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TOURISM MOTIVATION AND EXPECTATION FORMATION

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Abstract: This theoretical study introduces a model of tourism motivation and expectation formation. It is based on a discussion and operationalization of both the behaviorist notion of drive reduction and the cognitivist constructs of attitudes and values. While the satisfaction of inner-directed values and motivations depends on classes of objects, outer-directed values target specific objects. In the case of trying to meet the latter, planners need to follow specific parameters in their product design and resource management as they are expressed in tourists' motivations, whereas with the satisfaction of inner-directed values, planners can choose from substitutable products and product configurations. The relationship between expectations and motivations is clarified. **Keywords:** motives, motivation, expectations, values, attitudes, emotions, cognitions, drives, tourism planning. © 1997 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved

Résumé: La motivation du tourisme et la formation des attentes. Cette étude théorique présente un modèle de la motivation touristique et de la formation des attentes. Elle est basée sur une discussion et une mise en pratique de deux idées: la notion behavioriste de la réduction des pulsions et la notion cognitiviste concernant les attitudes et les valeurs. Tandis que la satisfaction des valeurs et motivations dirigées vers l'intérieur dépend de la classe de produits, les valeurs dirigées vers l'extérieur ciblent des produits spécifiques. Dans le cas où on voudrait satisfaire aux valeurs extérieures, les planificateurs doivent suivre des paramètres particuliers pour le design de leur produit et la gestion des ressources selon les motivations des touristes. Dans le cas des valeurs intérieures, les planificateurs peuvent choisir des produits, et des ensembles de produits, remplaçables. On clarifie le lien entre attentes et motivations. **Mots-clés:** motifs, motivations, attentes, valeurs, attitudes, émotions, cognitions, pulsions, planification du tourisme. © 1997 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved

INTRODUCTION

Tourism is a construct employed to denote significant psychological, social, and economic differences from other, similar behavior during which people leave and return to their home. From the holidaymaker's perspective, tourism is a response to felt needs and acquired values within temporal, spatial, social, and economic parameters. Once needs and/or values have been activated and applied to a holiday scenario, the generated motivation constitutes a major parameter in expectation formation. Expectations, in turn, determine performance perceptions of products and services as well as perceptions of experiences. Motivation thus impacts on satisfaction formation.

The objective of this study is to develop a definitive model of tourism

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motivation that helps categorizing attitudes towards destinations, attractions, activities, events, and situations. The model is designed to help the analysis of implications identifiable in tourists' values, motivations, expectations, and attitudes for tourism management and product development. In the first instance, this study will discuss recent developments of the attitude construct, its place in behavior research, and importance for the suggested model. The second major parameter of the suggested model is based on the dichotomy of "need" and "press" (Murray 1938) or "pull" and "push" factors present in the construct of motivation. The distinction into motives and motivation, as suggested by Heckhausen (1989), facilitates the discussion of drive-based and cognition-based values tourists hold and utilize when evaluating situations. Subsequently, a review of the literature concludes that both emotional and cognitive parameters need to be included when tourism motivations are considered for planning and resource management purposes. The formation of values and their role in motivation formation leads to an understanding of how values and subsequent attitudes express both inner- or self-directed motivations and outer-directed values. Inner- or self-directed values contain predominantly emotional drives, while outer-directed values are mainly cognitive in nature. The article then discusses motives and values in the context of expectation formation within the proposed model, followed by conclusions on the measurement of motives and motivations.

MOTIVATION AND EXPECTATION FORMATION

Attitudes as the Basis for Motivation Research

While being a social and economic phenomenon, planners are often best advised to study tourism behavior in psychological terms (Lewin 1942). Anthropology (Adler 1989), sociology and sociopsychology (Cohen 1972, 1978, 1988; MacCannell 1976, 1992; Parrinello 1993) contributed concepts which help understand tourism in existential terms. Economics and econometrics provide assistance in measuring expenditures and impacts as well as offering forecasting models. But the latter two study approaches are limited in forecasting behavior as it relates to the supply and management of tourism facilitators. Econometric models of visitor arrivals and expenses still fail to provide any level of sophistication (Witt and Witt 1994). Sociological models (Cohen 1978; Dann 1977; MacCannell 1976) contribute to a body of knowledge that aids in understanding tourism behavior but, as yet, often lack or have not been exposed to empirical verification. Both sociology and psychology—the main sources for explaining and predicting tourism behavior—rely heavily on the attitude construct for researching the subject. Attitudes, then, become the first topic of discussion in the development of a model for tourism motivation and behavior.

Consumer behavior, to which tourism behavior belongs, has attempted to model behavior since the late 60s (Engel, Kollat and Blackwell 1968; Howard and Sheth 1969). While contributing mindful

insights which take account of findings in behavioral and cognitive psychology, the influence of these models on the subject has waned because of an apparent irrationality underlying hedonic or emotionally driven behavior, which is a particular feature of holiday tourism. As their mainstay, these models contain the construct of attitudes which are particularly regarded as unidirectional, thus permitting a relatively uncomplicated measurement procedure (Fishbein and Ajzen 1975; Lutz 1981). The subsequent addition of social norms and the attitude towards the activity involving subject and object (A_{act}) as indicators of actual behavior, helped improve the validity of the construct (Ajzen and Fishbein 1977).

