The Psychological and Sociocultural Effects of Tourism:

A Literature Review

Honors Thesis

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Abstract

This project examines the psychological and sociocultural effects of tourism by examining four major topics. The service worker-product interconnection is discussed and related to the importance of perceived difference as a marketing device, with the cruise industry as a case study. The role of women in the tourist industry is explored, and some of the tremendously detrimental effects (including sex tourism) to native female populations are discussed. The extensive impact of tourism on developing countries and economies is examined. Consumer behavior and psychological concepts set forth in various works are summarized to explore why tourists make consumption decisions. Finally, the results of the literature review are applied to the individual and his or her power to affect international development.
The Psychological and Sociocultural Effects of Tourism:

A Literature Review

Tourism is undoubtedly big and important business. The World Tourism Organization estimated that in 1995, "tourism globally generated an estimated US$3.4 trillion in gross output, contributing 10.9% of the world's gross domestic product," making it the "world's largest industry" and employing 212 million people (World Tourism Organization, 1999, p. 14). A decade of impressive growth later, the World Travel and Tourism Council projects tourism in 2005 will generate US$6.2 trillion in gross output and create over 2 million new jobs (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2005). In tourism, it is inevitable that people and product are interwoven. What are the psychological and sociocultural effects of tourism on service workers, native populations, and the tourists? By studying the service worker-product interconnection, the role of women in the tourist industry, the impact of tourism on developing regions, and the consumer behavior and psychology of tourism, one is able to see that the psychological and sociocultural effects are varied and plentiful.

Any marketing expert will attest that the ability of a product to survive in a competitive market is dependent on its
ability to create its own brand image. In other words, a product must differentiate itself from all similar products in the minds and hearts of the consumer. One way tourist destinations differentiate themselves is by using the native population and service workers as value-added features to the overall product. This strategy of marketing indigenous populations and laborers is logical because of the strong and inherent relationship between pleasure-seeking activities and those who are able to provide pleasure, the manufactured feelings of elitism cultivated in tourists who feel “in-charge” and “important,” and the willingness of native populations to comply with tourism-related activities for employment and money.

The travel product is dependent on labor: there is no acclaimed restaurant without talented chefs, no four-star hotel without extraordinary room service, and no Irish “craic” without loquacious natives and lively musicians. In his chapter “Working Under the Tourist Gaze,” Urry noted that in regards to travel and tourism purchases, “the quality of social interaction is itself part of the service purchased” and to “buy the service is to buy a particular social or psychological experience” (2004, p. 60). It is therefore necessary for tourists’ interactions with service workers to
be highly positive and highly beneficial in achieving overall marketing aims if the characteristics of service personnel are in congruence with the other features of the product: traveling to a Jamaican beach resort and being served by an uptight and prudish waiter is likely to result in much cognitive dissonance for the consumer.

Not only can service workers function as reflections of a product's desired image, they can also mold the self-perception of the consumer by acting as catalysts in the creation of new reality for the tourist. A particularly successful example of a tourism product enhancing the customer's self image is the success of the cruise industry in constructing an elitist image, with the help of service workers. This is most apparent in the lavish meals that most cruise ships provide. As Berger (2002) remarked, "the elegance of the dining experience suggests to cruisers that they are leading 'the good life'" (p. 60). The staff circulates to cater to the diner's every whim, establishing a power relationship where the consumer is clearly superior. On land, a cruise guest could be a general laborer, a secretary, or a service worker; on the sea, he or she is immediately transformed into a king or queen.
Berger (2002) used the example of a couple who claimed they were addicted to cruises, having taken forty cruises over the course of a decade and logging over 40,000 miles on Holland America liners. The notion that a person could become addicted to travel may seem illogical at first thought, but Berger applies psychoanalytic theory to compare the cruise as an escape mechanism. In addition to the aforementioned elitism, the highly-scheduled and varied activities of the cruise offer nonstop distraction and diversion from the comparatively mundane "real world." Cruises often feature stops at majestic locations, where parties are always lively and entertaining and partygoers appear to have no problems. Ultimately, it is the service workers who handle the menial tasks and hide reality, working long hours to create the diversion from the real world that the consumer craves.

