly for its ability to analyze relationships in categorical data (Hagenaars and McCutcheon 2002; Magidson and Vermunt 2002; Schreiber and Pekarik 2014). LCA has been applied to examine within-group diversity on topics including tourists' length of stay (Alegre, Mateo, and Pou 2011), preferences patterns and benefits sought (Kemperman and Timmermans 2006), consumption values (Chen, Masiero, and Hsu 2018), expenditure patterns (Pino and Tovar 2019), and willingness to pay (Gengler and Mulvey 2017). Such analyses can help to advance a deeper understanding of people who comprise the latent groupings as well as the antecedents and consequences of segment membership.

Figure 1 depicts the variables included in our intragenerational model to determine if there were meaningful subgroups of Millennials (latent classes) based on patterns of social media sharing during and after the trip (indicator variables). A range of variables were included in the model as covariates (nationality, international trips, countries visited, social network platform use, and goals for using social media), and destination advocacy was modeled as a distal outcome. Heeding de Mooij and Hofstede's (2002) warning, we do not include macro-level measures of national culture in our micro-level intragenerational model.

### **Global Tourism Watch Database**

Destination Canada's GTW serves many purposes, including (a) monitoring awareness, travel intentions, and other key market indicators for Canada; (b) assessing perceptions of Canada and track brand performance against key competitors; (c) identifying the general experiences sought by travelers, and assessing Canada's competitive positioning on key products and





**Figure 1.** A latent class model of social media sharing.

identify growth opportunities; (d) identifying motivators and barriers for travel to Canada; and (e) exploring the role of advocacy in the tourism context. DC's recently released database (Destination Canada 2019) presents a unique opportunity to explore travel trends from 2007 to 2013, based on 118,226 travelers' responses from 10 markets around the world, including Canada.

The great size and international scope of this data set presents researchers with an opportunity to explore research questions on domestic and/or cross-national tourism that would otherwise be cost-prohibitive to most scholars. Led by the general question "How are Millennials sharing their travel experiences using social media?," our team sought answers from the 2013 GTW data set—the first edition of the survey to examine the role of advocacy, word of mouth, and social media in a tourism context. The GTW survey uses quota sampling technique to ensure that the views of all generations of adult travelers are represented, balanced by gender and divided into 6 age brackets: 18–24, 25–34, 35–44, 45–54, 55–64, and 65+. The 2013 GTW surveyed 13,000 long-haul pleasure travelers from 6 countries (Canada, India, France, Japan, Mexico, and USA), including 3,574 Millennials (18–24 and 25–34 years).

### Measurement Domains

*Social network platform use, social media sharing, and motivators.* Social media platforms facilitate participation in online communities, though the norms and affordances of particular platforms may vary (Kietzmann et al. 2011). Respondents

were asked to identify the social networking sites they had used in the past 3 months. The list included Facebook, Four-square, Instagram, Pinterest, Twitter, and YouTube, and sites with high levels of regional adoption such as Orkut (India) or Mixi (Japan). A respondent's social media platform use score was calculated as the sum of networks used (range = 0 to 5+), based on the logic that platforms are resources that can be deployed to share travel experiences and that individuals with greater levels of platform adoption may differ from non-adopters.

Travelers also indicated the ways they shared information during and after their most recent pleasure trip in terms of the following categories: during the trip (updated social network with computer, updated social network with mobile phone, submitted opinions to review site, and blogged about the trip) and after the trip (blogged about the trip, submitted opinions to review site, shared via social networks, and shared photos in person or via e-mail).

Next, we looked at the motivators for using social networks. Travelers who used social networks were asked: "Why do you use social networking sites?" and the reasons given were coded into 13 categories as binary indicators (0 = no, 1 = yes). The reasons for using social media were as follows: to stay in touch with friends and family, to get exclusive promotions, to get special deals, to share my travel photos, to watch videos, to let my friends and family know where I am, to share my travel experiences, to look at and share photos, to see updates from my friends and family, to stay up-to-date with the latest breaking news, to learn more about

social media accounts, to be connected to the brands I like, and some other reason.

**Nationality.** Of the possible areas of nationality that one may explore, including place of birth, country of residence, or citizenship, residence has been found to be the most robust (Crotts and Litvin 2003). Accordingly, place of residence was used as the measure of nationality.

**Past travel experience.** Consumer knowledge formed through direct experience influences traveler behavior. Past travel experience was measured in terms of recent travel frequency (number of long-haul trips taken in the past 3 years) and countries ever visited (count ranging from 1 to 6+).

**Advocacy.** The Net Promoter Score (NPS) (Reichheld 2006) is a single-question measure of customer loyalty that is widely used in practice to assess the link between positive word-of-mouth and sales (Keiningham et al. 2007). The basic idea behind the question is that profitable growth is possible if customers sing the praises of the brand to neighbors, friends, and colleagues. The “likelihood-to-recommend” question also allows executives to sort customers into one of three groups: promoters, passives, and detractors. These simple, easy-to-understand groups are expected to behave differently, with promoters having the greatest potential to influence positive outcomes for the organization via their advocacy. The use of three categories derived using cut-off scores may seem arbitrary and result in data loss (Kristensen and Eskildsen 2014); however, the focus on promoters not only is justified by prevailing industry norms but is also informed by the finding that promoters are homogeneous with respect to the valence of the eWOM messages they spread, and passives exhibit considerable heterogeneity (Raassens and Haans 2017). So, in the present study we take the simple and most common path to measuring the tendency to advocate by focusing on deemed promoters.

The GTW survey used a variant of the NPS that measured travelers’ destination recommendations to a friend, family member, or colleague, and whether they had visited or not, on a 10-point scale (1 = not at all likely, 10 = extremely likely), repeated for 7 destinations. Respondents within a nation were presented with identical sets of destination countries; however, the composition of sets varied across nations (but all sets included Canada). The tendency of a respondent to hold intentions to offer recommendations was measured by the count of scores that equaled 9 or 10 (to be a “promoter”) across destinations in the set (range = 0 to 7).

