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Values and motivations in tourist perceptions of last-chance tourism

Abstract:

Tourists' perceptions of climate change affect decisions and choices to visit destinations, which are disappearing because of climate change impacts. Values and motivations are two of the personal variables underpinning tourists' decisions. The study addresses both the limited values research in tourism and reveals unconscious motives by using projective techniques. Projective techniques avoid some of the social desirability bias present in much ethical research. Choice ordering technique and the List of Values assist by assigning importance, with narrative responses providing meaning. The construction technique builds a story from a stimulus, with photo-elicitation using participants' personal holiday photographs. A sample of pre, during and post visit tourists to the Arctic and Venice were interviewed. Results, which provide a more nuanced understanding of how the personal variables of values and motivations are underpinned by self-interest, inform policies and the messages designed to influence pro-sustainability behaviour.

Keywords

Climate change, disappearing destinations, ethical tourism, values, motivations.

Introduction

At a time when we are being encouraged to reduce our carbon footprint, what are the reasons behind tourists' travelling to destinations popularly described in the media as 'disappearing', because of climate change impacts? After all, the very act of travel is likely to produce more carbon emissions, which could result in the destination disappearing ever more quickly. Although consumer behaviour can help explain why tourists visit disappearing destinations this in itself seems simplistic, because the reality is a complex and interrelated mix of personal variables. Distilling the list of personal variables from such as the *Grand Models* (which precede or lay foundations for the wealth of tourism models) results in the identification of four common personal variables, these being values, knowledge, beliefs, and motivations. However, climate change is an ethical issue and the addition of ethics as a fifth personal variable seems highly relevant. Cohen et al. (2013) identify values and motivations as key concepts in tourism consumer behaviour. Values and motivations are common to the consumer decision process internal variables of the Grand Model's such as Nicosia (1966), Engel, Kollat and Blackwell (1968), Howard and Sheth (1969), with clear similarities noted in the synthesis of tourism models by Sirakaya and Woodside (2005). Values and motivations have a complex interrelationship, with values identified as the underlying psychological determinant of consumer purchase intentions that motivate ethical consumption (Guido, 2009). Although Reisinger (2009) suggests values an important variable in predicting tourist behaviour and visitation to a destination, it is considered that limited values research has been conducted in tourism. Further, Tran and Ralston (2006) suggest that most motivation research tends to focus on conscious motives and not subconscious motives.

This research is needed to inform policies and messages designed to influence pro-sustainability behaviour. It also seeks to address the limited research conducted in relation to values and tourism (Reisinger, 2009) and address the unconscious motives of tourists (Tran and Ralston, 2006). This paper makes a further contribution to the ethical consumer behaviour literature by using indirect questioning techniques to reduce response bias in, which can provide a more nuanced account of behavioural choices if narrative is captured. This paper is structured as follows. Firstly, we briefly review the literature on climate change. This is followed by a review of consumer behaviour values in relation to sustainability, which contextualises the guiding principles in personal, social, and cultural terms. Then a review of consumer behaviour motivations is undertaken, to understand better the latent and manifest motives underlying behaviour. The methodology section then outlines the choices made behind projective techniques and their application for the study, the sampling choices, and the data collection

methods. Results are presented and discussed, showing how self-centred values and motivations underpin tourists' decisions to visit disappearing destinations. The conclusion brings together the evidence from both values and motivations to explain how the complex interrelationship between these personal variables can still serve self-interest.

Climate change

Tourism is widely discussed as part of the problem that causes climate change, resulting in rising temperatures, warming seas, increased precipitation, melting ice and rising sea-levels (Scott et al., 2004, 2007, 2008, 2012). The potential loss of unique landscapes because of climate change impacts is part of the rationale for some tourists to visit destinations before they disappear (Lemelin et al., 2010). Perhaps, they need an authentic experience rather than a future re-creation of displaced and endangered nature, which combines 'exoticism' and 'virtue' (Hultman and Gössling, 2008). They are likely influenced by media reports (Lemelin et al., 2010) and their understandings of nature are mediated through commercial exchanges (Hultman and Gössling, 2008). However, their actions are potentially "loving an already dying destination to an early death" (Dawson et al., 2011:255).

