

Tourists As Experience Collectors: A New Travelling Mind-Set

Abstract

While literature on experiential tourism suggests that travellers are increasingly more interested in unique experiences, little has been said about the nature and dynamics of tourists seeking new destinations/ travelling experiences. Using theoretical arguments deriving from literature on collecting, we re-conceptualise frequent travellers as collectors of travelling experiences and destinations, rather than souvenirs, and explore the underlying and implications of this process. Findings from our 22 in-depth interviews with frequent travellers indicate that this is a pervasive and prevalent process across many tourists. We argue that interested organisation market travelling experiences ‘sets’, and offer opportunities to solidify and exhibit collectors’ experiences.

INTRODUCTION

While the early phases of mass tourism were driven by affordable travel and higher disposable income recent studies suggest that contemporary, especially younger, travellers are driven by a range of other motivations including to consume collectable experiences and build their ‘experiential CV’ (Keinan & Kivetz, 2011). Specifically, travellers search exciting, unique, and extraordinary places to visit so that they can share their experiences online (Varnajot, 2019), gain bragging rights, (Kerr et al., 2012) and build social capital via the consumption of collectable souvenirs (Cruz & Buchanan-Oliver, 2017). This affects travellers’ well-being in a complicated way; well-being increases when tourism assuages negative feelings such as loneliness, homesickness and need for social interaction (Sabatini and Sarracino, 2017) but decreases from travel-related stress from constant social comparisons (Krasnova et al., 2013) and the fear of missing out (FOMO) (Przybylski et al., 2013)

While significant advances have been made in studying the management of several traditional types of experiential tourism, such as safari tourism (Manrai et al., 2020), volunteer tourism (Ulusoy, 2016; Magrizos et al., 2019) and festival tourism (Skandalis et al., 2019), travelling for collecting experiences has been surprisingly understudied. Although researchers have contributed useful insights on similar forms of travelling such as bucket list tourism (Thurnell-Read, 2017) and last chance tourism (Lemelin et al., 2010), little is known on the nature and the dynamics of contemporary tourists seeking new travelling experiences, motivated by the desire to add unique items (i.e., destinations) to their collection. While bucket list and is a form of travelling for collecting experiences, the latter is much broader and implies a potentially more complicated decision process, with crossing items out of one's list being only one of the motives (Thurnell-Read, 2017). Indeed, theory on collecting suggests that collectors' motivation is multifaceted and the process of collecting includes more stages and a great variety of decisions made by the individuals (Saridakis & Angelidou, 2018).

Collecting is a popular leisure activity, with 40% of households and 73 million individuals passionately collecting something in the US alone (Danziger, 2004) and the nature of collecting physical objects such as coins, stamps, or toys, has attracted a lot of attention. However, rather than focusing on objects, Belk et al. (1988), were the first to suggest that an individual who travels frequently for pleasure might be said to *collect* experiences and that such travel experiences might be conceived as part of a collection even without any material elements. Subsequently, while some anecdotal insights into destination-collecting tourism have emerged (Sarmiento & Lopes, 2018), to date, studies of this phenomenon are regrettably rare. The few exceptions that describe tourists counting or collecting places such as countries

(Timothy, 1998), World Heritage Areas (King & Prideaux, 2009) or golf courses (Baxter, 2007) do so without taking key concepts and theories of collecting literature into account.

Consequently, this study aims to explicate the phenomenon of destination-collecting tourism by exploring and conceptualizing the process through which frequent travellers enumerate, acquire and unite small or large destinations to form their *collection*. In doing so, we employ theoretical arguments from research on collecting uncovering thus added elements of the travelling experience such as feelings of pride in accomplishment and the thrill of pursuing new collectable items. In this regard, this study seeks to contribute to the literature of tourism management, guided by the following research aims: (i) to conceptualize the process of collecting travelling experiences and unveil the underlying psychological, cognitive and behavioural mechanisms of the travelling experiences collectors, ii) to explore the implications of collecting travelling experiences for tourists' well being and iii) explore how travelling with a collecting mindset affects travellers' economic, social and environmental responsibility. Addressing these research aims contributes to calls for further research that uncovers what makes certain tourism experiences "special, spectacular, and memorable" (Tung & Richie, 2011, p.1367) and expands knowledge on experiential tourism (Skandalis et al., 2019). Further, in addressing our research aims we offer implications for new product and service development and communication strategies by tourism management practitioners who can benefit from a framework that explains motives and behaviours of collectors and better design services to accommodate them.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Several theories or concepts have been used to explore the complicated nature and motives of the contemporary traveller. However, our conceptualisation suggests that collecting related

theories can be utilised as a theoretical framework to investigate the process of tourists acquiring destinations. Collecting is selective, active, and longitudinal (Belk et al., 1991), and it involves items that are inter-related and thematically, aesthetically, or subjectively similar (Spaid, 2018). These items derive a larger meaning from their grouping into a set and are transformed into sacred, extraordinary icons (Belk et al., 1988). Recent studies have indicated that collecting is becoming an increasingly popular activity due to new digital technologies (e.g. NFTs) and the significant raise of collecting communities in social media (Lee, Brennan & Wyllie, 2021). Literature on collecting has analysed the collection process of toys (Saridakis & Angelidou, 2018; Sotelo-Duarte, 2022), watches (Long & Schiffman, 1997), Coca-Cola branded items (Slater, 2000), rubber ducks (Lee & Trace, 2009), fossils (Kim & Weiler, 2013) and many others. Although the vast majority of the literature focuses on objects, items in a collection can also be intangible such as ideas, experiences, animals and human beings (Belk et al., 1988) or even, ephemeral experiences, such as sightings of birds and trains, sexual practices, or the unique experiences of taste and smell (Danet & Katriel, 1994).