## Analysis and Findings

### Research Question 1: Intergenerational Differences in Travelers’ Social Media Sharing

The first research question investigates age cohort differences in the still developing like–post–share world of social

media use in a travel context. Along with the ability to examine social media sharing among young travelers, the GTW database also allows a formal test of the age-based levels to clearly illustrate differences in ways of sharing across generations. Chi-square tests, using the Bonferroni correction, compared the expected and actual distribution of ways of sharing across age categories, and Cramer’s V measured the effect sizes of the differences in the data. The indicators of social sharing are considered categorical-nominal; thus, crosstabulation tests such as Cramer’s V are appropriate (Khalilzadeh and Tasci 2017).

Table 1 reports the levels and effects of differences in sharing travel experiences by age cohort among recent travelers. The largest difference in sharing was in the incidence of updating a social network with a mobile phone during the trip (Cramer’s V = .263) whereby travelers in the 18–24 cohort exhibit the highest rate (36.2%), decreasing at each age cohort to the lowest rate (4.6%) found among the 65+ cohort. A similar decreasing rate of sharing during travel from young to old traveler was found for tech-based ways of updating social network with a computer (Cramer’s V = .187), blogging about the trip (Cramer’s V = .150), and submitting opinions to a travel review site (Cramer’s V = .100). After travel, young travelers demonstrated the highest levels of sharing via social networks (Cramer’s V = .253), blogging about the trip (Cramer’s V = .161), and submitting opinions to review sites (Cramer’s V = .103). Interestingly, the differences in sharing information and photos via email by age cohort were trivial. Not surprisingly, post-trip sharing among older travelers was dominated by old-fashioned talking to friends and family about their travel experiences (Cramer’s V = .100).

### Cross-National Comparison of Social Networking Site Adoption

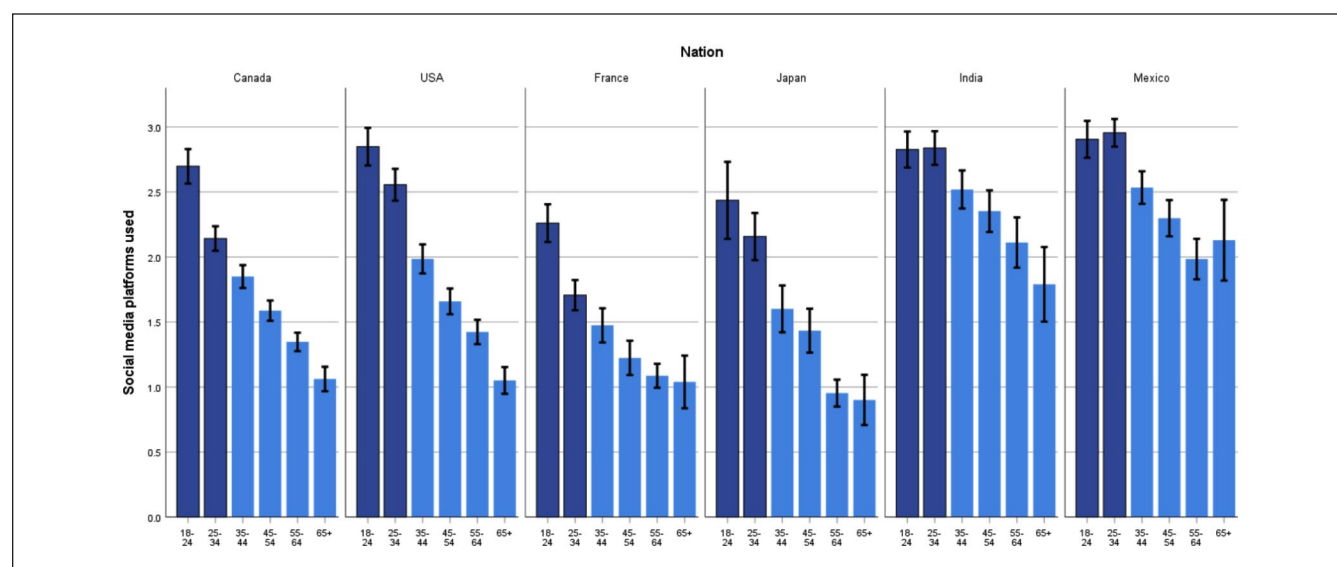
Adoption of online and mobile technologies depends not only on access to popular social networking sites but is also influenced by cultural norms and values (Berthon et al. 2012). Therefore, people from different nations may vary in the extent to which they share their travel experiences using social media. Indicators of social networking site adoption (Facebook, Foursquare, Instagram, Pinterest, Twitter, YouTube, Orkut [India only], and Mixi [Japan only]) were summed to measure the extent to which individuals shared using social media. Mean levels were computed by nation and generation: Canada (M = 1.73, SD = 1.28), USA (M = 1.88, SD = 1.39), France (M = 1.46, SD = 1.09), Japan (M = 1.45, SD = 1.45), India (M = 2.59, SD = 1.32), and Mexico (M = 2.63, SD = 1.21); 18–24 (M = 2.72, SD = 1.29), 25–34 (M = 2.42, SD = 1.39), 35–44 (M = 1.99, SD = 1.31), 45–54 (M = 1.68, SD = 1.25), 55–64 (M = 1.34, SD = 1.15), and 65+ (M = 1.10, SD = 1.06).