The theory underlying A_{act} represents a refinement of the measurement objective but only as far as behavior is guided by such externally determined values. For these, the objective locus of control rests with the social and physical environment, since that is the source of these values to which the individual has to defer. In more recent years, emotions have become recognized as a further important source for behavior (Mittal 1988; Pratkanis, Breckler and Greenwald 1989; Zajonc 1980). This recognition has helped severely shake dominant beliefs about the attitude paradigm (Chaiken and Stangor 1987). For those values which are under strong emotional influence, the objective locus of control lies within the person as he/she produces those emotions. In turn, these emotions can direct behavior often disregarding or unconscious of social norms. Tourism promotes and fosters hedonic behavior and thus, while the pursuit of pleasure relies on what an individual has learnt, many attitudes are formed in order to satisfy the self and not social norms.

A paradigmatic shift in attitude conception as discussed by social scientists (Pratkanis, Breckler and Greenwald 1989) has been a latent necessity ever since attitudes were found to be unstable over the parameters of time and space (situations). The conceptual inclusion of emotions and the actual loop-structure of attitudes, whereby past attitudes influence perception and the formation of new ones, finally caused the unidirectional model to be strongly relativized (Ajzen 1989). Further impact on the attitude paradigm can be expected from developments in the value literature (Kahle 1983; Schwartz 1992). The conceptual links of attitudes with values as the deeper seated beliefs which help organise them have been noticed (Rokcach 1973), yet, the actual definition of attitudes in view of emotions and values has been elusive. As a consequence, the literature gives ample evidence of the difficulty one has when wishing to distinguish whether an attitude is meant to be a "state of readiness" (Allport 1937), an evaluative response (Thurstone 1927), an interactive tripartite system of beliefs, affect and conations (Rosenberg and Hovland 1960) or a strictly unidirectional construct (Howard 1994; Lutz 1981).

Despite these shortcomings, the attitude construct still remains the mainstay for tourism research which is due to its functional role. The function of attitudes appertains to knowledge, ego defense, value expression, utility (Katz 1960), and social adaptation (Fodness 1994; Smith, Bruner and White 1956). As functions, attitudes are the mediators between needs and values as they arise within a subject

and the particular situation in which one finds himself/herself. Both of these parameters (motives and situation) can vary and determine the function of an attitude within the dynamic flow of action (Atkinson and Birch 1974; McGuire 1985). The result is the multiplicity and multidimensionality of tourists' behavior as can be observed and measured.

For a motivational theory with relevance for tourism planning, however, the theory of attitude functions by itself is of only limited use. This is true insofar as it is accepted that a particular attitudinal function can contain a number of related motives. In addition, a similar attitude can serve differing motives and values in different situations (Murray 1938). As a consequence, functions are often restricted to exposing the instrumental nature of attitudes only, while their expressive content (Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman 1959; Swan and Combs 1976) remains obscured. In other words, the texture of motives is potentially richer than its function might indicate. The function of attitudes declares a causal relationship between a behavior and a targeted object but it does not reveal what both behavior and object represent emotionally and to the tourist's self. The functional approach to attitudes relies on clear-cut relationships whereas, in reality, motives underlying attitudes are often fuzzy. This approach, therefore, remains too general for the present purposes.

For practical and managerial reasons, a theory of tourism motivation has to help explain behavior as well as assist in the satisfaction of its underlying cognitive and emotional motives. Consequently, attitudes have to be, one, captured and categorized within a complete and multidimensional system that reflects their structural diversity regarding expectations and experiences of attitude objects; and, two, presented within a theory permitting a straightforward application for tourism planning and management of resources and experiences. Parallel to the internal (psychological) and external (situational) reality in which a tourist finds himself, the following discussion distinguishes the differences between motives and motivations according to Heckhausen (1989) and explains emotional aspects of motives. Based on this distinction, a review of the tourism motivation literature leads to the development of a model of the tourism motivation and expectation formation process.

Tourists' Motivation Process

The history of tourism research parallels developments in modern consumer behavior research. It thus follows mostly the cognitivist approach and traces the behavioral "cycle" of stimulation, including motivation and intention formation, the actual behavior and experience and, finally, evaluation and (retention of) consequences. The prominent measurement tool in tourism motivation research is the attitude construct and Heider's (1958) and Kelley's (1967) theory of attribution. By implication, the behavioral "cycle" also includes elements of the behaviorist line of thought appertaining to emotional tension and drive reduction through tourism. To contextualize this

line of thought and operationalize it for tourism motivation research, it is important to note that, historically, holidays and tourism are phenomena which evolved in conjunction with cultural developments from which vacations derived influences as to form and purpose (Adler 1989). In the Western World, free time and holidays are now inevitably connected to the concept of self-actualization or self-realization—that is, to (either) redress the stresses and strains from a work-a-day life and (or) to develop mind and body to its full potential (Dumazedier 1967; Krippendorf 1987; Parker 1983). Vera Grunow-Lutter defines self-realization as a person's dynamic relationship between the real and the ideal self concept. Self-realization is, therefore, not a state but a process of decreasing the distance between these two cognitive systems which themselves are subject to continuous change (Grunow-Lutter 1983:76).

In line with consumer behavior models (Engel, Kollat and Blackwell 1968; Howard and Sheth 1969), the decision to self-actualize as a tourist can be regarded as either the outcome of a fundamentally new decision-making process, or one which is routinized (Krippendorf 1987), which has basic questions solved already (i.e., whether to travel or not to travel) and which is mainly concerned with how, where, and when to travel. This process is characterized as one in which a tourist's real self strives to narrow the perceived gap to the ideal self through a certain, freely chosen set of behaviors. The perceived gap may indicate both internally and externally controlled values. The felt need to self-actualize represents the motive which—by way of situational parameters such as opportunity, time, and money—sets the stage for the process of motivation. The envisaged holiday then raises expectations (or expectational attitudes) of future satisfaction, both cognitively and emotionally.