Although some communities choose not to travel (Weeden, 2011, 2013), it seems that the most climatically aware travellers are the most active (Gössling et al., 2013). Higham et al. (2014) find that there is little sense of personal responsibility with regard to climate change responses, with the entrenched nature of contemporary air travel practice resulting in a resistance to change. Despite some travellers being unaware of the contribution of air travel to climate change, others are aware and prepared to act, whilst others still are aware but unwilling to change (Cohen and Higham, 2011). Perhaps this accounts for a psychology of denial, which exists in relation to the contributions of air travel to climate change (Scott et al., 2012). This unwillingness to change could be because of scepticism, ambivalence (Dickinson et al., 2010) or the notion that self-sacrifice (for the greater good) is of no value unless others follow (Shaw and Thomas, 2006). It could be because a very high importance and value is placed upon the holiday (Hares et al., 2010) or that the taking of one or more holidays per year has moved from aspiration to expectation (Shaw and Thomas, 2006). Alternatively, travellers perhaps disassociate environmental impacts with their activities, despite describing their concern for the environment (Boluk, 2011). Whichever, Weaver (2011) suggests that tourists have little vested interest in the long-term survival of any destination, because they can make other destination choices. Scott (2011) agrees with Weaver that there is little

evidence of tourists being willing to voluntarily travel less by air despite their concerns for climate change. This perhaps leads Gössling et al. (2013:533) to conclude “evidence of a consumer response to lessen the climate change impacts of travel suggests that there has not been a response”.

Values

Tourists' values can justify travelling to a destination to benefit the locals, but these same values can also destroy the tourism resource, because carbon emissions created through travel impact on the climate. These are the values which motivate travel (it being a personal right) whilst denying others the right for the good of the planet (Hall et al., 2013). Schwartz (1992) describes values as expressing a motivational concern and actions are taken to pursue motivational goals. Each value pursued has practical, social, and psychological consequences, which may conflict with the pursuit of other values (Schwartz, 1992). When the importance of an individual value is widely held then it can be identified as a social value (Kahle, 2003) and these social values then become the normal behaviour for society (Solomon et al., 2002). Core social values are unlikely to vary between situations (Devinney et al., 2010), although this does not seem to explain why concern for climate change at home evaporates when holidays are undertaken.

Personal values reflect the choices an individual makes from the social values or value systems to which they are exposed (Blackwell et al., 2006) and behaving ethically and unethically is a socially relative judgement (Fritzsche, 1995). Perhaps accounting for the differing views as to whether conduct is moral or immoral (Trusted, 2002) are the differences in basic personality characteristics and cognitive styles, which reflect the cultural factors in society during an individual's formative years (Nedd and Marsh, 1979). These social values influence the attitudes which affect individual behaviour (Dickson, 2000), whilst the value system impacts on perceptions regarding the ramifications of an ethical dilemma (Finegan, 1994). However, what is the ethical dilemma when visiting a disappearing destination? The ontological status or personal reality of a tourist travelling to one is likely to be relative, particularly when considering concepts of nature, environment, local or global (see Hultman and Gössling, 2008).

Taught to us by socialisation agents (parents, friends and teachers), values are at the centre of relationships with others (caring, loyalty, fairness, integrity, promise-keeping, respect for others, pursuit of excellence and responsible citizenship) (Fennell, 2006). Individual values change over time because people assume different

roles throughout their life-time (Gurel-Atay et al., 2010). However, the actual or perceived changes in values are predominantly due to changes in culture and future expectations (Kropp, 2003). This seems to suggest that a cultural shift will be required to change attitudes towards climate change, before any personal values change. The personal value system is formed of a series of clusters of values consisting of a value hierarchy (or priority structure) which is based on the relative importance of individual values (Fritzsche, 1995) (see Hares, et al. 2010 for the importance placed on holidays).

Considered to be superior to other values models (particularly where the research is carried out by non-psychologists), the List of Values (Kahle, 1983) is the principal instrument for values research (Mehmetoglu et al., 2010). Based on Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, social adaptation theory and the Rokeach Value Scale (Fall and Knutson, 2001), the typology distinguishes between internal and external values. It consists of nine basic values: sense of belonging, fun and enjoyment in life, warm relationships with others, self-fulfilment, being well respected, excitement, security, self-respect and sense of accomplishment (Kahle, 1983). Homer and Kahle (1988) clustered these into three value factors: Factor 1 - self-respect, accomplishment, self-fulfilment and excitement (individual values), Factor 2 - security, belonging, and respect (external values) and Factor 3 - fun and warm relationships (interpersonal values). In relation to the internal and external values, Chrysohoidis and Krystallis (2005) further considered the importance of the personal, non-personal, and interpersonal factors of value fulfilment, resulting in the three values clusters being identified as internal/personal, external/interpersonal and internal/apersonal.