To begin, consider the Figure 2 graph which plots the adoption of social networking platforms by nation and age

**Table 1.** Ways of Sharing Travel Experiences by Age Cohort.

	Age cohort						Total %	Cramer's V
	18–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65+		
N (base)	1,232	2,342	2,069	2,020	2,290	976	10,929	
During the trip								
Updated social network w. computer	476 38.6 <sup>a</sup>	797 34.0 <sup>b</sup>	629 30.4 <sup>c</sup>	487 24.1 <sup>d</sup>	398 17.4 <sup>e</sup>	119 12.2 <sup>f</sup>	2,906 26.6%	0.187
Updated social network w. mobile phone	446 36.2 <sup>a</sup>	748 31.9 <sup>b</sup>	470 22.7 <sup>c</sup>	311 15.4 <sup>d</sup>	203 8.9 <sup>e</sup>	45 4.6 <sup>f</sup>	2,223 20.3%	0.263
Sent a postcard	207 16.8 <sup>a, b, c, d</sup>	364 15.5 <sup>c, d</sup>	351 17.0 <sup>b, d</sup>	386 19.1 <sup>a, b</sup>	441 19.3 <sup>a</sup>	162 16.6 <sup>a, b, c, d</sup>	1,911 17.5%	0.038
Submitted opinions to review site	150 12.2 <sup>a</sup>	358 15.3 <sup>b</sup>	288 13.9 <sup>c</sup>	194 9.6 <sup>d</sup>	192 8.4 <sup>e</sup>	54 5.5 <sup>f</sup>	1,236 11.3%	0.100
Blogged about the trip	150 12.2 <sup>a</sup>	310 13.2 <sup>a</sup>	183 8.8 <sup>b</sup>	104 5.1 <sup>c</sup>	88 3.8 <sup>d</sup>	20 2.0 <sup>e</sup>	855 7.8%	0.150
After the trip								
Talked to friends and family	792 64.3 <sup>a, b</sup>	1,434 61.2 <sup>b</sup>	1,358 65.6 <sup>a</sup>	1,415 70.0 <sup>c</sup>	1,667 72.8 <sup>d</sup>	728 74.6 <sup>d</sup>	7,394 67.7%	0.100
Shared photos in person or via e-mail	572 46.4 <sup>a</sup>	1,099 46.9 <sup>a</sup>	1,005 48.6 <sup>a</sup>	966 47.8 <sup>a</sup>	1,164 50.8 <sup>a</sup>	535 54.8 <sup>a</sup>	5,341 48.9%	0.048
Shared via social networks	633 51.4 <sup>a</sup>	1,120 47.8 <sup>b</sup>	808 39.1 <sup>c</sup>	617 30.5 <sup>d</sup>	481 21.0 <sup>e</sup>	156 16.0 <sup>f</sup>	3,815 34.9%	0.253
Submitted opinions to review site	194 15.7 <sup>a</sup>	414 17.7 <sup>a</sup>	327 15.8 <sup>a</sup>	227 11.2 <sup>b</sup>	219 9.6 <sup>b, c</sup>	78 8.0 <sup>c</sup>	1,459 13.3%	0.103
Blogged about the trip	159 12.9 <sup>a</sup>	342 14.6 <sup>a</sup>	216 10.4 <sup>b</sup>	110 5.4 <sup>c</sup>	88 3.8 <sup>d</sup>	24 2.5 <sup>e</sup>	939 8.6%	0.161
Talked about the trip, if asked	79 6.4 <sup>a, b</sup>	145 6.2 <sup>b</sup>	129 6.2 <sup>a, b</sup>	146 7.2 <sup>a, b</sup>	176 7.7 <sup>a, c</sup>	91 9.3 <sup>c</sup>	766 7.0%	0.037
Didn't tell anyone about the trip	25 2.0 <sup>a</sup>	36 1.5 <sup>a</sup>	39 1.9 <sup>a</sup>	38 1.9 <sup>a</sup>	37 1.6 <sup>a</sup>	15 1.5 <sup>a</sup>	190 1.7%	0.014

Note: Base is those who have taken a long-haul trip in the past three years. Each subscript letter denotes a subset of Age Cohort categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level. Cramer's V: .1 = a small effect, .3 = a medium effect, .5 = a large effect.



**Figure 2.** Adoption of social networking sites by nation and age cohort. Dark bars indicate Millennials. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

cohort. First, as expected, the levels are generally trending downward with age. Millennials (depicted by the dark bars) exhibit significantly higher levels of adoption compared to the older cohorts within each of the six nations. Second, India and Mexico exhibit the highest overall levels of adoption—not only among Millennials, but also among older travelers (notably, the confidence intervals for 55–64 and 65+ cohorts do not overlap with those from Canada, USA, France, or Japan). Third, there are some interesting patterns within the Millennial cohort. Whereas adoption levels of the 18–24 and 25–34 cohorts overlap and are not significantly different in Japan, Mexico, and Japan, there are significant within-generation differences for Millennials in Canada, USA, and France. This curious finding raises questions regarding (a) whether Millennials are a single homogeneous cohort, as often presumed in the literature, and (b) the probable role of culture as a factor that creates intra-cohort variance in Millennials' use of social media in a travel context. The issue of intragenerational variability is the primary focus of the next section, but before moving on we briefly consider whether Hofstede's cultural dimensions can account for part of the observed cross-national differences.

Following the method of Huang and Crotts (2019), Hofstede's country scores of six cultural dimensions (Hofstede Insights, n.d.) were retrieved and merged into the GTW records. The assignment of country-level scores to each survey respondent may not be an accurate measure of the individual's personal values, but serves our exploratory purpose. To test the relationship between cultural dimensions and adoption of social networking platforms, we used a bivariate Pearson correlation with the bootstrapping option in SPSS (1,000 samples at 95% confidence interval). Social network platform adoption was correlated to Power distance ( $r = .185, p < .01$ ), Individualism ( $r = -.160, p < .01$ ), and Long-Term Orientation ( $r = -.140, p < .01$ ). These small yet significant effects provide some post hoc perspective on the cross-national differences found. For instance, India (PD = 77, IN = 48, LTO = 51) and Mexico (PD = 81, IN = 30, LTO = 24) have greater adoption rates than Japan (PD = 54, IN = 46, LTO = 88). The relative scores provide a partial account for why Japanese travelers adopt 1.45 social networking platforms on average compared to 2.59 in India and 2.63 in Mexico.