Early research on collecting has also identified travelling experiences as another intangible collectable (Belk et al., 1988). Specifically, many people like to collect aspects of a generally larger tourist experience (Sarmiento & Lopez, 2018), specific places in the destinations they visit (Baxter, 2007), or even whole destinations (Woodside et al., 2014). Belk (1991) explains how stamp and travel book collections can metaphorically help people 'acquire' places, linking the process of collecting places to the acquisition of specific tangible objects. Other scholars have focused on visiting destinations as a form of collecting and emphasised the competitive nature of this type of collecting. For example, Timothy (1998) and Sarmiento and Lopez (2018) regard collecting places as the process of counting visited destinations and

actively trying to increase the number for competitive reasons. This tendency has been recognised and exploited by the tourism industry and trip organisers, who design and sell trips that help travellers expand their collections (Zurawicki, 2010). In a survey of World Heritage Site visitors, for example, 13% of the visitors self-identified as ‘collectors’ of world heritage sites (King & Prideaux, 2010).

In parallel, research in social psychology has gone beyond observational descriptions of experiences’ collectors and identified distinct characteristics of these individuals and the relevant collecting process. Specifically, the psychological mechanisms behind collecting experiences are found to be equivalent to those behind collecting tangible goods and relate to individuals’ need for accomplishment, progress, and self-enhancement (McIntosh & Schmeichel, 2004). Moreover, the process of collecting has been identified as a multi-faceted series of mental, psychological, and behavioural activities (Watkins et al., 2015). For instance, in a netnographic study, Keinan and Kivetz (2011) found that visting all 50 US states was among the most popular goals of individuals who displayed distinct characteristics in the process of collecting memorable experiences, or “the process of actively and selectively acquiring memorable experiences as a part of a set of non-identical experiences” (p.937). Some of the distinctive characteristics of such collectors are a preference on unique, extreme, novel experiences (Mcintosh & Smeichel, 2004), a productivity orientation (Keinan & Kivetz, 2011), and a tendency to organize and display the collection (Spaid, 2018; Spaid & Matthes, 2021). In the present study, we aim to adapt such findings and arguments from social psychology to the tourism context so that a more comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms and processes of travelling with a collecting mindset is gained.

In this regard, previous research provides support for using a collecting theoretical lens in the tourism literature; our attempt treats collecting travelling experiences as a holistic process that involves a range of different motives and behaviours. We are interested in going beyond the association of collecting places to the acquisition of physical items, as people do not necessarily need to travel to collect stamps, souvenirs or coins. For example, round-the-world-travellers have been found to collect diverse places with unique characteristics, contrasting cultures and varying rhythms and paces (Molz, 2010). Recent studies show that making unconventional decisions when choosing a holiday destination relates to individuals tendency to seek adventure and uniqueness (Chowdhury & Murshed, 2020). Moreover, people's travelling experiences are deeper than the landscapes seen or the items bought and more complicated than the number of visited countries. A travelling experience includes interactions with local peoples and cultures, the activities engaged in, the feelings generated, and many more dimensions (Volo, 2013).

Traditional experiential tourism theories, such as Flow theory or the "Means-End Chain" framework, help explain several aspects of the benefits derived from travelling to new places (Prentice et al., 1998) and obtaining souvenirs and other memorabilia (Sterchele, 2020). Most of these theories follow a consumer behaviour approach and have been criticized extensively for focusing on the technical aspects of tourists' experience while ignoring the important psychological dimensions of the experiences they seek when travelling (McCabe, 2014). Recent studies go beyond that and posit the need to explore the relationship between travelling experiences and memory, introducing, and conceptualising the notion of Memorable Travelling Experiences (Kim, Ritchie, & McCormick, 2012; Kim & Chen, 2021). Kim, Ritchie, and McCormick (2012), for instance, argue that not all tourism experiences are significant enough to be retained in a tourist's memory. Building on this arguments, further

research has revealed several factors that make a travelling experience memorable, including interactions with others, the novelty of the experience and the learning that occurred via the experience (Kim & Chen, 2019).

Theories of collecting help advance our understanding of the experiential nature of travelling and uncover further aspects of the benefits for the individual. Travelling for collecting purposes can be conceptualised as a serious leisure pursuit (Danet & Katriel, 1994) that offers new opportunities for excitement and discovery (Belk, 1995). According to collecting theories, individuals gain satisfaction from the ‘thrill of the hunt’ (pursuing rare or unique items) and the ‘thrill of the find’ (serendipitously discovering items) (Belk, 1995). Moreover, as the acquisition of an elusive experience usually involves a certain level of skill, effort, and determination (Mardon & Belk), visiting a new destination incites an opportunity for personal gratification and enhanced social value (Saridakis & Angelidou, 2018). Finally, longing for a coveted item and striving for its acquisition offer additional pleasure (Shuker, 2017) from the one generated by the trip itself.

Our review of the theories on collecting has identified arguments and findings on collecting experiences that can advance our understanding of the process of collecting places. We thereby attempt to incorporate this knowledge into a framework that can explain the distinct characteristics of the process of collecting travelling experiences and the idiosyncrasies of such travellers. At the same time, we expand previous arguments from experiential tourism theories, such as flow theory and memorable travel experiences on how some tourism experiences becomes memorable and and some don’t (Prentice et al., 1998; Kim, Ritchie, & McCormick, 2012). In that way we further contribute, therefore, to the literature of experiential tourism and collecting destinations alike.