In order to develop a firm grasp of tourists' attitudes towards holiday objects and experiences, the following working-definition of emotions and cognitions as antecedent influences forms the basis for further elaborations. Cognitions refer to mental representations such as knowledge or beliefs. Emotions, on the other hand, encompass drives, feelings, and instincts. Attitudinal affect is a distinct influence of the emotional system by being attached to cognitions about objects and experiences. Affect thus carries a cognitive structure itself in the form of emotion-awareness (de Rivera, Possell, Verette and Weiner 1989; Rollenhagen and Dalkvist 1989). The two systems of emotions and cognitions differ in the degree of control a person has over their generation and manipulation. Both systems contribute to the tourism motivation process and the goals the tourist wishes to achieve. Their inclusion in a model of motivation and expectation formation can thus assist in an enhanced understanding of tourists' perceptions, experiences, and evaluations. Here the two separate constructs of motives and motivation, along with relevant material from motivation psychology, need to be introduced and advanced.

Motives and Motivation

According to Heckhausen (1989:7–16), a motive is a lasting disposition. Each motive has its distinct type of contents in the form of

goals of behavior. "Contents" here means that a person chooses from a repertoire of learned or conceived actions, while the "goals" refer to the consequences of one's actions. Conversely, motivations contain results of situation-person interactions. They are a collective term for processes and effects with common parameters: in a particular situation, a person chooses a certain behavior for its expected results. Clarifying the interrelationship between these parameters will uncover some of the role and nature of organismic drives and tourists' cognitive reflections to achieve their goals. The distinction between motives and motivations is important because it allows, on the one hand, a categorization of the energy that moves people to act (motives) and, on the other, allows these motives to be expressed differently by different individuals. What would otherwise be locked into an immutable stimulus-reaction relationship (Heckhausen 1989), can now connect in a multitude of ways as there are different situations, tourists' characteristics and attitudes.

To begin with, people develop habits, characteristics, and traits. A personal characteristic constitutes itself by the individual's ability to make different stimuli functionally equivalent and to introduce consistent equivalent forms of action and expression and manipulate their course (Allport 1937). One and the same motive can thus generate situationally different behavior, while different motives can generate very similar behavior (Murray 1938). Motives and personal characteristics determine a person's disposition. The individual dispositions are then reasons for behavior in given situations (Cattell 1957; Lewin 1942). Regarding situations in which these dispositions are expressed, people continually interact with their environment and must, therefore, be characterized with due reference to this environment (Murray 1938). Interaction promotes learning processes in the form of assimilation, integration, and chunking of information as well as building narrowly definable behavioral cause-effect relationships which become habitual characteristics of a person or groups of persons. "In other words, what an organism knows or believes is, in some measure, a product of formerly encountered situations. Thus, much of what is now *inside* the organism was once *outside*" (Murray 1938:40).

A person's disposition can be represented as a situation of "need" which Murray describes as an organic potentiality organizing perception, intellection, conation, and action. Furthermore, when applied to a particular situation, the person experiences a "press" (or pull) which "is a temporal gestalt of stimuli which usually appears in the guise of a *threat of harm* or *promise of benefit* to the organism" (Murray 1938:122). Both need and press combine to form a "thema" or an "equivalent group of behavioral situations" (Heckhausen 1989)—e.g., an organism perceives two different situations as having similar characteristics and reacts in the same fashion in both situations. The principle according to which consumers in general and tourists in particular generate the necessary heuristics to form themata are expressed in their values. The conceptual parameters used in evaluating tourism objects (i.e., organizing perceptions) are either cognitively or emotionally motivated (Kröber-Riel and Meyer-Hentschel

1982; Zajonc 1968). Emotions are particularly important in holiday tourism, since it is a pleasure-seeking activity. Therefore, a tourism motivation model should acknowledge and operationalize emotional influences in motivation formation processes.

In the Western World, there are essentially two schools of thought with regards to the influence of emotions on cognition and behavior. Whereas one school regards the relationship between emotions and cognitions as mediated by cognitions [one-system view (Plutchic (1980))], the other allows interactions (creating affect) and even for emotions to motivate and drive behavior directly, without the interference or mediation of cognitions [two-system view (Izard 1991)]. Regarding these interactions and their explorations via attitudes, Tomkins writes that "the basic power of the affect system is a consequence of its freedom to combine with a variety of other...messages from all sources..." (1981:74). According to Scherer (1981), there are great functional similarities between the role of emotions as evaluating processes and cognitive evaluations of utilities of objects.

While Heckhausen (1989) discusses this functional similarity and its implied consequence with caution, the psychologists (Zajonc 1980; Zajonc and Markus 1984), sociologists and economists (Mittal 1988; Etzioni 1988), and consumer behaviorists (Kröber-Riel and Meyer-Hentschel 1982) postulate that preferences and decisions are often based on affective premises rather than cognitive deliberations. Holiday tourism as a hedonic activity is thus particularly prone to emotional influence. In effect, this constitutes a shift in paradigm and opposes the widely used traditional attitude construct by Ajzen and Fishbein which assumes the existence of emotions (affect) but only as a variable which depends on cognitions. More recent work is beginning to move towards a two-system paradigm regarding emotions and cognitions as interactive but fundamentally different systems (Pratkanis, Breckler and Greenwald 1989). A central concept in both emotion and behaviorist psychology is "drive", the energizer for behavior.

Drive Theory, Expectancy Theory, and Motivation

The propositions advanced so far refer mainly to cognitivist approaches to motivation but omit a presentation of the contribution behaviorists made with the drive theory. The latter theory offers a way of understanding tourists' expectation formation without, for example, experience-based cognitions a tourist could rely on in decision-making processes. In situations such as tourism to a new destination, often a tourist has to depend on drives as motivators in addition to cognitions or pull-factors. Behaviorists, based on Hull (1943), regard behavior as the product of drive strength and habit strength. Thus, whereas psychologists like Lewin (1942) stress anticipatory knowledge, behaviorists regard past learning as the decisive stimulus for behavior.