### **Research Question 2: Differences in Social Media Sharing among Millennials**

The second research question focused on the variety of ways in which members of the Millennial generation engage with social media—an area that merits much more research attention (Bolton et al. 2013). We are interested in comparing travelers within the Millennial generation, so we adopt a person-centered approach named Latent Class Analysis to capture unobserved heterogeneity in the

ways people share travel experiences using social media. The analysis was performed on the subset of 3,574 Millennial travelers who had taken at least one long-haul trip in the past 3 years (see Table 2 for descriptive statistics). We used a three-step approach (Bakk, Tekle, and Vermunt 2013) to identify latent classes using 8 binary social media use indicator variables (listed in Figure 1) and model the relationship of the latent classes to predictor covariates (nation, travel experience, and goals) along with the distal outcome of recommending destinations (tendency to offer recommendations). Each of the indicator, covariate, and distal outcome measures exhibit considerable variability, indicating heterogeneity within the cohort.

### **Number of Latent Classes**

To identify the optimal number of classes, a series of latent class segmentation models, beginning with a parsimonious 1-class model and increased sequentially to 10-class, were estimated using LatentGOLD 5.1 (Vermunt and Magidson 2015). A 5-class model provided the best fit with good convergence, as both the Bayesian information criterion (BIC) and consistent Akaike information criterion (CAIC) values supported a 5-class solution (see Table 3; smaller BIC and CAIC indicate a better model fit). Bootstrap comparison tests using 500 replications (to counteract sample randomness) with different starting points (to avoid algorithm randomness) (Ernst and Dolničar 2018) indicated that the 5-class solution is statistically better than each of the more parsimonious solutions ( $p < .001$ ). Moreover, the 5-class solution is empirically and theoretically consistent with social media segments reported in Amaro, Duarte, and Henriques (2016). Accordingly, Millennial travelers do not exhibit homogeneity in social media sharing; rather, the levels and patterns of usage exhibit considerable heterogeneity, which is best represented by five classes.

### **Indicators and Names of the Latent Classes**

The profile of parameter estimates for the 5-class model was used to interpret and assign names to the five classes (see Table 4; and Figure 3 illustrates the class response patterns). Large positive coefficients indicate significant drivers of class membership, whereas large negative coefficients indicate sharing activities that are not characteristic to the segment's sharing profile. The Wald (=) tests and  $R^2$  values confirm that each of the 8 indicators are significant differentiators of class membership. Classes were (1) Inactives (39%); (2) Network Updaters (28%); Blogging Reporters (19%); Updaters + Evaluators (9%); and (5) Digirati (6%).

The Inactives class was considered as a reference class, providing a baseline of comparison, marked by negligible social media use (parameters for the intercept and eight



**Table 2.** Descriptive Statistics for Variables Used in the Latent Class Model.

Sample [Base] for the Latent Class Model					
Age = Millennials	Frequency	Percent	Recent Trip	Frequency	Percent
18–25	1,238	34.5	LHT in 3 years $\geq$ 1	3,574	100.0
26–34	2,352	65.5			
Indicators for the Latent Classes			Distal Outcome of the Latent Classes		
During the trip			Advocacy Rating = “Promoter” (9/10 or 10/10)		
Updated social network with computer	1,273	35.6	0 of 7 destinations	730	20.4
Updated social network with mobile phone	1,194	33.4	1 of 7 destinations	544	15.2
Submitted opinions to review site	508	14.2	2 of 7 destinations	522	14.6
Blogged about the trip	460	12.9	3 of 7 destinations	488	13.7
After the trip			4 of 7 destinations	364	10.2
Blogged about the trip	501	14.0	5 of 7 destinations	314	8.8
Submitted opinions to review site	608	17.0	6 of 7 destinations	206	5.8
Shared via social networks	1,153	51.0	7 of 7 destinations	406	11.4
Shared photos in person or via e-mail	1,903	53.2			
			Covariates		
Environmental factor: Nation			Individual: Social networks used		
Canada	1,036	29.0	Do not use social media	214	6.0
USA	670	18.7	1 platform	700	19.6
France	391	10.9	2 platforms	907	25.4
Japan	348	9.7	3 platforms	830	23.2
India	572	16.0	4 platforms	565	15.8
Mexico	557	15.6	$\geq$ 5 platforms	358	10.0
Individual: Travel frequency			Goals: Reasons for using social media (n, % yes)		
1 trip	1,213	33.9	To stay in touch with friends and family	2,684	75.1
2 trips	1,013	28.3	To look at and share photos	1,640	45.9
3–4 trips	917	25.7	To see updates from my friends and family	1,622	45.2
5+ trips	431	12.1	To watch videos	1,442	40.3
Individual: Countries visited			To share my travel photos	1,279	35.8
1 country	1,265	35.4	To let my friends and family know where I am	1,057	29.4
2 countries	816	22.8	To share my travel experiences	1,056	29.5
3 countries	523	14.6	To stay up-to-date with the latest breaking news	1,037	28.9
4 countries	309	8.6	To get special deals	724	20.3
5 countries	192	5.4	To get exclusive promotions	685	19.1
6 countries +	469	13.1	To learn more about social media accounts	503	14.1
			To be connected to the brands I like	477	13.3
			Some other reason	187	5.2

indicators are set to zero). The Digirati (derived from “digital” and “literati”) anchor the opposite end of the continuum with relatively large coefficients for each of the eight indicators, representing an integrated mix of social networking activity. The three classes in between have distinct usage patterns marked by their tendency to use (or not use) social networking, blogs, and/or review sites as ways to share travel experiences. Network Updaters, as the name implies, update their social networks via mobile and computer during travel, blog about their trip, and post via social networks after their trip. Blogging Reporters score

relatively high on blogging during and after travel, while Updaters + Evaluators both update their social media and blog during and after travel. Assuringly, the five classes of social media sharing exhibit convergent validity with those reported by Amaro, Duarte, and Henriques (2016).