STUDY METHODOLOGY

Data Collection

We adopted the inductive interpretive research tradition in qualitative research, in which individuals construct the studied phenomenon, as no single reality about it can be recognized (Gephart, 2004). Our philosophical view is akin to constructivism. We accept that our informants' 'realities' are perceived as intangible mental constructs which are affected by their own experiences. We do not evaluate their reality in terms of an objective truth but rather, respondents are regarded as more or less informed or sophisticated (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) with the aim to produce or reconstruct knowledge which is subject to continuous critical revision. We aimed to report accurately respondents' perceived reality, given that interpretations can be influenced by values and belief systems (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Specifically, following an inductive approach, we first familiarized ourselves with existing knowledge on the subject which led to the development of our research aims and then the collection and analysis of our data via in-depth interviews (Goulding et al., 2013). We engaged in self-reflexivity in all stages of the research as we acknowledge that our experience, beliefs, and knowledge have an impact on the interpretation of the collected data (Soulard et al., 2019). In doing so, we took into consideration that all authors are experienced academics who have engaged extensively with tourism research and at the same time are frequent travellers.

Prior to data collection, we obtained institutional ethics approval to ensure that the data collection was consistent with UK universities' ethical guidelines. Participants were recruited via word-of-mouth contacts and also through advertisements placed on social network sites such as Linked-in and Facebook Groups. For the purposes of this research, we aimed to

recruit informants with insight and experience on the studied topic (Charmaz, 2000). Participants were included if they went on average two or more international trips per year. This is consistent with research suggesting that country counting is done by experienced travellers (Sarmiento & Lopes, 2018) and that destination collectors are leisure travellers with many recent international trips (Woodside et al., 2014). The recruitment strategy employed was purposefully broad designed to enable a variety of travellers as research suggests that travellers who collect destinations, places and events do so as a personal preference and are “not connected to any specific socio-demographic variable” (King & Prideaux, 2010, p.244).

When replies were received from these different calls for participants, the researchers arranged the face-to-face or in-depth online interview via Skype. We didn't find any meaningful difference between the two interview methods. The use of online video interviews was preferred as it allowed us to easily access international informants (Li et al., 2020) and probe for further clarification via additional questioning as needed (Soulard et al., 2019). Following the approach recommended by Gioia et al. (2013), four pilot interviews took place before the rest of the data analysis, to help inform the list of information required and the interview instructions. We continued interviewing people until answers to our questions began repeating previous concepts and clear patterns emerged. We reached theoretical saturation (Eisenhardt, 1989) after the nineteenth interview but completed the remaining scheduled interviews. In total, we interviewed 22 frequent travellers. All interviews were conducted by the first author to ensure consistency. An average interview lasted 45 minutes (ranging from 32 minutes to 2 hours). All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim by an online transcription service, resulting in 330 pages of data material. Table 1 summarises respondents' socio-demographic profile and the reasons for inclusion in the study. All names used in table 1 are pseudonyms.

The data collection process included unconstrained in-depth exploratory interviews to allow respondents to speak freely and delve into a complicated and often personal phenomenon. The interview outline was based on the main scope of this study and employed open-ended questions that could yield in-depth replies (Patton, 2014). As a starting point, interviewees were asked to describe a recent trip and to reflect on common behaviours across different trips. Additional prompts around the motivation to travel, travelling in relation to their identity travelling uncovered the background of each participant. Most commonly, during the first phase of the interview, a type of ‘collection’ arose. The vast majority of interviewees collected something while travelling, either material (e.g. magnets, postcards, cups, hats, t-shirts) or immaterial (e.g. trips to museums, Instagram photo albums, points for competitive travelling). The second part of the interview then discussed the collection practices of that respondent.

Data Analysis

We conducted a three-stage data analysis process based on Yin (2013). The first stage involved examination of each individual interview and transcript as a separate unit of analysis. At this state, ‘investigator triangulation’ (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe, 1991) was undertaken to enhance descriptive validity of the data analysed (Pappalepore et al., 2016). The first and second authors read all transcripts and independently coded data. All points of divergence were discussed, providing further confirmation regarding the credibility of the interpretation of data (Tracy, 2010). Conflicting interpretations were reconciled by “developing consensual decision rules about how various terms or phases are to be coded” (Gioia et al., 2013, p.22). We sought commonly emerging themes, and associated data with first-order codes by assigning conceptual codes to chunks of text in the transcripts (Strauss, 1987). At this stage, we attempted to retain interviewees’ voices and adhere to guidelines

about making “research language visible” (Järnlström et al., 2018, p. 708). We strove to represent informants’ voices prominently in reporting this study, creating opportunities for discovery of new ideas rather than confirmation of pre-existing notions (Gioia et al., 2013). After accounting for similar terms and synonyms, 61 first-order codes were identified.

The second stage involved categorical aggregation and revisiting the data to identify key relationships between the shared themes and the different emerging concepts. We explored the data for similarities, differences, patterns, or distinct features of relationships across the different categories of the first-order codes, in a process similar to what Strauss and Corbin (1998) term ‘axial coding’. After many iterations between emerging data and theoretical findings we tentatively clustered first-order codes into ten second-order categories using research-centric concepts and dimensions (Gioia et al., 2013). For example, we grouped first-order themes around ‘blogging’, ‘diary keeping’, ‘active creation of memories’ and ‘collecting evidence’ into a second-order term titled “memory management”, to give voice in the analysis to both respondents and research on memorable tourism experiences (Tung & Richie, 2011).