Motivations

Having reviewed the potential role of values to explain climate change behaviour, we shall now consider the role of motivations. Motivation is inferred as it cannot be observed and assumed to exist in order to explain behaviour (Snepenger et al., 2006). Manifest motives are known to the consumer and admitted to the researcher, whereas latent motives are those that the consumer may be unaware of, or reluctant to admit (Carducci, 2009). Contemporary marketing research continues to be influenced by Freudian dream analysis and the projective techniques pioneered by Ernest Dichter, which aim to reach an understanding of both surface and deeper psychological motives (Carducci, 2009). However, outside of clinical research, it seems there is a more limited employment of these projective techniques by academia.

As specific tourism studies are relatively recent, many researchers have based their motivational theories on the traditional needs-based theory (Alderfer, 1972; Maslow, 1998; Murray, 1938) and drive theory (see such as Hull, 1943). Shaw and Williams (2004) suggest most travel motivational theories fall into three categories: 'reductionist' (tension between new and familiar); 'structuralist' (identification of underlying structure with push-pull motives linked to needs); and 'functionalist' (inner needs create tension of psychological or physical nature resolved by holidays). Travel motivation theories include such as push-pull, seeking and escaping, and needs-based. A 'disappearing destination' could be the pull (Dann 1977, 1981 and Crompton 1979). 'Finding oneself' could be achieved through an appreciation of the natural or human ruin of a disappearing destination (Iso-Ahola, 1982). A visit to a disappearing destination could fulfil social or growth needs (Pearce and Caltabiano, 1983).

Psychogenic needs (Murray, 1938), acquired in the process of becoming a member of a culture (such as status, power, affiliation...) are activated depending on the 'press' or environmental pressure upon the individual and are largely unconscious basic needs which are affected by personality traits (Burger, 2008). Perhaps the need to visit a disappearing destination is due to 'cognizance' (the need to analyse and experience, to seek knowledge), perhaps resulting from the need to face the inevitability of one's own mortality by freely engaging in list completion. Perhaps 'recognition' (the need to gain approval and social status) accounts for the need to visit a disappearing destination in order to 'to keep up with the Joneses'. Possibly 'nurturance' (material and emotional needs to help the weak or young) is used to selfishly improve our social image, by supporting the economy of the disappearing destination. However, it could be argued that if both parties gain from the interaction then this is mutual co-operation and not altruism (Haski-Leventhal, 2009). Further, 'reciprocal altruism' is made with an expectation that it will be returned or reciprocated in the future, out of gratitude or loyalty (Trivers, 1971).

Despite our 'affiliation' needs (spending time with other people), Hardin's seminal work 'Tragedy of the Commons' (Hardin, 1968) suggests that individual selfishness can reign over collective well-being. Whilst, 'game theory' suggests that rational individuals (these being the self-interested) make decisions that are best for themselves (such as non-cooperation), even when they are mutually dependent on others (Fennell, 2006). The implication for tourism is the idea that it may not be rational to cooperate or be altruistic with the locals in a destination. The challenges of daily life (which affect holiday selection decisions) require individuals to prioritise needs based on their prevailing circumstances.

Consumption choices are made according to practical considerations (price, affordability, and quality) with individual ethical codes leading to trade-offs (Weeden, 2013). These are likely to be the same individual ethical codes that see some volunteer tourists externalising their ethical self, whilst internalising personal development and benefits (Boluk and Ranjbar, 2014). The same individuals who situate themselves as self-sacrificing, altruistic, and well intentioned, but who have reduced concern regarding their contribution to the communities in which they volunteer (Boluk and Ranjbar, 2014). Perhaps these are also the ethical codes which lead regular fliers to believe their pro-environmental behaviour permits them trade-off the damage they cause (Weeden, 2011).

The trade-off that satisfies one need over another causes ‘motivational conflict’, which may take time to resolve or could quickly be resolved through impulse or thoughtlessness, if only to end discomfort (Bernstein et al., 2007). A tension existing when the need for order and consistency conflicts with beliefs and behaviours can be resolved by cognitive dissonance reduction, which eliminates the discomforting tension (Solomon et al., 2002). Although Cooper (2011) suggests that even after 50-years the precise mechanism of dissonance continues to be elusive, Festinger’s 1957 theory of cognitive dissonance posits that a state of tension and unease motivates the individual to change attitude or behaviour to achieve cognitive consistency (Festinger, 1962). A study by Yale University (Kahan et al., 2012) considered that climate change denial was due to cognitive dissonance and not scientific illiteracy.