### Research Question 3: Individual-Level Predictors of Social Media Sharing

Having built the latent class model, our attention shifted to analyzing the relationship between predicted class membership and

**Table 3.** Comparison of Fit Indices for Model Selection.

Model	LL	BIC(LL)	CAIC(LL)	Npar	L <sup>2</sup>	df
1-Class	-15,462.3	30,990.1	30,998.1	8	3,706.2	247
2-Class	-14,297.3	28,733.6	28,750.6	17	1376.1	238
3-Class	-13,961.8	28,136.3	28,162.3	26	705.2	229
4-Class	-13,846.5	27,979.3	28,014.3	35	474.5	220
5-Class	-13,800.9	<b>27,961.7</b>	<b>28,005.7</b>	44	383.3	211
6-Class	-13,774.0	27,981.6	28,034.6	53	329.6	202
7-Class	-13,754.1	28,015.4	28,077.4	62	289.7	193
8-Class	-13,740.3	28,061.4	28,132.4	71	262.2	184
9-Class	-13,724.6	28,103.8	28,183.8	80	230.8	175
10-Class	-13,716.7	28,161.6	28,250.6	89	215.0	166

Note: LL= Log-likelihood; BIC = Bayesian information criterion; CAIC = consistent Akaike information criterion; N<sub>par</sub> = Number of parameters; L<sup>2</sup> = The likelihood-ratio goodness-of-fit value. Minimum values of BIC and CAIC are in bold.

**Table 4.** Indicators of Class Membership: 5 Classes of Millennial Traveler.

Social Media Use Indicators	Class of Millennial Traveler					Intercepts			Clusters		
	1	2	3	4	5						
	Inactives	Network Updaters	Blogging Reporters	Updaters + Evaluators	Digirati						
Class size (%)	39%	28%	19%	9%	6%	Overall	Wald	p Value	Wald (=)	p Value	R <sup>2</sup>
During the trip											
Updated social network with computer	0.00	2.85	1.55	3.39	4.39	-2.65	206.2	< .001	319.1	< .001	0.30
Updated social network with mobile phone	0.00	3.13	2.32	3.84	4.70	-2.89	137.7	< .001	236.1	< .001	0.32
Submitted opinions to review site	0.00	-0.03	2.29	3.60	4.01	-3.50	179.1	< .001	237.8	< .001	0.29
Blogged about the trip	0.00	4.20	7.09	6.29	8.58	-7.72	1.8	0.19	115.4	< .001	0.33
After the trip											
Blogged about the trip	0.00	2.14	5.45	-0.09	8.46	-5.76	6.0	0.014	55.9	< .001	0.53
Submitted opinions to review site	0.00	-1.64	2.44	4.42	3.97	-3.33	160.3	< .001	198.8	< .001	0.42
Shared via social networks	0.00	3.77	1.39	3.75	4.17	-1.91	132.4	< .001	344.8	< .001	0.46
Shared photos in person or via e-mail	0.00	1.57	0.68	2.31	2.65	-1.05	171.4	< .001	288.0	< .001	0.16
Model for clusters											
Intercept	0	-0.31	-0.74	-1.52	-1.92				201.2	< .001	

various covariates. The underlying logic is, “Given the heterogeneity found in Millennials’ social media travel sharing, do any other factors predict class membership?” To answer this question, we return to arguments developed by Bolton et al. (2013) recommending that intragenerational research should examine the variance arising from individual and environmental factors.