To synthesize these two approaches, according to drive theory, nonselective activity is triggered by feelings of deprivation (in these cases mostly hunger or thirst). The strength of the drive is seen as

related to the length of deprivation (Thorndike 1911). This causes behavior to occur which eventually leads to the feeling of deprivation to subside and satisfaction to occur. If a drive is reduced satisfactorily, the organism is likely to remember all or parts of the behavior that led to the success and it will employ the behavior again. In this way, an organism learns to acquire habits. Based on these observations, Hull formulated the "drive \times habit" theory (1943). The drive theory is part of the stimulus–reaction (S-R) approach to behavior. Conversely, the cognitivist expectancy theories stress the "expectancy \times value" equation that helps predict behavior (Lewin 1942; Vroom 1964). While drive theory is retrospective in nature, in that past rewards are associated and objects of learning can acquire the role of an enforcer, the expectancy theory is forward-looking and anticipatory in nature. In expectancy theory, action is motivated via a knowledge of or belief in future rewards. Expectancy theory is thus fundamentally cognitive, whereas drive theory is emotional.

Porter and Lawler (1968) discuss both psychological theories and summarize two further differences. First, drive theory views the magnitude of the goal, or its power to satisfy, as a source of general excitement. It increases levels of activity *nonselectively*. Conversely, expectancy theory regards anticipatory knowledge as directing behavior *selectively*. Second, drive theory hypothesizes that an outcome gains its positive value through its potential for drive-reduction. This refers to the fact that physiological deprivation creates a tension which generates nonselective activity. Associations with primary reinforcers (e.g., food, rest, and relaxation) increase the value for rewards. In contrast, expectancy theory "has been much less explicit on this point" (Porter and Lawler 1968:11). This is where cognitive psychology and behaviorism exchange ideas and influence each other.

Tolman (1932), a former behaviorist, combines the two approaches. Tolman distinguishes between an expectancy for the goal which includes knowledge and beliefs about outcomes (anticipatory), and a demand for the goal representing, in part, the behaviorist contribution of the motivational force (organism based). One of Tolman's overall aims in his work (1932) is to move away from contemporary behaviorists' views which stress that behavior is "molecular": that its underlying character is physical and physiological. Rather, Tolman regards behavior as "molar": that it is influenced by past learning and capable of future learning. He employs the concept of Gestalt which signifies the co-occurrence of mental representations triggered by outside stimuli (the sign-gestalt paradigm). The three parts of sign-gestalt are: sign-object, signified means-end relation, and signified-object. Such representations contain both what the organism remembers as well as what can be expected from the object. Tolman thus hinted at a dichotomy of internal and external motivators containing drive-based emotions (push factors) and cognitions (pull factors). This dichotomy is flanked by the universal nature of needs all humans experience as well as the presence of objects and specific situations with which these needs arise.

Following these explanations, push factors in tourism are internally generated drives causing the tourist to search for signs in objects,

situations, and events (henceforth objects) that contain the promise of reducing prevalent drives. In turn, pull factors are generated by the knowledge about goal attributes the tourist holds. Whereas push factors allow a versatile response to differing external situations by making them functionally equivalent [stimulus generalization (Pavlov 1927)], pull factors depend on cognitively penetrable parameters (Pylyshyn 1986). Consequently, research into tourists' motivations can be distinguished into two groups. One is concentrating on motives or push factors, while the other group concentrates on pull factors. Only the latter takes situational parameters into consideration. Research into motives thus refers to tourists' lasting dispositions reoccurring with cyclical regularity, while motivation research tends to emphasize distinct situational parameters in which these motives are expressed. Both motivations and motives occur simultaneously in the dynamic flow of action (Atkinson and Birch 1974). For practical and analytical reasons, however, they are here discussed separately. Some researchers use both aspects of motivation formation in developing a motivational theory, while others use only one of the central aspects underlying motives and motivation. The distinction assists in highlighting considerations of the emotion-cognition dichotomy, prepares for a discussion of values as bio-, socio- and psychogenic operationalizations of motives, as well as a discussion of values as antecedents to attitudes.

Motives and Motivations in Tourism Research

Motives are here distinguished from motivations, whereby the former refer to the generic energizer for behavior. Although motives imply a direction and a target, only motivations actually include such targets or objects and refer to an interaction between motives and situations. Motivations are cognitive in nature. For example, the statement "I am going to Bali for its balmy weather" can be penetrated cognitively (Pylyshyn 1986). For managers and planners, the situations tourists choose for holidays and activities thus often contain clearly observable parameters that permit inferences indicating tourists' evaluations of specific objects and events in given situations. Motives, on the other hand, tend to be more global and less situation-specific. A popular line in some blues as well as country and western songs is, "I am going where the weather suits my clothes". What is here cased in a poetic frame indicates a more fundamental reason for behavior. At most, however, it implies only a class of objects suitable for the satisfaction of that particular motive. From this perspective, a specific behavior observed in a particular situation can be indicative of a range of differing motives as the tourist adapts to the given situation.

The apparent gap between the two concepts of motive and motivation finds a parallel in the approaches by cognitivist and behaviorist psychologists. Whereas the latter concentrate on the observable and objectively measurable, the former often seek a deeper understanding of what it is that energizes tourists towards particular activities. In a planning and resource management context, knowledge about motiv-

ations enables planners and managers to determine trends and usage levels of particular resources, but they are forced to constantly monitor behavior and survey motivations.