Third, after gaining a good understanding of the emerging second-order themes, we clustered them into overarching dimensions, in an effort to understand how various steps interacted with one another. The themes and patterns were carefully compared and verified across authors as we aimed to strengthen the data validity. In assembling these themes, we undertook a cross-case comparison to analyse the results (Yin, 2017) and relied on previous research to generate different theoretical frameworks and “allow for discovery without reinventing the well-ridden wheels” (Gioia et al., 2013, p.21). The related patterns and themes were catalogued into four overarching steps in the collecting travelling experience

process (Figure 1). In the next section, the underlying mechanisms of this process are discussed, and new findings are presented referring to the literature on collecting and on travelling experiences.

Name	Sex	Age	Nationality	Profession	Travel and Collecting Related Activities
Danielle	F	30	Turkey	Assistant Professor	Collector of traditional dolls from every country
Esther	F	27	Greece	Architect	Visited more than 40 countries
Christina	F	42	England	Academic	Active member of Facebook travel groups
Elizabeth	F	21	Italy	Administrator	Collector of travel memorabilia
Danae	F	23	Spain	Air Stewardess	Visited 65 different countries
Jenny	F	37	Greece	Air Stewardess	Avid follower of tourist related blogs, groups, news
Jemma	F	30	USA	Sociologist	Extensive travel all over Asia
Rebecca	F	44	USA	Payroll	Has visited all 50 US states
Margaret	F	35	USA	Travel Blogger	Owner of popular travel blog (50,000+ followers)
Horace	M	50	Greece	Competitive travel website: owner	Named as the 'most travelled person in the world'
Christian	M	45	England	Police officer	Avid collector of travelling memorabilia
Matthew	M	58	Sweden	Diplomat	Travelled to all countries and inhabited islands
Benjamin	M	40	Serbia	Writer	Competitive traveller, top-5 worldwide
Anthony	M	25	England	Marketing	Popular travel related Instagram account
Julliette	F	31	USA	Travel Blogger	Writes on collecting travelling experiences
Steven	M	40	United Kingdom	Competitive traveller	Top-5 rated traveller in competitive website NomadMania.com. 193 countries, 500+ cities
Sofia	F	46	Bulgaria	Statistician	Popular travel related twitter account (12,000+ followers)
Andie	F	29	Greece	Shipping	Travel-focused blogger
Emmanuel	M	51	France	Real estate Broker	Visited all Champions League soccer stadiums
Thibault	M	44	France	Soccer coach	Founder of travelling Facebook group
Liu	M	43	Vietnam	Film Critic	Has travelled to film festivals in 50 towns
Raphael	M	64	England	Engineer	Has visited all 193 countries.

Table 1: Profiles of Study Informants

FINDINGS

We strove to choose a diverse sample of participants including travellers of different ages, educational backgrounds and races. Our informants also represent diverse travelling practices: from people who have visited every country in the world to those who have been to significantly fewer countries but are avid collectors of memorabilia from each visited place and from passionate Instagram users and professional travel bloggers to people who travel with a pen, a notepad and no cameras. However, destination collecting tourism was prevalent across respondents and so pervasively affected their psychology and travel decisions that we were often reminded of the popular English phrase ‘to be bitten by the travel bug’. This implies that there is an obsessive need to travel around the world which, however, is often invoked with pride by the postmodern traveller (see e.g., Paladini, 2015). In fact, research on binge-flying suggests that frequent travellers exhibit signs of compulsive behaviour and behavioural addiction (Cohen et al., 2011). In the words of one of our respondents whose aspiration is to fill his passport with stamps from different locations before it expires:

I got inspired by this Facebook group Every Passport Stamp where travellers aim to get a passport with entry stamps from every country. Discussions there range from tips to get the rarest, best stamps or the order to get them [...] I was worried I wouldn't be let in Pakistan with an Israeli stamp, but I managed. I once posted a picture of my Andorran stamp and got amazing reactions there. Actually, the bus from Barcelona to Andorra did not stop at the border, I had to take a taxi back to the border just for the stamp. Not many people get it, I know, it is hard to explain why we choose this way [of travelling] (Emmanuel).

The complexity of this behaviour is increased by the context of decision making in tourism which involves an ongoing and adaptable process of making choices (Decrop & Snelders, 2004), which is commonly taken in groups or with significant others (Bronner & Hoog, 2008) and is often highly affected by situational factors (March & Woodside, 2005). Recent scholars have argued that such levels of complexity can only “fully be captured through a focus on the *process* of tourist decision making” (Cohen et al., 2014; p.880) and call for more focus of travellers’ accounts and activities to explore not just their end choices but also the

variables that affect their judgements, intentions, and commitments that lead to final decisions (Decrop & Snelders, 2004). To that end, we attempted to understand the underlying mechanisms that drive travellers' decisions during the process of collecting experiences in line with our second research aim.

Most previous work on travellers' behaviour examines tourists as if their decision-making process is independent of their other leisure activities or consumption practices. To conceptualise adequately the process of collecting travelling experiences, we allowed for our respondents' voices to be heard, explored potential links with other activities and emphasized on underlying mechanisms and sub-processes. Data analysis, aiming to conceptualize the process of collecting travelling experiences (first research aim), revealed four main stages derived from the thematic analysis as first-order themes, each of which consists of several processes (14 in total). The four stages are (a) Planning, (b) Discovering, (c) Curating, and (d) Sharing. Figure 1 depicts graphically this process.