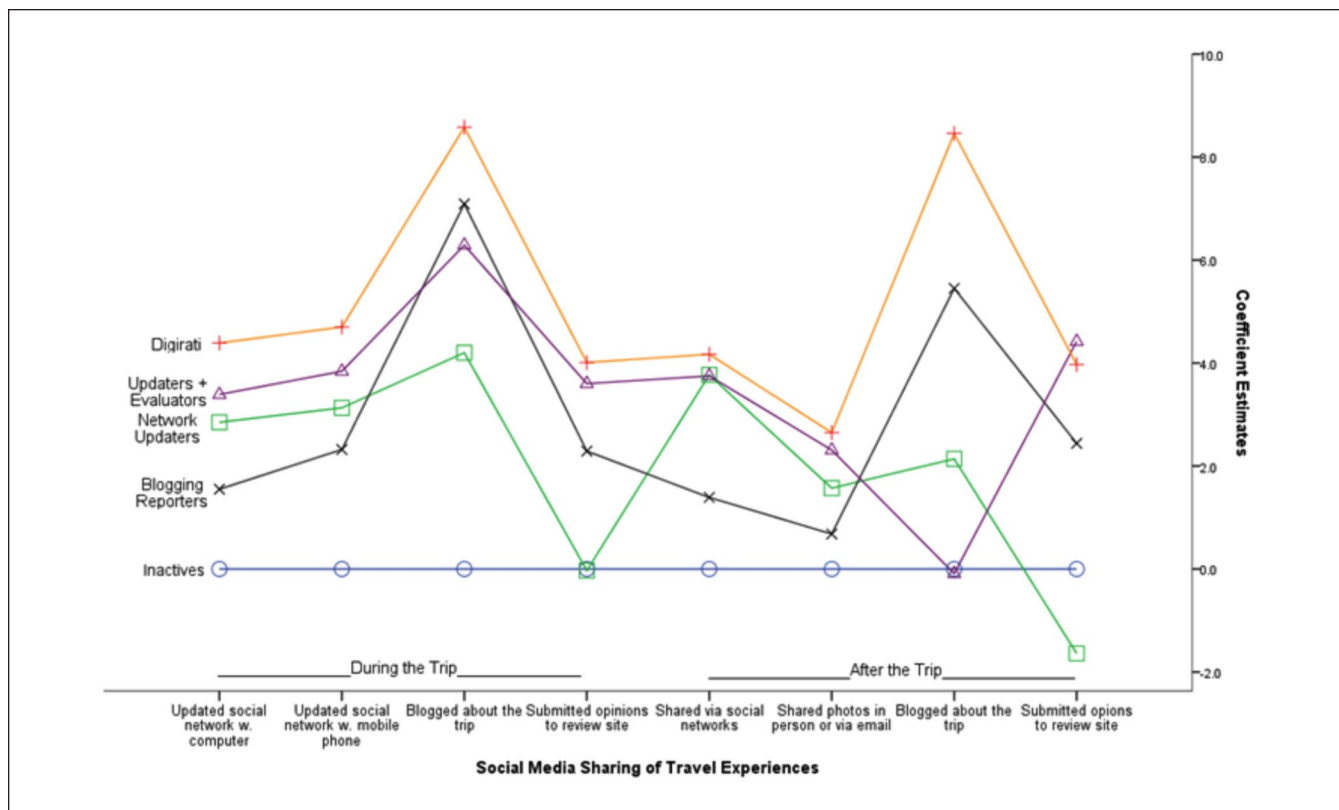
The 3-step analysis yielded evidence that individual-level covariates significantly explain the likelihood of class membership (see Table 5). First, experience matters. Travelers who use many (vs. few) social media platforms are most likely to be among the Digirati (1.01). Also, frequent travel provides the opportunity to share travel-related news, and those who travel more often are more likely to be in class 3 through 5. Moreover, worldly travelers who have visited many countries are most likely to be members of the Digirati (0.37).

Class membership also depends on an individual’s repertoire of goals. The results indicate that 7 of 13 reasons for

using social media vary in a systematic manner across the 5 classes. Sharing implies a two-way exchange; however, segments differ in terms of their desire to give versus receive information. Interestingly, the Digirati seem much more focused on producing content (share my travel photos, share my travel experiences) than on consuming others’ content (to stay in touch with friends and family, to look at and share photos). In contrast, Network Updaters are just as likely to stay in touch with friends and family as they are to share their travel photos. And notably, Blogging Reporters stand out in their goal to get special deals.

#### *Research Question 4: Nationality as a Predictor of Social Media Sharing*

Cross-national differences are quite striking (Wald = 263.8). Overall, social media sharing by Canadians lags behind travelers from the other 5 nations (compare the 0.0 coefficients to the number of positive and negative



**Figure 3.** Response patterns for latent classes within the Millennial cohort.

**Table 5.** Three-Step Results for Covariates for Five Classes of Millennial Traveler.

	Class of Millennial Traveler					Wald	p Value
	1 Inactives	2 Network Updaters	3 Blogging Reporters	4 Updaters + Evaluators	5 Digirati		
Intercept	0	-3.06	-4.69	-7.43	-11.61	336.36	< .001
Experience							
Social media platform use	0.00	0.56	0.48	0.77	1.01	133.5	< .001
Travel frequency (LHT 3 years)	0.00	-0.05	0.35	0.37	0.44	39.8	< .001
Travel (countries visited)	0.00	-0.03	0.09	0.14	0.37	35.1	< .001
Goals: Reasons for social networking							
To share my travel photos	0.00	1.12	0.72	1.09	1.52	49.3	< .001
To stay in touch with friends and family	0.00	1.11	-0.35	0.01	0.40	40.2	< .001
To share my travel experiences	0.00	0.88	0.75	0.91	1.43	28.5	< .001
To look at and share photos	0.00	0.53	-0.35	0.44	0.12	27.0	< .001
To get special deals	0.00	0.40	0.92	0.67	1.08	25.8	< .001
To learn more about social media accounts	0.00	-0.30	0.17	0.60	0.98	25.2	< .001
To watch videos	0.00	-0.20	0.24	0.03	0.70	12.9	0.012
Some other reason	0.00	-0.40	-1.21	-0.97	-1.06	9.8	0.044
Nation							
Canada	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	263.8	< .001
USA	0.00	0.11	1.22	1.36	1.42		
France	0.00	0.23	1.96	1.58	2.38		
Japan	0.00	-1.49	1.39	-0.23	1.61		
India	0.00	-0.03	2.86	2.88	3.47		
Mexico	0.00	0.91	1.85	2.42	1.49		

Note: The latent class of Inactives was set as the reference group. Similarly, Canada was set as the reference group for Nations.

**Table 6.** Impact of Class Membership on Distal Outcome (Destination Advocacy).

	Class of Millennial Traveler										
	1	2	3	4	5						
Social Media Use Indicators	Inactives	Network Updaters	Blogging Reporters	Updaters + Evaluators	Digirati	Intercepts			Clusters		
Class size (%)	39%	28%	19%	9%	6%	Overall	Wald	p Value	Wald (=)	p Value	R <sup>2</sup>
Tendency to be a “promoter”	−0.46	−0.12	−0.00	0.19	0.40	1.19	7596.1	< .001	370.8	< .001	0.115

Note: All pairwise comparisons are significant ( $p < .05$ ).

coefficients). Using Canada as a reference class, we see that Millennial travelers from Japan are less likely to be in Class 2 (Network Updaters =  $-1.49$ ), while Mexican travelers (Network Updaters =  $0.91$ ) are more likely to be in Class 2. Indian and French travelers are more likely to be Blogging Reporters ( $2.86$  and  $1.96$ , respectively), whereas Indian and Mexican travelers are more likely to be Updaters + Evaluators ( $2.88$  and  $2.42$ , respectively). The Digirati are most likely to be found among Indian travelers ( $3.47$ ), followed by French travelers ( $2.38$ ). Here it is important to recall that the Digirati represent a small minority (6% share) of Millennial travelers compared to the 28% share who are Network Updaters.