Motivations indicate object-specific preferences. Unfortunately for planners, tourists often alter preferences for destinations and tourism activities seemingly at the spur of a moment, without giving researchers, marketers, and resource planners an indication as to why and into which direction they change (the impact of the Gulf War on international tourism might be seen as a case in point; the war changed motivations without a clear indication of underlying motives). Conversely, a given motive driving a decision to "change" behavior is, by itself, too general as to offer clear and operationalizable strategies and goals in planning and development situations. Therefore, a solution to bridge the qualitative gap between motives and motivations should come from an overtly declared acceptance and exploitation of both schools of thought (behaviorist and cognitivist) in the pursuit of achieving new hypotheses and paradigms (Foxall 1990). With the increasing acknowledgement of emotions as a separate system rather than merely a subsystem in the shape of affective components of cognitions and attitudes, the tourism motivation literature shows a trend that indicates a growing inclusion of findings of both schools of thought.

Those researchers who emphasize situational parameters (Butler 1980; Opaschowski 1977; Plog 1979; Studienkreis für Tourismus 1988) tend to produce motivations which managers and planners are believed to be able to "translate" into product packages containing features that target the expressed reasons for travel. The Studienkreis für Tourismus in Starnberg, Germany, has produced an annual tourism survey of the German population since 1970. In 1987, for example, the eight most often mentioned reasons for travel in order of importance were: to switch off, recreate; to get away from everyday life, change the environment; to reflect on one's self, have time to think; to experience many different things; to expand one's horizon, do something for culture and education; to have time for each other; to pursue a sport, get fit; and to get exercise, some light sport or playful activities (Studienkreis für Tourismus, 1988:table 4). Both the sequence and contents of tourists' motivations in Germany has changed little over the last 20 years. Consequently, tourism marketers, managers and planners can exploit such findings with a measure of confidence. Persisting motivational groupings tend to produce tourist typologies, assisting in marketing mix management. Marketers can produce tourism products and packages with features that promise the satisfaction of expressed wants, while recreation and resource planners can develop strategies for the management of visitor flows and capacity limitations. This practice is, however, not without dangers since typologies can become tautological in their application, a point dealt with below.

Furthermore, the situational parameter created by planners always implies specific or idiosyncratic configurations of person-situation interactions. A good example is probably theme parks, which are under constant pressure to introduce "new" attractions. In these cases, research findings based on motivations are thus often volatile

and ephemeral. While this can be countered with more frequent tourism motivation surveys, it impinges on the planning horizons of managers and puts resources at risk.

Opaschowski (1977), a sociologist, likens tourism to a motivational crisis where the motives of escape and search feature as ideal extremes within which actual tourism behavior occurs. In his study, Opaschowski analyzes both the findings of the Studienkreis as well as tourism advertisements in media and forms eight tourism groups or types. Based on these loosely referenced considerations, tourists tended more towards either of the two ideals in their search for self-actualization.

A comparable methodology is pursued by Valene Smith (1977). Her typology is based on her interest in impact studies and host-guest relationships. She groups tourists according to their wish to adapt themselves to local norms. Depending on their interests, other researchers use different parameters. Plog (1972), for example, bases his typology of psycho- and allocentric tourists on the type and quality of touristic suprastructures one finds at different destinations. Linked to this approach is the concept of a destination product lifecycle, according to which the fortunes of a destination change over time from discovery to growth and maturity/decline. A similarly inspired typology is that of Butler (1980). The fundamental problem linked with these and other typologies is that they can become tautological (Braun 1989). The above typologies are based on observations of objectively measurable facts. Subsequently, similar behavior is observed with other tourists and viewed and sorted with the typology at hand. Category-membership is then regarded as the reason for observed behavior. Consequently, typologies are tautological since they refer to themselves, explaining nothing.

The need for a more sophisticated approach to tourism motives and motivations allowing for a deeper penetration and understanding of tourism behavior becomes instantly clear when such typologies are contrasted by findings in anthropology. Judith Adler (1989) points out that a tourist is likely to assume a certain role s/he likes to perform during a vacation. That role, in turn, might be exchanged temporarily or even daily with other roles. She regards tourism as a particular kind of self-expression and, therefore, advocates the adoption of the view that perceives tourism as a form of art. Adler implies that tourists are longing for a synergetic effect emerging from the enactment of all those roles. This synergy is the industry's major aim to satisfy. The longing for this synergy is expressed in the various types of behaviors tourists pursue. Some of this longing targets short-term goals often consisting of tangible and socially symbolic objects, while other aspects target the satisfaction of the self (Bloch 1986; Gnoth 1994). The roles tourists play can thus change from one day to the next. For example, such role-changes allow a tourist to be a "picaro" who imitates the life of a highwayman or pirate at one occasion on Bangkok's Pat Pong, to assume the airs of a socialite in a casino the next, and to imitate the education-hungry intellectual during visits to museums and art-galleries on the following occasion. It is rhetorical to ask to what "type" such a "common" tourist belongs to.

Other typologies that consider situational or objectively measurable parameters are those by Hartmann (1982) and Cohen (1988). These latter approaches differ from the hitherto cited ones by including considerations of motives as a mainstay of their paradigm. Cohen (1972, 1978, 1988) is notable for his development of MacCannell's (1976) concept of "authenticity". Accordingly, tourists seek attractions that can be located on a continuum bounded by the poles of staged vs. authentic attraction. When combining this theory with his earlier typology (Cohen 1972) of existential, experiential, and experimental tourists, Cohen introduces sociologically conceived motives which drive tourists' behavior as a function of the individual's interaction with the (social) environment.