This moves us to Brehm’s Psychological Reactance Theory, which considers that with diminishing availability our freedom to choose the things that we can have reduces. We react against the interference to our prior access and this manifests itself in an increased desire to want or possess the item more than before (Brehm, 1966). This scarcity effect is often used by marketers to increase the subjective desirability of products (Jung and Kellaris, 2004). As Lemelin et al. (2011) contend, perceptions of rarity are fuelled or manipulated by various interest groups (such as travel operators, marketers, the scientific community and researchers) that often argue for a call to action. Perhaps in this case the rarity (or scarcity which causes some to stockpile or panic buy) results in a rush towards that which is disappearing.

In summary, we argue that further research is needed to determine the values and motivations that underpin tourists' decisions to visit disappearing destinations. The overview of several theories relating to values and motivations sets the landscape to provide multiple interpretations of the reasons why travellers continue to visit destinations threatened by climate change.

Methods

A qualitative research strategy was selected as the research intended to elicit rich data in an investigation of the phenomena relating to climate change and disappearing destinations. We chose to use projective techniques as data collection methods for their usability when socially desirable answers are received in response to sensitive subjects (Eckhardt et al., 2010). These techniques also have the ability to elicit or uncover the deep thoughts or the unconscious of respondents (Boddy, 2005). The need for approval results in socially desirable responses, rather than those that reflect true thoughts or feelings, attitudes, preferences or beliefs (Heerwig and McCabe, 2009). The tendency is to underestimate undesirable actions whilst over-reporting the desirable ones (Chung and Monroe, 2003; Heerwig and McCabe, 2009) or deny socially undesirable actions or behaviours (Chung and Monroe, 2003). The use of indirect questioning achieves greater validity than is possible through direct methods (Boddy, 2005). As top-of-mind responses were required, no prompting was used throughout the interviews. The length of time informants were interviewed depended on the combination of techniques provided across the study and the responses given, but an average of under 5-minutes per technique was estimated. We shall explain below the two indirect methods used to determine values and motivations, which employed choice ordering and construction techniques. Expressive techniques and scenarios using the Hunt-Vitell Model were already tested to understand ethical decisions, and the constructive technique and collage to understand influences (Hindley and Font, 2014).

Choice ordering is a projective technique which requires rank, order or importance to be assigned (Donoghue, 2000). The real value for this study was the narrative outcome related to these choices, captured through recording the arguments put forward by the respondents and pulling themes together from the transcripts. The List of Values model determines the importance of values by using a Likert scale and a choice ordering technique. The aim of the List of Values is primarily to determine the values that underpin tourists' decisions to visit disappearing destinations and secondarily to bring understanding to their behaviour and ethical decision-making processes. The nine basic values are sense of belonging, fun and enjoyment in life, warm relationships

with others, self-fulfilment, being well-respected, excitement, security, self-respect and sense of accomplishment (Kahle, 1983). The instrument lists the nine values and respondents are asked to score them using a four-point scale of very important, important, unimportant, and very unimportant. (To assist respondents in this study, a list of descriptors for the values was provided and remained available throughout the activity.) The respondent is then asked to select one value, which they believe is the most important overall and one value, which they believe to be the least important overall. In response to the questions ‘*why is this the most important value for you?*’ and ‘*why is this the least important value for you?*’ narrative is then captured.

Our second technique requires the construction of a story from a stimulus (Donoghue, 2000; Soley and Smith, 2008). Photo-elicitation is a semi-projective technique that includes photo-expression - participatory research where the respondent takes photographs of what is important to them. For this study, respondents were asked (in advance) to select two of their Venice or Arctic holiday photographs for use at interview. The informants were then asked three set questions regarding the photographs and the narrative responses were recorded. When used with photographs, the SHOWED questioning procedure leads respondents to think about problems and solutions (Soley and Smith, 2008). SHOWED uses specific questions with respondents: ‘what do you *See* here?’, ‘what’s really *Happening* here?’, ‘how does this relate to *Our* lives?’, ‘why does this problem, concern or strength *Exist?*’ and ‘what can we *Do* about it?’ (Soley and Smith, 2008:105). Following the pilot, an adapted SHOWED technique reduced respondent perceived repetition by modifying the number of questions to three and providing meaning of the event to the respondent: ‘*what is happening in your pictures?*’, ‘*how do these pictures relate to your life?*’ and ‘*thinking about the location in your photographs, what possible environmental issues could you resolve?*’ The final question was deliberately leading because the pilot had indicated there were no perceived problems in the respondent selected holiday photos.