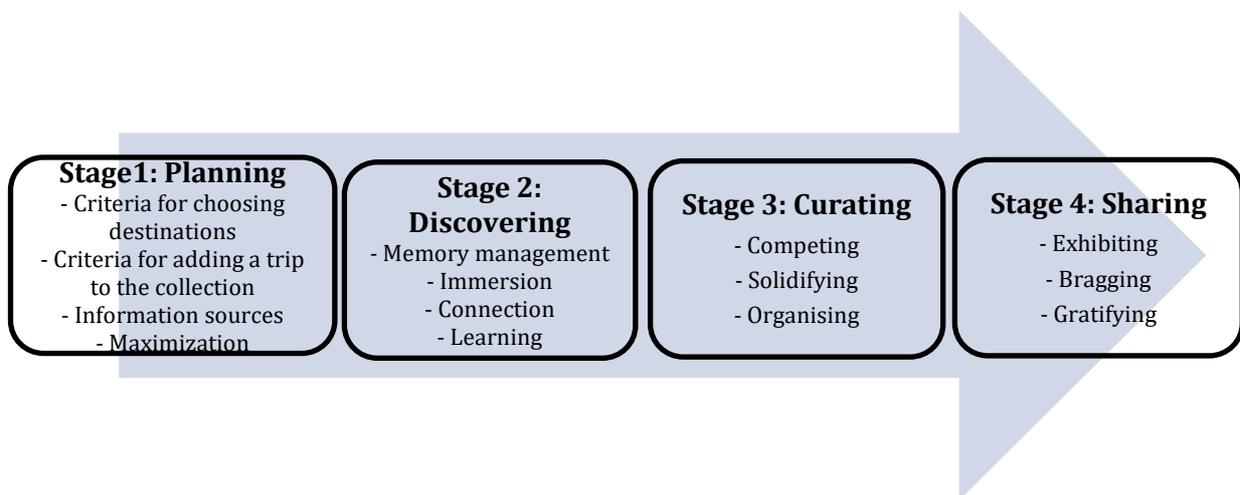


Figure 1: Collecting travelling experiences process

Stage 1: Planning

The first step in the process of collecting travelling experiences is Planning. Here, the traveller explores the available options and designs the next trip. Uniqueness and rarity are two of the major reasons for an item to be included in a collection (Belk et al., 1988; Lee &

Trace, 2009), with unique destinations deemed more admirable in the traveller's quest for the extraordinary.

Spending a month in Africa was guided by the expectation to live the unexpected. I wanted to be somewhere none of my friends has been before, to have the potential to be surprised and be in awe. If you live in France, how unusual can a visit to London or Rome or Athens really be? (Thibault)

Social reasons also affect the choice of destination, such as travel companions' preferences, or a calculation of which place might reflect better on the traveller's identity ("When I shared that photo from a small village in Vietnam [...] you wouldn't believe the reaction I got!" Andie). While presumably every traveller must go through some form of planning and focus on issues of convenience, budget or other practicalities, what set our informants apart is the thought process behind every trip and the set of criteria applied.

A behaviour of our informants that resembled collectors more than travellers pertained to the set of rules they semi-randomly or arbitrarily apply for a destination to 'count' towards their collection. A surprisingly long and heated discussion in the 'competitive' travel community was about the grey areas such as layovers or short visits. For some, a destination counts only if the traveller spends the night, talks to local people, eats something related to the location, sees the most representative sight ("You can't count Athens if you haven't been to the Parthenon", Raphael) or simply "create[s] a memory there" (Margaret).

When the collector has decided on the criteria for travelling and for including a trip in the collection, the search for a new destination (a new item to be acquired) begins. The role of ICT is crucial here, not only in spreading information but also in building a sense of mission that needs to be accomplished. For example, Most Travelled People, a competitive travel website, divides the world into 891 regions, recognising that visits to one city may not be representative of a whole country. Moreover, it includes lists of the top-rated beaches, golf

courts, hotels, or dive sites, to help frequent travellers record past trips and inspire the next ones. Resources and short-term constraints do not limit the process of gathering information, as it often includes future or dream locations and the formation of bucket lists.

A considerable amount of planning also involves an effort to maximise the items collected with every trip. At times, this was as superficial as crossing a border just to ‘say you have been there’ and check a country/city off the ‘to-do’ list. As the founder of a competitive travelling website explains:

Many people have limited time, and in that timeframe, they need to create trips that maximise their experience. Let’s say they want to go to eight countries at the same time. So, I think a lot of discussion has to do with how they can do all of West Africa in 10 days (Horace).

A conscious effort to visit as many places as possible was a significant theme emerging from the data analysis. If someone’s goal is to visit every country in the world, it only makes sense to visit neighbouring countries together. However, the emergence of websites such as Most Traveled People, Nomad Mania or Facebook groups for country collectors has pushed this phenomenon to an extreme, leading a professional travel blogger to emphatically proclaim that she “stopped counting *countries and started counting experiences*” (Megan).

These indicate that for tourists “planning” is an ongoing and systematic process where specific criteria and value maximization mechanisms are being activated. Tourism organisations collectors should highlight the uniqueness and extraordinariness of their tourism offerings, as well as communicate the opportunities for collecting travelling experiences during those trips. As one of the interviewees concluded “I don’t necessarily count my trips, but every trip I take has to count” (Julliette).

Stage 2: Discovering

In our data analysis, four second-order items emerged that are associated with the stage of Discovering or acquiring the planned travel experience: memory management, immersion, connection with others and development of self. Memory management is useful as a tool to gain validation and legitimacy among acquaintances and fellow travellers. Retelling the stories results in social currency for the collector and enables reliving the tourist experience. Proof of trip is useful for competitive travel websites that record points and also for sceptical friends. One of our younger respondents recalled a friend fake-reporting that he was in Rome and the negative comments this received. Perhaps this is why this participant always accompanies Facebook posts of trips with photos:

Maybe [take] a selfie with the plane, or some landmark in the background [...] for my followers but also for me, Facebook will remind me in a year and I will instantly travel back to that moment in time (Danae).