Hartmann (1982) expressly determines motivations by situational factors, in particular, landscape features. Referring to the (Gestalt) psychologist Willy Hellpach, Hartmann expands on how landscape features can arouse certain psychic reactions. These are based on cultural and social learning and are enshrined in poems, novels, or songs dealing with those landscapes. The sentiments are operationalized through respondents' mood-descriptions echoing in thought-patterns. They serve Hartmann as characterizations of motives. Although subjective in nature, these descriptors and motives are, nonetheless, tied to objective stimuli and landscape features. Based on those two sets of variables and an empirical survey, Hartmann describes a number of types of tourists. The types are formed according to their (objective) landscape preferences and their (subjective) motives. Both of the latter two groups of variables help generate (statistically significant) different groups of tourists. Hartmann (1982) thus outlines a methodology which objectifies the emotional contents of motives in tourists' motivations by predicting motives from landscape preferences and landscape preferences from motives.

Pearce (1982), Pearce and Caltabiano (1983), and Pearce and Moscardo (1985) also attempt to bridge the qualitative gap between motives and motivations with an interpretive methodology and combine tourists' situational descriptions with categories from Maslow's hierarchy (1954). The approach thus resembles Hartmann's (1982) but excludes any specific consideration of any emotional contents in motivations, since Maslow's hierarchy is too general to allow for any particular degree of specificity. Braun (1989), a psychologist, utilizes a dichotomy of concepts reminiscent of the "escape and search" dichotomy often referred to by sociologists (Dann 1977; Dumazedier 1967; Iso-Ahola 1982; Parker 1983), consequently indicating a more holistic approach than in the majority of methodologies hitherto discussed. He bases his research into motives and motivations of tourists' on two interrelated theories. First, there is Wicklund's theory of the static vs. dynamic orientation (1986) and, second, the theory of self-fulfilment (Wicklund and Gollwitzer 1981) which, in turn, is based on Lewin's theory of motivated behavior. In essence, Braun's methodology can be compared to Hartmann's (1982) for its expressed recognition of emotions. Braun's adoption of the static vs. dynamic orientation together with Hartmann's (1982) are the only meth-

odologies that could be found which consider emotional predispositions as motivators in any depth.

Braun's results highlight that tourists' orientations rely on value systems and evaluations of situations (Lewin 1942; Vroom 1964). Here, as elsewhere in the general motivation literature, motives and motivations are often used synonymously with values. The shape and form by which such (bio-, socio-, and psychogenic) values are satisfied is best described with the help of situational parameters. In this way, the general nature of motives or abstract values gain a measurable and applied quality, since their actual form is one of attitudes—the unit of analysis for understanding motives and motivations. It should, however, be observed that values also include effects of enculturation and socialization.

Formation of Values and their Role in Motivation

Heckhausen (1989) was quoted as regarding motives as latent needs. Terms such as hunger or thirst denote categories of needs. As mere needs, they are neutral. As motives, however, these needs indicate a subject who is feeling the need, including a directed force driving the subject, as well as a specific, or a class of objects towards which the need is directed. If motives can be qualified within these parameters, they become motivations. When linking the abstract parameter delimitation of motives to actual situations, cultural, and social impacts are also implied which further qualify these motivations and raise the underlying motives to the level of values. Values contain valencies (Lewin 1942; Vroom 1964) or results of evaluative interactions between a subject and an object. The evaluation, in turn, is a learned behavior and based on perceptions. While this description appears circular, it reflects the formation of a mind-set (Boring 1950) at the end of a motivational process. Mind-set effects are based on cognitive processes that promote solving the task which stimulated the rise of the mind-set (Gollwitzer, Heckhausen and Steller 1990). A response to stimulation implies that the mind-set contains an emotional energy measured in its intensity and persistence of occurrence. While the emotional energy is expressed in intentions, its cognitive counterpart is the as-yet-ill-defined concept of involvement.

In general terms, values are considered to be the most abstract constructs when referring to the organizing principles of behavior (Kahle 1983). While values can be biogenic, like the need for food or shelter, they can also be sociogenic like the need for "esteem by others". Satisfying the psychogenic need of self-actualization, for example, is the process of lifting the real self to the level of the ideal self (Grunow-Lutter 1983). As such, these needs are abstract. In reality, the actual operationalization of these needs is learned and practical and only subsequently expressed in values. The transformation of experiences into adaptable, learned behavior involves abstraction of information. From an information processing view, experiences generating values and attitudes are learned and stratified clusters of information—i.e., physical stimuli generate responses in

the form of codes and symbols (representations). These are the basis for conceptual learning and, when related to each other, form the basis for rule-acquisitions. In turn, rule-applications in problem-solving tasks generate cognitive strategies which constitute learned behavior and become independent of the actual contents of codes and symbols. In other words, rules are abstracted from specific situations (Bruner 1971; Gagné 1977). Values are thus chosen rules by which certain behavioral processes are perceived to lead to satisfactory outcomes. In terms of adaptation theory, values are learned strategies to either adapt one's environment to meet one's needs or adapt one's self to a given environment (Kahle 1983).