In summary, the results of the covariate analysis provide compelling evidence that individual and environmental factors are significant predictors of social media sharing among Millennials. The latent classes provide a meaningful segmentation approach for destination marketers as well as researchers seeking to understand subpopulations of travelers.

### Research Question 5: Impact on Destination Advocacy

Brand advocacy measurement and management are high-priority topics in the tourism industry. Recognizing the importance of peer-to-peer communications (especially in social media), travel organizations are allocating resources to encourage travelers to share their experiences and to provide strong recommendations. The final, important question is, “Are members of the 5 classes equally likely to produce promoter-level ratings?” Accordingly, we analyzed the impact of class membership on the distal outcome of destination advocacy using the Step3-Dependent submodule in LatentGOLD 5.1 (which corrects for classification error to prevent bias).

As shown in Table 6, the tendency to be a “promoter” is significantly related to the five classes of social media sharing (Wald =  $370.7$ ,  $p < .001$ ), accounting for 11.5% of the variance. The coefficient of determination ( $R^2$ ) lies between the thresholds used to designate medium effect sizes ( $0.06$ ) and large effect size ( $0.14$ ) (Khalilzadeh and Tasci 2017).

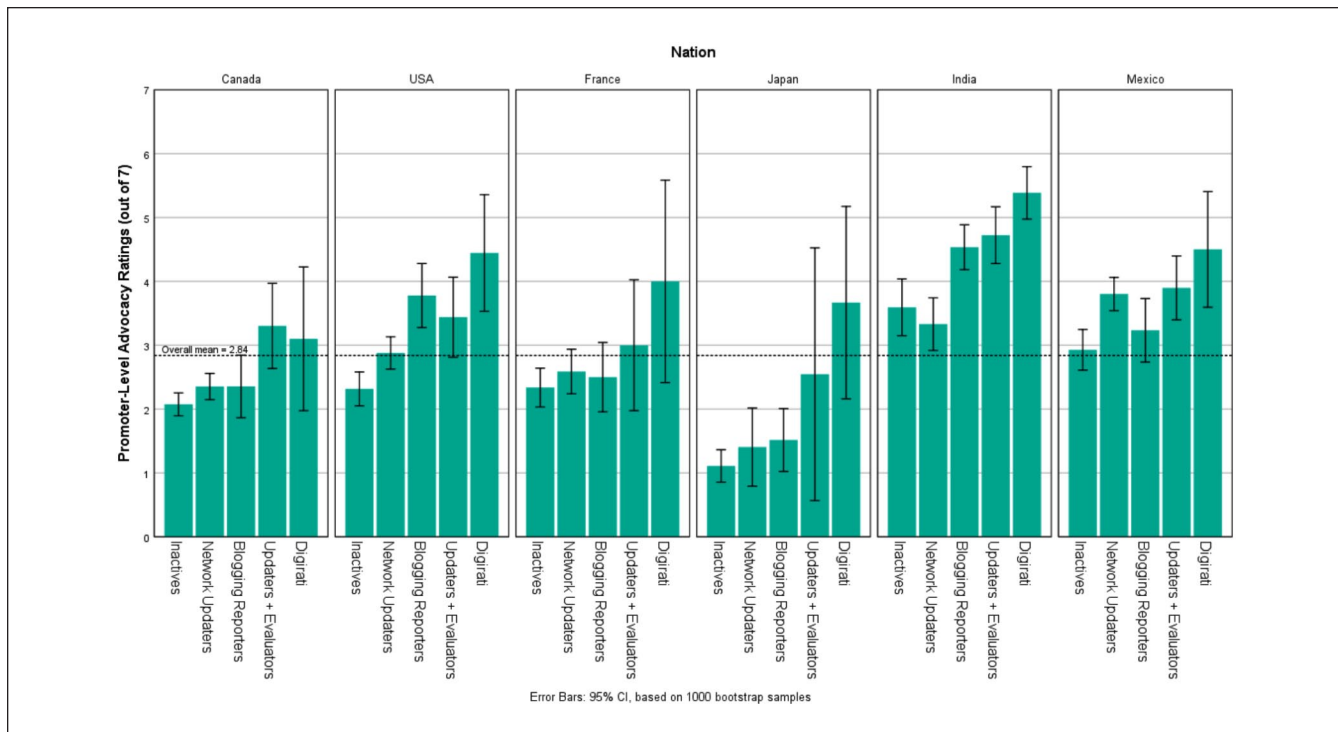
This is an important finding: different types of users of social media vary in their likelihood of providing recommendations. The Digirati and Updaters + Evaluators are most likely to offer recommendations ( $0.40$  and  $0.19$ , respectively). In contrast, Network Updaters and Blogging Reporters, the two largest classes of Millennial travelers, are less likely to offer recommendations ( $-0.12$  and  $-0.00$ , respectively). A challenge for tourism marketers, then, is to find and target the smaller classes of Updaters + Evaluators and Digirati to help promote their destinations.