We used projective techniques on a small sample of pre, during and post visit tourists to the Arctic and Venice, two destinations popularly reported as disappearing because of climate change impacts, but also contrasting in environment and tourist numbers. The sample was split to determine whether responses differed dependent on the destination visited or the stage in the customer journey. For the values method a total of twelve respondents participated. These were split five Venice (one pre-visit, one during-visit and three post-visit) and seven Arctic (two pre-visit, two during-visit and three post-visit). For motivation, eight respondents participated. These were split four Venice (one during-visit and three post-visit) and four Arctic (one during-visit and three post-visit). As

the activity required favourite photos to be selected from Venice or the Arctic, no pre-visit respondents were required.

The most appropriate non-probability method that could be employed was purposive sampling, based on the researcher's judgement as to typicality or interest (Robson, 2002). Respondents were deliberately selected for certain characteristics of interest to the study (Hennink, 2007). Pre and post visit informants were purposively selected and interviewed in the UK, this being achieved through multiple means ranging from requests for respondents on message boards to the letters page of local press. The during-visit tourists were purposively selected from fellow (English speaking and European) travellers in the Arctic and from fellow British travellers on a group trip to Venice. In both cases, a reveal of the researcher's identity took place at the end of the trip, along with a request for informants.

As Devinney et al. (2010) considered that research has failed to focus on the range of all consumers (those that act ethically and those who do not), the population for the study was considered heterogeneous. That is 'non-ethical consumers' who are ethical some of the time and 'ethical consumers' who are not ethical all of the time, because they cannot ensure that everything they purchase is ethically produced (Szmigin and Carrigan, 2005).

Results and discussion

Values

The values selected by the twelve participants as *very important* were clustered into three value factors to determine their order of importance. The internal/personal value factor (self-respect, accomplishment, self-fulfilment, and excitement) received the most nominations as *very important*, followed by external/interpersonal value factor (security, belonging, and respect) and finally internal/apersonal value factor (fun and warm relationships). This suggests that the values within the internal/personal value factor are of greater importance to those visiting the Arctic and Venice, both of which are destinations disappearing because of climate change impacts. As an internal/personal value factor, self-fulfilment was selected as the single *most important* value by three of the twelve participants. Self-fulfilment is perhaps defined as the fulfilment of one's hopes and ambitions, and two of the justifications clearly pointed towards the hope and ambition of achieving happiness in life. However, whilst one respondent showed an external locus of control, which affects their ability to achieve happiness (employment has time implications), another demonstrated that happiness and love are achieved through internal locus of control.

“As a recently retired person I have more time to myself, without constraints of salaried employment and this value is crucial to living a full and happy life.”
(During-visit, Venice, Female, 50-65years)

“It’s important because if you don’t have self-fulfilment, you can’t enjoy anything of life. I think you can’t love others until you love yourself and you can’t be happy with life until you are happy with yourself.”
(Post-visit, Venice, Female, 18-24years)

A sense of accomplishment was another internal/personal value factor equally selected by three participants, as the single *most important* value. Unlike self-fulfilment, where happiness remains a hope or ambition, the sense of accomplishment suggests it is a driver or rationale for life. The narrative is passionate and indicates a need to take the path to success or achievement, to strive and reach out for goals. Perhaps this is what drives the decision to visit a disappearing destination.

“...Having goals and higher goals and not just sleeping on your accomplishments, but always trying to fulfil new goals and being able to look yourself in the mirror without regretting any action...”
(During-visit, Svalbard, Female, 50-65 years)

“Gives me a reason to be alive”
(Post-visit, Svalbard, Female, 65+ years)

“...because I have always tried to accomplish things and I think that’s what gives me most pleasure. To have that feeling, that there is something to do and to start a new project is always what drives me in life, is[sic] to have something else to look forward to.”
(Post-visit, Venice, Male, 50-65 years)

Given the importance of the internal/personal factor, self-centredness is suggested. This would perhaps lead to micro-societal tendencies that place importance on friends and family, rather than wider society and the plight of communities impacted by climate change. The micro-societal dimension and the self-centred value dimension of the Rokeach Value Scale are reflected in the internal dimension of the List of Values (DePelsmacker et al., 2005; Dickson, 2000; Rokeach, 1973). Micro-societal tendencies are noted in the narrative of the single *least important* value of being well respected (an external/interpersonal values factor) and the single *most important* value of warm relationships (an internal/apersonal value factor).

“We are not that concerned about what other people think about us or what we do”
(Before-visit, Svalbard, Male, 65+ years)

“I think it’s important to me because I like to be surrounded by people that [sic] I enjoy their company and hopefully they enjoy mine.”
(Post-visit, Svalbard, Female, 50-65)

It is likely that the respondents would have selected their micro-societal values from the core social values taught by socialisation agents (such as parents and friends) when developing their personal values (Blackwell et al., 2006; Fennell, 2006). However, individual values change over time as different life-roles are assumed (Gurel-Atay et al., 2010) and this is cogently revealed in the single *least important* value narrative of two internal/personal value factors, being excitement and sense of accomplishment.