Values are either cognition-dominant or emotion-dominant. If values are cognition-dominant, they are outer-directed or object-directed and founded on knowledge about a goal, experience, or situation (objects). Often, an object symbolizes a value (Holbrook and Hirschman 1982; Prentice 1987). Such objects are difficult to substitute. If they symbolize status or satisfy self-esteem needs, these objects are mostly of a tangible nature. So, too, are attributes that symbolize satisfaction of the "sense of belonging" (Kahle 1983; Maslow 1954; Rokeach 1973; Schwartz and Bilsky 1987). For example, a trip to the Bahamas might belong to the "things we do", since it is recognized as a symbol of affluence, good taste, or cosmopolitan outlook, as well as what a person considers as a gratifying expression of self-esteem. For the same people, a trip to little known Sweden's northern territory of Lapland might merely signify unpredictable behavior or an attempt for opinion-leadership. Such values are outer and other-directed and thus cognition-dominant as they relate to knowledge referring to a goal or pull-element. In case values are emotion-dominant, their expectational intentions are inner-directed. Contrary to outer-directed values, their locus of control rests with the self. The push (as against the pull of outer-directed values) is drive-based and the interaction with outside objects is associative in the sense that it is not a specific object that is needed to satisfy but rather a class of objects. This latter theoretical aspect is based on the capacity to generalize stimuli (Pavlov 1927). The inner-directed need or value of "sense of achievement" (Kahle 1983), for example, is based on the feeling of "flow" (Csikszentmihalyi 1975). Yet it is not the object but the process which is targeted as in the case of the "need for play" (Murray 1938).

Distinguishing values on the basis of their direction, locus of control and logical function allows explanations as to what aspects in tourism are substitutable. The satisfaction of emotional values reduces drives, whereas the satisfaction of outer-directed and more cognitive values confirms and strengthens the belief component of attitudes (Gnoth 1994). While in the example the symbol of "a trip to the Bahamas" represents the value of (self-)esteem and is cognitively penetrable via attribution theory (Heider 1958; Kelley 1967), "traveling to remote areas", or "seeking wilderness" merely signifies a promise. The Gestalt of wilderness promises to satisfy inner-directed values such as self-fulfilment and excitement. In the case of "self-fulfilment", the tourist responds to an emotional awareness that the object containing the

Gestalt will be instrumental in satisfying the drive to reduce a perceived gap between the real and the ideal self. In the case of "excitement", the Gestalt contains the promise to stimulate as well as reduce the drive for excitement.

Motives, Values, and Expectations

Figure 1 represents a summary of the motivation and expectation formation process. Needs can be stimulated either from within a person or from without. Initially, when internally generated, needs establish themselves as an urge (Bloch 1986). An urge is emotional

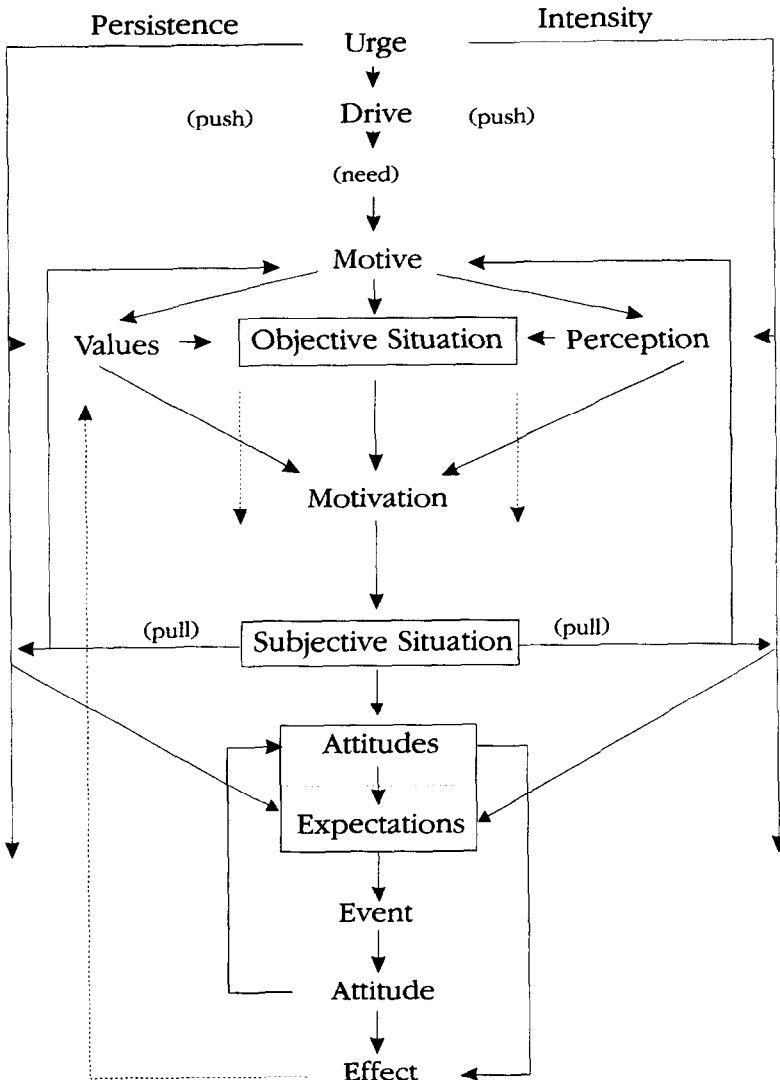


Figure 1. The Process of Motivation and Expectation Formation

and “sets up a specific action tendency—the first sign that emotion is working to organise your thought and action” (Izard 1991:2). The action tendency induces a person’s perception to scan the environment for objects that satisfy what has now become a motive. At this moment, the motivation process involves situational parameters and the socio-psychological construct of values.

A person’s values, which have been defined as strategies to adapt situations to one’s needs or strategies to adapt oneself to situations (Kahle 1983), assist in evaluating the potential of objects, situations, and events for satisfying these values. In the context of this study, a person has now become a tourist who is involved in evaluating destinations and other tourism facilities. The extent to which values are emotionally or cognitively motivated distinguish them as to the level of emotional drive they contain. This helps determine the quality of expectations (Miller 1976). If values and evaluations of objects are cognitively dominant, the hypothesis underlying the expectation and containing the likelihood of an object to produce the desired outcome (Vroom 1964), is cognitively dominant as well. If values are emotion-dominant, expectations can be described in terms of the amount of hope or fear they contain, as the polar points of a continuum (Bloch 1986).