### Cross-National Comparison of Destination Advocacy

The results also suggest that there is considerable variance in the likelihood of destination advocacy left to be explained. Drilling deeper into the data, Figure 4 breaks down the promoter-level advocacy ratings by class and nation. The findings illustrate the variance both within and across nations. Consider the case of Japan, a nation whose citizens typically provide low NPS scores because they do not want to run the risk of ruining their relationships with their friends by making a recommendation (Seth et al. 2016). Indeed, this tendency is certainly the case among Inactives, Network Updaters, and Blogging Reporters. However, the cross-national differences in advocacy ratings are much less pronounced among Japanese Updaters + Evaluators and Digirati, who exhibit great variance in advocacy (as illustrated by the error bars) and mean scores that are near-parity with other nations including Canada and France (consider the overlaps in the confidence intervals). In contrast, Indian and Mexican travelers offer greater-than-average advocacy ratings across all five classes of travelers. Cross-national research has found that the response styles for Indian and Mexican respondents tend to yield more positive attitude ratings than other nations (Harzing 2006).

These findings answer certain questions while raising new ones. Cross-national differences are surely affected by cultural values and related macro forces. However, in the realm of travel, online behaviors including social media sharing are likely to be shaped by interest-based subcultures. By shifting the focus from inter- to intragenerational variability, we are





**Figure 4.** Promoter-level advocacy ratings by class and nation.

afforded the opportunity to derive a richer explanation of traveler behavior and to tailor appropriate strategies to influence travelers' tendency to share and advocate. Going forward, psychometric-based modeling may be needed to assist in untangling the true ratings from response-biases (e.g. acquiescence or social desirability) that often beset cross-national survey research (Baumgartner and Steenkamp 2001; Harzing 2006; Steenkamp and Baumgartner 1998).

## Discussion and Implications

This cross-national study investigated inter- and intragenerational variability in social media sharing in a travel context. The large GTW database affords researchers the opportunity to explore a much more complete set of antecedents and consequences of traveler behavior than is usual. Our approach was systematic, beginning with the familiar question of studying intergenerational differences in social media sharing before turning our attention to the primary concern of investigating intragenerational differences. Thus, the results are presented in stages, beginning with a focused research question and careful selection of variables from a large data set, then subsequent stages that unfolded like a traveler's map, revealing more and more of the picture of Millennial's social media behavior.

With respect to intergenerational differences, our results support accepted views that younger travelers are more likely to use social media during and after travel, while older cohorts rely more on e-mail and simply talking about their

trip once home. However, evidence of within-cohort variability starts to reveal itself in cross-national comparisons, where the levels of social networking platform adoption (a technological resource) varies greatly by nation. Young travelers from India use more than twice the number of approaches to share than their Japanese counterparts, and curiously, in Canada, France and the USA the 18–24 cohort share most, while in Japan, Mexico, and India the peak is the 25–34 cohort, suggesting the importance of nationality. While an exploration of culture beyond nation was outside the original parameters of this study, exploratory results suggest that the cultural dimensions of Power Distance, Individualism, and Long-Term Planning might have influence on young travelers' social media behavior.

Turning our attention to intragenerational differences, our latent class model discerned patterns in Millennial social media sharing, identifying five classes of social media users: Inactives, Network Updaters, Blogging Reporters, Updaters + Evaluators, and Digirati. Overall, Inactives were the most common class (39%), followed by Network Updaters (28%), Blogging Reporters (19%), Updaters + Evaluators (9%), and lastly, the Digirati (6%). Further cross-national comparisons revealed differences across nations, for example, that Indian millennial travelers are by far the most likely to be Digirati (3.47) in comparison to Canadians (0.00), Americans (1.42), and Japanese (1.61).

For researchers, not only do the results confirm Millennials' affinity for using social media to share travel content, they go beyond most studies to illustrate differences

in ways of sharing across generations and, importantly, to reveal factors that are predictive of certain social media behavior. True, the youngest cohort (age 18–24 years) is most likely to share during travel via their mobile phone, and to share, blog, and submit recommendations post travel. But young travelers are far from being one homogeneous global segment. Within this cohort of interest, the data reveal five unique segments whose membership is influenced by nation, experience (with social media and travel), and reasons for social media use. The Digirati—particularly noteworthy given that members exhibit the highest tendency for travel advocacy—are frequent social media users and travelers, motivated to produce and share content, and most likely found among Indian and French millennials.

Marketing practitioners can benefit from this degree of detail, by knowing that Mexican travelers are most likely to be Updaters + Evaluators; Japanese, American, and French travelers score highest as Digirati; Indians most notably score highly across Digirati, Blogging Reporters, and Updaters + Evaluators; and overall, social media use by Canadians lags behind the others. Lastly, class membership is related to destination advocacy, with Digirati and Updaters + Evaluators most likely to offer recommendations, and not surprisingly, Inactives least likely. Figure 4 provides a visual aid for international tourism marketers targeting millennial travelers via social media.

## Limitations and Future Research

The analysis of the GTW has revealed much about Millennials' social media use, particularly in terms of within cohort and across nation variances. Yet, the  $R^2$  of 11.5% also suggests that there is still much to uncover here. Although this article focused on intragenerational variation in social media sharing among Millennials, an equally interesting and important question for future studies is to explore variability within Generation X or the Baby Boomer cohort. While this study was extensive, it was nonetheless limited to six countries and to a single year, and the certain impacts that nationality had on social media use during that time. It did not measure the changes in social media behavior across years, which may limit the generalizability of the findings, nor did it explore within-country variability, which may have revealed differences in behavior between rural and urban populations, or by language, for example. Limited to the age categories as captured by the GTW, the study connects patterns by age cohort to inferences about generations, as is common practice, though further research of these behavioral differences would be useful. Finally, specific SNS platforms—such as Facebook or Twitter—may also reveal different use patterns. What this study does reveal is the variability of social media use within the millennial traveler cohort, and critically, how nation and class membership relate to destination advocacy. This knowledge will help to support increasingly sophisticated management decision

making, from marketing campaigns to technology investments. Much research is still needed to explore the heterogeneity of the Millennial cohort in furthering our understanding of this traveling and sharing cohort.

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