“I think that excitement is something that diminishes with age and that perhaps, had I been in a younger age group, I would have been looking for more excitement as part of my life. I think now with wisdom, there are other things that are more important...”
(Post-visit, Venice, Female, 50-65 years)

“Having retired two years ago, this value is the least important now in my life. Been there, done that, got the T-shirt.”
(During-visit, Venice, Female, 50-65 years)

Although personal values reflect the value systems to which individuals are exposed, there continues to be differences within countries and across cultures. The significance of the internal/personal values result is that it reflects the individualist culture of North and West Europe. Individualist (and collectivist cultures) both contain allocentrics and idiocentrics (Comer and Gould, 2010; Triandis, 2001). The allocentric (who behaves like a collectivist and joins many groups) is revealed in the narrative of sense of belonging (an external/interpersonal value factor), selected as the single *most important* value by a female Venice visitor.

“I think it is a reflection of my personality. I’m not someone who is dictatorial in my approach to anything and would rather gain consensus of opinion and so have [sic] a sense of belonging, to me, is being valued as a member of the group, but also valuing other people who belong to that group”
(Post-visit, Venice, Female, 50-65 years)

Similarly, the idiocentric (who behaves like an individualist and is defined as autonomous from their group) is clearly revealed in the single *least important* value narrative of sense of belonging by male Venice visitor.

“what I have seen in my life is that you have to make up your own mind and make your own decisions and by following a group sometimes you have to comply by what the group decides and by how the group acts, so sort of peer pressure, and I have been very independent in that respect, so, yes, I belong to certain groups, but I don’t feel attachment to them...”
(Post-visit, Venice, Male, 50-65 years)

This idiocentric narrative reveals internal/personal values that are self-centred and which appear to mirror ideas around an emerging society that lacks loyalty to the wider community and its common goals (Halman, 2008). It also reflects the notion that the rational choice is self-interest and rational individuals make decisions, which are best suited to themselves (Hardin, 1968). This self-interest is clearly revealed in the self-fulfilment and sense of accomplishment narratives.

“...if you don't have self-fulfilment, you can't enjoy anything of life...”
(Post-visit, Venice, Female, 18-24 years)

“Gives me a reason to be alive”
(Post-visit, Svalbard, Female, 65+ years)

However, the self-interest narrative also reveals that actions are justified through the use of cognitive dissonance. In this case, one respondent is “deserving” of enjoyment.

“...I've worked from 18-63...I think it's important I do enjoy myself”
(Before-visit, Svalbard, Male, 65+ years)

This seems to suggest that short-term immediate gratification is becoming hardwired into the individualist psyche. This reflects Freud's notion of the *id* (the selfish and illogical) taking priority over the *superego* (the conscience and opposite of the *id*) and perhaps accounts for the ability of selfishness to reign over collective wellbeing (Fennell, 2006; Hardin, 1968).

Gathering rich qualitative data enhanced the suitability of a choice ordering projective technique to determine values. However, social desirability cannot be discounted for the tendency to select most values as *very important*. The overwhelming need for approval could have influenced informants to challenge their initial responses, resulting in later inconsistencies (such as a lower scaled value becoming the single *most* important of all the values, or vice versa). Despite the descriptors provided, some respondents actively sought assurance that the meaning they attributed to values was accurate and meeting that intended by the researcher. Thus, the impression management component of social desirability (the calculated attempt to be portrayed in a favourable light) can account for the reassurance need, whilst the self-deception component (the tendency toward overly positive terms for self-description) can account for most personal values being very important (Li et al., 2010).

Further, the results correspond to the individualist view of western society, with personal values mirroring the value system to which individuals are exposed, resulting in self-centred and micro-societal tendencies.

Nevertheless, it is unclear whether a collectivist sample would produce different results or whether a global tourism culture exists in relation to tourism and climate change. If such a culture exists, it is also unclear whether the global tourist would occupy a liminal or trans-boundary position, which justifies climate change (caused by carbon emissions) as a method of contributing to global society.

Motivation

Self-centred values include self-fulfilment, which affects motivations because it is one of the predominantly unconscious motivational needs, which are acquired rather than innate and subject to external demands and expectations. The individualised experience of Arctic participants suggest a level of self-fulfilment, was achieved. This is found at the highest level of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs in self-actualisation (Maslow, 1998) and Alderfer's ERG, where the satisfaction of personal growth needs brings a greater sense of wholeness and fullness as a human being (Alderfer, 1972). This need for personal growth can motivate iconic experience goal setting or the setting and pursuance of new goals.