Structurally, expectations are thus similar to attitudes. They are positively or negatively inclined and contain measures of cognitions, affect, and conations, whereby the conational element expresses itself in two aspects: the intensity and persistence with which the confirmation or falsification is desired or longed for, and the extent to which the tourist evaluates levels of possible satisfaction the targeted experiences might procure. In other words, expectations are tentative (mental or neural) representations of future events or unfinished learning processes. Although cognitively engendered and built on existing and assimilated attitudes, these expectations can contain a considerable amount of affect. This is particularly the case, if these expectations refer to as yet unknown destinations or never before experienced encounters. Compared to attitudes, however, the affect contained in emotion-dominant expectations is merely nominal and based on emotion-awareness: the tourist is conscious of a feeling of longing or desire to experience certain outcomes. Despite the cognitive structure this awareness might indicate, the feeling itself is not or merely to a limited extent cognitively penetrable (de Rivera, Possell, Verette and Weiner 1989; Rollenhagen and Dalkvist 1989).

Both feelings and cognitions contained in expectations direct perception and behavior in that objects are targeted according to their instrumentality to satisfy the values underlying the expectations. Subsequent learning processes that seek to find fulfilment of these expectations are characterized by prior motivations, the shape and form of the expectational attitude, the process of stabilizing and integrating prior tentative neural or mental representations, and by a reduction of drives resulting in a feeling-state of awareness of their absence and/or the confirmation of cognitive structures of attitudes (Harvey, Hunt and Schroder 1961; Tolman 1932).

The perception of experiences, “Event”, as well as the formation

or modification of attitudes, "Effect" (see Figure 1), can be expected to differ according to the amount of cognitions and emotions involved in underlying expectations. While a specific object is the target of cognitions and the confirmation of cognitively dominant hypotheses, the targeted outcome of drive-based expectations is the reduction of drives. As classical experiments of conditioning have shown (Pavlov 1927), drive-based learning assimilates and generalizes stimuli. In other words, it is not a specific object but an outcome which is targeted. Expectations seeking drive-reduction can thus be assumed to be satisfied via classes of experiences as opposed to cognition-dominant expectations which require more specific experiences and objects or products and services. The result is that overall satisfaction as an emotional response to an experience (Oliver 1981) is more closely related to inner-directed or drive-based attitudes and values rather than to outer-directed or cognitive dominant values and attitudes (Gnoth 1994). The experience and outcome a tourist perceives have been termed "Event" and "Effect" in Figure 1. The latter describes the impact on drives (emotions), on both old and new attitudes and values (affect and cognitions) including the satisfaction judgment (affective-cognitive evaluation).

CONCLUSION

The model presented in this article details the tourism motivation and expectation formation process. Felt needs or motives turn into motivations when coupled with both situations and a tourist's value system. The interaction between these elements influences a tourist's perception of an object so that the perception responds to the tourist's mindset. The expectations and attitudes towards the object are determined by both the tourist's felt needs and value system. Those attitudes and expectations which are emotion-dominant contain inner- or self-directed drives. In this case, an object is targeted for its promise to satisfy inner-directed needs and values. It is the essence or Gestalt that is targeted by such values and directed back, as it were, towards the self. Objects targeted by such values (e.g., destinations, services, experiences) can thus be substituted. For example, a tourist's need for and value of excitement could be satisfied equally by reading a thrilling novel, a boardgame, or jumping off a bridge where the tourist is tied to an elastic cord (bungee jump). Conversely, values which are outer-directed target specific objects which symbolize that value. Such values as well as subsequent attitudes are cognition-dominant and objects targeted by such values are difficult to replace or substitute as they tend to symbolize those values. Although attitudes based on the former type of values are emotional in contents, they are able to be cognized through emotion awareness. They can be expected to express a reduced drive once satisfied, whereas the latter can be expected to confirm and strengthen the attitudes held by reinforcing their position within the tourist's cognitive map. The diversity of possible combinations of motives, values, and situations explain the array of differences in tourists' motivations and perceptions.

The theoretical excursion into the distinction among motives, motivations, and values impacts on measuring tourism motivations. It has shown that the differentiation permits cultural, social, and situational influences to come to bear on the motivational process. In particular, these influences are operationalized as tourists' values expressing learned strategies to satisfy needs by either adapting the environment to suit one's needs, or to adapt oneself to given situations. In the case of holiday tourism, tourists can be assumed to choose an environment most suitable to fit their motives and preferences. Those values and attitudes which come to bear on choices relating to destinations, activities, transport, and other tourism facilitators can be distinguished according to their amount of cognition vs. emotion they contain. Efforts to measure these constructs can build on standard attitude measurement-techniques as far as outer-directed or cognitively dominant attitudes and values are concerned. In the case of emotionally dominant attitudes and values, it can be expected that they are less likely to be logically linked to objects of experiences, whereas cognitively dominant expectations show more of a logical relationship or one which bears the structure of a logical argument but are carried by social convention (Gnoth 1994). All of these considerations are necessary because of the qualitative difference between cognitions and (the presence and absence of) drives. Furthermore, the impact and importance of drive based motivation-satisfaction requires statistical weighting procedures and/or due recognition of these differences in the interpretation of results. In order to assure completeness, motivational scales should relate to the general or specific situation tourists find themselves in and be guided by value systems suitably covering all aspects of the tourism life domain. □ □

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