Other informants stressed the importance of preserving these memories mainly for themselves. Postcards, refrigerator magnets, maps, and clothes were all used to build memories for the future self.

I want to remember this unbelievable job that I'm doing. To have, the proof, but the proof for me not for anybody else. I can picture myself, years from now, having a box with all these papers, with tickets from everywhere that I've been. I think it's going to give me a good feeling to have this for myself and to be able to see them again after years (Jenny).

Our analysis of the many first-order mentions of issues around pain, sacrifice and effort led to the grouping of these quotes into a second-order theme of 'immersion'. Respondents were eager and often proud to discuss the sacrifice and effort their travelling took and surprisingly too often referred to travelling as their *addiction*. Adding a new exotic destination to the collection needs time and money which often led to disputes with significant others. Horace admitted to often contemplating on moments lost, such as friends' birthdays, while chasing a never-ending goal to travel everywhere and constantly. Matthew, a diplomat based in the

Middle East, has travelled to all 193 countries once and to 150 twice. He talked about travelling being an *obsession*, a need he must satisfy; *“I was ranked top-10 in Nomadmania but being a single dad now I’ve fell in the rankings. I still manage to do two big trips a year, to get it out of my system”* (Matthew).

Respondents also made reference to the social relationships they build in the process of collecting travelling experiences. Christian, a police officer from the US, collects police badges from every visited country and explains how this practice induces interaction with police officers across the world and proudly describes how these encounters let to discussions and nights out which also serve him socially at home, returning with stories to share with colleagues. Travellers to more exotic places enjoyed the connections with locals and shared their feeling of representing their countries: *“To them I am the first, and potentially last German person they’ll ever meet”* (Steven).

Acquiring a new ‘item’ for their collection gave our informants an opportunity to learn about new cultures, explore the unknown, reflect on their current way of living and eventually grow as individuals and as travellers. Moreover, the effort, pain, and sacrifice the collectors exercised in the process of completing their goals gave opportunities to test themselves, and in overcoming their challenges, they emerge more mature, confident and with a new identity. It becomes apparent, therefore, that travelling experience collectors at this stage seek to create memories and engage with immersive experiences. Hospitality businesses and tourism policy makers should therefore focus their efforts in creating authentic and immersive experiences and aim to develop tourism packages that could become items in travellers collections.

Step 3: Curating

We identified three steps in the process of collecting travelling experiences in which respondents resembled more a collector managing their curation of their tourism experiences. We named these three steps Competing, Solidifying, and Organising and grouped them around the aggregate concept of Curating.

A distinct need to quantify experiences, consciously enumerate trips, measure progression towards a goal and strive for completion of the *hunt* emerged. We expected such a drive for competitive travellers whose standing in this community is measured by areas visited, but apparently this drive is an integral part of the collecting process for all travellers. For example, Esther described her feelings when thinking about her collection of fridge magnets representing all the countries she has been to: “how cool would it be to fill this entire fridge? I have calculated that I need 20–25 more... or a smaller fridge!” Of significant importance are the implications of this competitive attitude for travellers’ well-being. Thibault described how obsession to reach 100 countries has reduced the pleasure he receives from travelling, while Elizabeth explained that she only travelled to Greece because she had been gifted a fridge magnet from Athens and “couldn’t stand seeing it knowing [she] hadn’t been there.”

Equally surprising was the need of travellers to turn their immaterial experiences into something visible and solid. *Offline* exotic and rare souvenirs are displayed visibly in collectors’ personal spaces, and *online* photos, videos, stories, blog posts, and check-ins all become part of the uploader’s identity. These intangible objects help solidify their experiences (Mardon & Belk, 2018). Passport stamps are a popular currency which serves as a tool to tangibilize the travelling experience and as irrefutable proof for competitive travel sites that need to see them before awarding ‘points’ for highly ranked members.

After solidifying the collection, travellers spend time and effort to organise it so that it makes sense. From arranging fridge magnets to mirror the countries' real location on a map (Jemma), to creating a collage with postcards sent to herself (Esther), the collection is redesigned in an effort to be made as personal as possible. Checking off a country from a theoretical or even actual list brings satisfaction to respondents and a sense of closure for that trip: "a signal to start thinking about the next" (Raphael).

Step 4: Sharing

After the collection is built and organised, it is ready to be shared. Our data analysis identified three distinct practices: Exhibiting or presenting information about an individual trip or the collection; Bragging, by turning the items of the collection into currency to communicate the collector's achievements; and Gratifying by capitalising on social approval.

One motive for people to share particular experiences or the entirety of a collection is to describe their life and present themselves to their social circle—in essence, presenting themselves for evaluation (Belk, 1995). By revealing this part of their identity, they are interested in informing their friends of current affairs, "showing something unique" (Andie), "educating [them] on new cultures and practices" (Anthony) or "influencing followers' future trips" (Liu).

A deeper motive that came up in discussions only after further probing pertained to respondents' response to peer pressure, mainly from social media. Prior research indicates that online photography can play a decisive role in travel-related behaviour and decisions (Lo & McKercher, 2015), but we captured an active effort to keep up with friends and

acquaintances in a digital world where travelling is glorified with significant implications for travellers' well-being:

I am older now, but yes when I was single ... you can't escape this. It's like "#wanderlust" and '#LivetoTravel' everywhere. I travel for work so my favourite travelling trip? From the living room to the couch, and back" (Liu).

Some of our informants limited the sharing process to just presenting some information to close friends and family. Danielle, for example, collects dolls wearing the traditional outfit of country visited and only displays these dolls in a purposefully-built bookcase at home. Others actively seek admiration take pride in their achievements ("My list includes some far-fetched and unreachable places, the small islands or even rocks in the Pacific", Benjamin).