*"I have always loved wilderness and to me I feel blessed, I feel very humbled when I face nature."
(During-visit, Svalbard, Female, 50-65 years)*

*"...if I kept walking in the direction I was facing for about a thousand kilometers all I would see was what I'm stood on and I would finally get to the east coast of Greenland and I would see nothing else but ice for that thousand kilometers and that just blew my mind away, 'cause I would so like to do that."
(Post-visit, Greenland, Male, 50-65 years)*

Environmental pressures can determine the goal (Burger, 2008) and media interest in the impacts of climate change on destinations could motivate a visit before it disappears (Lemelin et al., 2010). This would satisfy Murray's psychogenic need of acquisition, although Murray's psychogenic need of cognizance (the need to seek knowledge, to analyse and to experience) clearly explains the motivation to visit Greenland by one male traveller.

I think going to Greenland and seeing these particular scenes gave me a bit of an insight, in a way, to one of the problems with Global Warming, in that, if this ice melts, and there is a lot of it, and now having seen how much there is, and I was there in the summer, it gave me a perspective, the sea levels

are surely going rise if the ice melts, 'cause there is a lot of it. I've got to say it's probably one of the most beautiful places I have ever visited and one of the most unusual places I have ever visited. I would recommend it and it's one of the places that has always fascinated me.
(Post-visit, Greenland, Male, 50-65 years)

This need to satisfy personal goals (in this case to travel, even when mutually dependent on others for the tourism resource) can result in motivational conflict or an attitude-behaviour gap. This somewhat reflects the contradictions of volunteer tourists who describe themselves as conscientious, but who appear inconsistent (Boluk, 2011).

I think more people probably need to see this to make them think 'wow, this could cause serious problems'. So, for me I think it makes me more aware and probably makes me more aware of what I do and how I use things and how I get rid of things. I've got to say, it probably wouldn't stop me flying, 'cause I still love traveling, so therefore the only way to get to these places is by flying, so it wouldn't stop me flying, but you know, you only go on holiday once a year.
(Post-visit, Greenland, Male, 50-65 years)

However, reflecting previous research, some tourists' awareness of the contribution of tourism to climate change was low, questionable or seen not to contribute (Becken, 2004, 2007; Gössling and Peeters, 2007; Shaw and Thomas, 2006; Whitmarsh, 2009). This must have a bearing on the motivation to take individual responsibility, because without an appreciation of personal impacts, no responsibility can be taken. However, by not verbally acknowledging the problem, responsibility is avoided and this would be a socially desirable response.

"I can't see that there would be any issues at all really."
(Post-visit, Svalbard, Female, 50-65 years)

The alternative would be to acknowledge the problem, but because of a weak internal locus of control the motivation is to avoid action (example 1), or achieve cognitive consistency through cognitive dissonance reduction by changing attitude to reduce the state of tension and unease (example 2), or to justify actions, which are satisfied by Murray's psychogenic need of 'defendance' (example 3).

(1) *"There was nothing about, I think, environmental issues I could change. Sorry, I haven't got a clue."*
(Post-visit, Venice, Female, 36-49 years)

(2) *"What can I resolve? Not much. I have just sent an e-mail to an organisation, Avaas, who write petitions for organisations and this was for the Arctic to tell Ministry, American Minister in Congress, to stop Shell digging for oil in wilderness areas in the Arctic, to me one signature is one signature."*
(During-visit, Svalbard, Female, 50-65 years)

(3) *“Well, it’s such a remote area and it was only very small guided groups that entered that area, I can’t see that there would be any issues at all really”*
(Post-visit, Svalbard, Female, 50-65 years)

This theme of individual responsibility produces a typical conscientious, yet inconsistent response, which perhaps accounts for a lack of individual motivation to take action.

“I think my effect would be a drop in the Ocean. I think if everybody does their little bit, then it helps, but I think going to these countries makes you very aware of the environment, much more so than if you went to visit a city and the effects it can have.”
(Post-visit, Svalbard, Male, 50-65 years)

“Resolution of environmental issues by one person alone would be unlikely but minimising one's detrimental impact is quite possible, eg. Using overland public transport rather than flying. However, continued involvement (financial, campaigning, etc.) with groups working for environmental change can bring results.”
(During-visit, Venice, Female, 50-65 years)

On reflection, it seems that the projective technique of photo-expression was inadequate at uncovering any specific motivation to visit a destination, because it is disappearing due to climate impact factors. However, it is likely that social desirability is an issue here, because the self-deception component tends towards overly positive terms for self-description and after all, respondents did select their favourite holiday photos for the activity. Nevertheless, by applying a motivation lens to other parts of the study, narrative evidence is found which perhaps reflects Brehm’s Psychological Reactance Theory. This considers that with diminishing availability, our freedom to choose the things that we can have, reduces. We react against the interference to our prior access and this manifests itself in an increased desire to want or possess the item more than before (Brehm, 1966).

“...the disappearing destinations are the ones we want to visit...we want to go because they are disappearing...”
(Pre-visit, Svalbard, Female, 50-65 years)

Further, the unconscious motivation to visit a disappearing destination could be determined by environmental pressures, combined with the need for self-fulfilment and cognizance (the need to seek knowledge, analyse, and experience). With little evidence that any need is determined directly by a connection between tourism and the

environment, this reflects the results of previous research indicating tourists' awareness of climate change as low, questionable or seen not to contribute (see such as Becken 2004, 2007 and Whitmarsh 2009).

Conclusion

This study primarily aimed to determine the values and motivations that underpin tourists' decisions to visit disappearing destinations, but in so-doing the secondary aims were to address the limited values research in tourism (Reisinger, 2009) and uncover unconscious motives, which Tran and Ralston (2006) suggest are not given general consideration. The tertiary aims were to inform policies and the messages designed to influence pro-sustainability behaviour, whilst the use of projective techniques aimed to reduce reporting bias and provide a more nuanced account of behavioural choices. As values and motivations appear to be self-centred, this is of interest because Guido (2009) determines that values are the underlying psychological determinants of consumer purchase intentions, which motivate ethical consumption. If, as Schwartz (1992) suggests, the value expresses a motivational concern resulting in an action to pursue a motivational goal, then self-centred values result in the motivation to fulfil self-centred goals. The impact of pursuing these self-centred goals has practical, social, and psychological consequences which conflict with the pursuit of other values (Schwartz, 1992).

This leads to a paradoxical situation for the tourist. To pursue self-fulfilment and a sense of accomplishment or pursue knowledge and experience, can have an impact on the environment, because of the carbon cost of the pursuit. Similarly, to support the locals in a disappearing destination, can result in its more rapid demise because of the CO₂ emitted. Nonetheless, aiming to reduce CO₂ emissions by avoiding travel can also result in serious economic and social impacts on the locals in disappearing destinations. This conundrum results in the status quo, as travellers are motivated to avoid action and personal responsibility, or reduce unease by changing attitude and justifying actions, which likely results in conscientious but inconsistent behaviour or an attitude-behaviour gap. However, as values can change through different life-stages and as motivations, which are acquired needs, can also change; it is possible that all travellers' require is the right guidance. Policies will need to formulate a range of strategies to influence pro-sustainability behaviour, but care must be taken not to overplay the scarcity and diminishing availability angle or risk misunderstandings of climate change being created and mediated by the media and through commercial exchanges. Worldwide political will is required to produce consistent policies that can provide that guidance, because climate change is a global and not a local issue. With time and political instability an issue, it is perhaps incumbent upon international commercial

organisations to lead the way. Rather than encouraging short-term immediate gratification, which results in selfishness reigning over collective wellbeing, tourism organisations should encourage pro-sustainability behaviour and offer responsible products, which support tourists in their goal setting and social relationship needs.

Further, the delivery of a blanket climate change and tourism message to travellers should not be met with an expectation of behavioural change. Cultural differences exist within and between countries and through socialisation agents these influence personal values and motivations, which are equally subject to change. Selective attention then filters out messages, as a way of managing the external stimuli to avoid message overload. Therefore, demographic, psychographic and behavioural segmentation needs to be applied to the population of tourists, with groups or clusters then targeted with specifically designed messages to assist in pro-environmental decision-making. In addition, the use of a choice ordering projective technique (using the List of Values model) and a photo-elicitation technique (using photo-expression) was designed to capture narrative, which did uncover values and unconscious motives. How far these two specific techniques were able to reduce reporting bias is unclear. Nevertheless, it was possible to identify likely use of socially desirable responses. This suggests that narrative capture and analysis is an important function in the use of projective techniques, where indirect questions are used to elicit data.

The implications for future research are twofold. Firstly, there needs to be further investigation into the use of projective techniques as a method to reduce response bias in climate change and tourism studies. Secondly, research needs to determine if there is a global tourism culture (more specifically in relation to climate change and tourism), as this will impact on international policy, market segmentation and communications.

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