Informants eagerly reminded the importance of earning bragging rights themselves, with items such as hats and magnets gifted by others not 'counted' or shared.

Grouping together mentions around social capital, approval and admiration by others and opportunities to capitalise people's admiration, uncovered how gratifying this process has been for collectors of destinations. Their enjoyment extends the pleasure of visiting a new country and taking time-off. Collectors gain bonding and bridging social capital via enhanced admiration and recognition of fellow travellers, friends and relatives and cultural capital by gaining access to a different social class and its privileges.

I deliberately kept Ireland last, because it's close to home. I invited my friends and family to celebrate. I crossed from Northern [Ireland] by car and my friends decorated the border with balloons and flags. It was a real happening and they even made a special stamp for my passport, to enter Ireland. Then, in the evening, we had a party in Dublin. I made something out of it. After that, I would say for the first few months, I had this feeling of emptiness when you have been working a long time on something and suddenly, it's over. Then, I just picked up travelling again (Benjamin)

Our findings in this stage suggest that sharing the experience of travelling goes beyond sharing a few photos of a trip on social media or displaying a souvenir to friends and family and demonstrate how *sharing* is an essential part of the tourism experience and a powerful motivation to travel in first place.

DISCUSSION

The findings of our study offer important insights into the detailed process of the new travelling behaviour (first research aim) that has only partially or sporadically been explored in the literature. From a psychological perspective, we found that the motivation to acquire, cluster and designate travelling experiences into a collection goes beyond the small percentage of competitive travellers or self-proclaimed collectors. Unique and often arbitrarily chosen motives such as filling the surface of their fridge with magnets from different countries, visiting all Greek islands, or sending themselves 100 postcards from different countries were often the end goal. The need to complete a collection is a major characteristic of all collectors (Saridakis & Angelidou, 2018); the extreme version of this was competitive travellers who wanted to visit all countries. At the same time, the sense of pride and gratification they feel when they expand their collection of experiences is unique to collectors (Watkins et al., 2015) and was found to occur through the curation and exhibition of their travelling experiences.

This cognitive process of individuals setting rules and criteria and then choosing destinations based on them is conceptually similar to the process of choosing a holiday destination (Decrop & Snelders, 2004). However, our findings highlight the importance of several newly identified criteria for choosing destinations such as resource maximisation, shareability of destinations or completing their collection. Similarly, new criteria emerged in the findings for

adding an experience, such as the characteristics of the trip (duration, interactions with locals), the rarity of the experience and several others. Another important cognitive mechanism related to collectors' experience pertains to the creation, management and solidification of their memories (Tung & Richie, 2011), which occurs throughout the collecting process.

Our study's second research aim was to explore the impact of collecting behaviours on travellers' own wellbeing were equally interesting. Theory on competitive travelling suggests that tourists plan their trips with the goal to maximize the number of places they can visit and optimize the resources they can use (Gössling, 2017). This idiosyncratic tendency has a significant impact on travellers' well-being because it can cause negative feelings, such as FOMO, stress and alienation from their friends and families (Krasnova et al., 2013; Przybylski et al., 2013), and increased envy or stress due to excessive social comparisons (Siegel & Wang, 2019), resulting in a constant feeling of underachievement. Although we found evidence of such behaviours and their negative consequences, we also stumbled across many informants who went beyond this 'been everywhere, seen nothing' approach and used their competitive feelings as a motive to get to know more cultures, connect genuinely with local communities and fellow competitive (or not) travellers, get gratification for their adventures and manage their memories more effectively. This indicates that, though some aspects of competitive travelling are rather superficial (e.g. bragging on social media, competing with peers on the number of places one has visited), other aspects are more complicated and have a deeper meaning for travellers. Regardless of how deep their meaning is for travellers, as previous researchers highlight increased perceived productivity brings satisfaction and a sense of accomplishment to travellers (Coghlan, 2015).

Finally, we explored how travelling with a collecting mindset affects their environmental, economic and social responsibility (third research aim). Firstly, we found that collectors make a significant effort -especially in the *planning* stage- to maximize the number of places they visit in the amount of time they have available for their trips (Cohen & Muñoz, 2016). This results into increased mobility, transport volume growth and higher carbon emissions (Luzesca, 2014). At the same time, at the *discovering* stage travellers choose to stay less in each destination they visit, a behaviour that has two potential negative effect on environmental sustainability. The first relates to the lower engagement travellers have with each local community and potentially into less respect for the local natural and cultural environment. Although none of their participants stated clearly that they had less respect for the local communities and environment, their lower engagement was somehow apparent from their responses. If anything, we found evidence of moral licencing, in which a small prosocial and pro-environmental behaviour gave informants a moral licence to travel more. Similar to situations where people who buy an electric car but end up driving more (Klößner et al., 2013), or consumers who recycle more pay less attention to overpackaging of products they buy (Thøgersen, 1999), we find signs of negative environmental spill overs to our sample of frequent travellers. Small ICT- related environmental gains such as avoiding buying physical souvenirs and maps, printing photos, or using e-scooters and car-sharing applications, became an excuse for people to travel further and more frequently, stay longer or use more energy-intensive transport modes (Kim et al., 2020).

CONCLUSIONS

The findings of our study offer important insights into new travelling behaviours that have only partially or sporadically been explored in the literature. Our respondents form a unique group: they are all frequent travellers, specifically chosen for their attitudes towards collecting

travelling experiences. In our interviews, we were often reminded of typical characteristics of frequent travellers previously identified in the literature. Our respondents developed bonding and bridging social capital, expressed desire for immersive and authentic trips and connection with local communities and fellow travellers. By contrast, our informants' behaviour often did not always resemble that of ordinary travellers and more accurately replicated that of other collectors. Similar to what collectors of tangible items do, our respondents created rules about when a country visit 'counts'; item collectors create and follow rules, specialisations and procedures for cultivating their collection (Danet & Katriel, 1994). They embraced the pain and sacrifice of travelling and resembled item collectors who willingly brand themselves as obsessive and admit that their collections have brought personal problems at work or at home (Sherrell et al. 1991). Similarly, the importance allocated to connecting with others echoed the motives of collectors who often report that resulting friendships and camaraderie between fellow collectors are a main driver and a rewarding result of collecting (e.g. McIntosh & Schmeichel, 2004). Finally, our informants' competitive side resembled collectors who are competitive by nature and are always working towards improving their current collection (Belk, 1991).

This behaviour has direct implications for tourism management literature which is often based on models borrowed from popular consumer behaviour theories and lack "a consistent perspective that reflects the unique characteristics of tourism services" (Sirakaya and Woodside, 2005 p.828). Employing theoretical arguments from collecting literature, we uncover four stages in the process of accumulating travelling experiences and extend theory answering calls for more emphasis on tourists' complicated decisions (Decrop & Snelders, 2004). While our emerging process resonates with previous models on tourists' decision making, it differs in that it is the first study to conceptualize all stages as contributing

holistically to their leisure experience. Our analysis extends current over-emphasis on tourist behaviour prior and during the trip and also highlight post-activity practices. Organising, storing, caring for, maintaining and exhibiting collections by displaying them to oneself and to others are also important collecting practices (Watkins et al., 2015) which were mirrored to our informants.

Theoretically, tourism studies can benefit from looking into the psychological mechanisms behind collections of travelling experiences to explain previously unexplored practices of frequent travellers. For example, the importance allocated to connecting with others echoed the motives of collectors who often report that resulting camaraderie between fellow collectors. Collecting travelling experiences can increase travellers' well-being if competitive feelings are used as a motive to discover cultures, connect genuinely with locals, get gratification for adventures and manage memories more effectively. However, it can also lead to trying compulsively to maximise resources and a constant feeling of underachievement. It was apparent that for collectors accomplishing their goals was more important than relaxing and escaping from everyday life. Literature on collecting and the psychoanalytic processes behind collecting can elucidate how collecting can lead to unhappiness via guilt (Danet & Katriel, 1986), narrowed sources of enjoyment (Belk, 1995), and even compulsive behaviours (Dilworth, 2003).

Another theoretical contribution is to the literature of collecting. Extant literature overemphasizes collection of material objects and overlooks intangible items such as travelling experiences. We contribute to calls for further examination of the relationship between collecting objects and collecting intangible items (Keinan & Kivetz, 2011) and explain how collecting travelling experiences can be about both. Both material souvenirs and

memorabilia, and immaterial objects such as passport stamps, digital check-ins and digital top-ten lists serve as evidence and relics of an experience. These objects are organised, curated, solidified and transformed into a sacred, extraordinary set which is ready then for presentation to others. Extending collecting literature into digital/immaterial collections is an new theoretical avenue that can explain how de-materialization of physical objects doesn't necessary mean de-collecting and detachment of cherished practices (Arcuri and Veludo, 2018).

Our findings having important implications for tourism practitioners and policy makers. Destinations interested in attracting more visitors should attempt to create 'sets of experiences' instead of an isolated activity and incorporate these new offerings to their marketing plans. For example, the US National Park Service provides each visitor of one national park a booklet containing a list of all other parks. Visitors can then visit all the parks and receive a different stamp from each (King & Prideaux, 2010). Cities, islands, monuments, bars, or golf clubs can gain a differential advantage by working with competitors to appeal to the collecting nature of travellers by framing each visit as an opportunity to form or complete a collection. Further, websites such as Tripadvisor and Flightmemory, competitive websites such as Nomadmania, travelling community websites and social media groups could benefit from the insights of our study and expand their services beyond information sharing. For example, they can offer travellers ways to further solidify and exhibit their experiences (e.g., interactive maps, video sharing capabilities, virtual reality) and means for gratifying their achievements (e.g., membership classification based on achievements, online badges) encouraging the search for more authentic experiences, going beyond the enumeration of places visited and miles travelled.

We recognise that this qualitative study's contribution is limited by our use of a relatively small sample representative of travellers and thus our findings cannot be generalised to all tourists. This limitation, however, opens up opportunities for future research to confirm the outcomes of collecting travelling experiences using different methods and samples. Moreover, as we followed an interpretivist approach in our research with the employment of in-depth interviews, we acknowledge that the reflexivity of the interviewers and data analysts had an impact on the findings and should therefore be taken into consideration (Soulard et al., 2019). Our conclusions need to be examined through the focus of our sample consisting of mostly affluent, white and western individuals. While we consider our sample appropriate with the studied activity, we need to attribute some of the respondents' characteristics and sub-processes to their background and national identity. "Whiteness travels well" concludes Puar, (1994; p.91) suggesting how it's a lot easier to travel the world with an e.g., Canadian versus a Taiwanese passport. Future research, therefore, could explore the influence of potential sociocultural factors in the tendency to collect travelling experiences and conceptualise and develop measurement tools for collectors' motives, attitudes and intentions. Moreover, future research should explore the consequences of travelers' collecting mindset and behaviour on sustainability.

Finally, in the post-Covid era, it would be interesting to explore whether collecting travelling experiences will become less popular as a result of changing travellers' attitudes or more popular as post-Covid travellers seek to traveller 'better' and with a purpose-driven agenda (Sigala, 2020).

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