Often, service industry workers are willing to cater to tourists for the same reasons that drive many workers in other industries: money and survival. Continuing with our case study of the cruise industry, Robert Wood noted a recent trend among the cruise companies has been to hire many international workers (particularly from India and the Caribbean nations, though "international" is used to define any non-European or non-American employee) for lower-end jobs, including cook's
helpers, cleaners, and able-bodied seamen (in Berger, 2004). In general, workers from third-world nations are unsurprisingly more willing to work for lower wages than workers from countries with respectable minimum wage laws. The majority of their income comes from tips; as long as the ships are relatively full, the international staff earn far more than they would in their homelands. Wood told the story of a cruise ship waiter from India who spoke proudly of the large house he was building for his family with the money he earned from his job.

However, not every aspect of the trend toward foreign employment is positive; it should be noted that international workers who learn English are better compensated than their native-tongued counterparts, a sociocultural effect that leads to a troublesome, remunerated homogenization. Another interesting result of the changing composition of cruise ship service workers is the loss of identity among workers from these underdeveloped and poor nations. Wood noted that the term “international” is applied only to staff from underdeveloped and poor nations while workers from developed nations retain their American, French, Spanish, or British identities. According to Wood, this semantic difference is a “reflection of the inequalities of deterritorialization” (in
Berger, 2004, p. 15). Workers from poorer nations are encouraged to meld into one international, "European-trained," staff; the prized Danish pastry artist and French chef are encouraged to assert their nationalities. Foreign employees are essentially asked to exchange their identities for steady work.

One group of service workers that has turned to the tourist industry for sustenance is women. Women are present in all facets of the tourism industry, but (similar to international workers) they are typically relegated to less prestigious positions, often viewed as "secondary income earners for their families and associated with activities that reinforce their subordination within localized prestige systems" (Kindon, 2001, p. 79). In a study of hotel employees, it was determined that women were preferred for servile jobs, providing a "pleasing sight to the customers" while being deprived of the opportunity to earn generous gratuities (Kindon, p. 80). To better understand the role of women in the tourist industry, one should consider their statistical presence, participation in the sex trade, and unique positions in the up-and-coming industries of the developing nations.

Women comprise an increasingly large segment of labor in the service industry. United Nations Environment and
Development UK Committee (Hemmati, 1999) reported that women now comprise 60% of the tourism labor force in Bolivia. Women hold 82% of all "employee" jobs (as opposed to "employer" or "self-employed" positions) in Indonesia (Kindon, 2001). However, Indonesian women only held 8% of "employer" jobs. A psychological effect that arises in both developed and underdeveloped nations as a result of large numbers of women working extensively outside of the home is that the quality of childcare often suffers, and the women are far more likely to experience depression and burnout (Peeters, Montgomery, Bakker, & Schaufeli, 2005), a problem not limited to the tourism industry.

One terribly detrimental sociocultural effect of travel and tourism on native populations (particularly in developing regions) is the increased demand for sex workers and sex trafficking. The numbers from regions of Southeast Asia are particularly troubling, with an estimated 3 million women employed as commercial sex workers. Admittedly, it is "extremely difficult" to measure the exact number of sex workers due to the "often informal and illegal nature of the activity" and "the general unwillingness of authorities even to acknowledge its existence" (Hall, 1992, p. 65). Tourist-oriented prostitutes earn larger incomes and are therefore
perceived as comparatively more elite than domestic prostitutes.

Studies show that many Asian women choose to be sex workers for the much higher pay compared to other available jobs. Similarly, sex work can "enable women to gain important social merit by sending remittances to their distant families" and even improve their self image by attaining "cultural capital relating to economic status, sexuality and modernity" (Kindon, 2001. p. 83). However, women have an impact in far more segments of the tourism industry in developing nations than in the sex trade alone. For example, the women of the British Virgin Islands have taken an active part in many sectors of the burgeoning tourism industry.

In the British Virgin Islands over the past twenty years, the amount of tourism jobs has far exceeded the local labor supply, and the result has been steady employment for immigrating women (who often set up permanent residency, marry, or have children on the Islands) (Cohen, 2001). A sociocultural effect on the British Virgin Islands as a result of increased tourism is thus a changing ethnic composition with a larger percentage of Afro-Caribbean, non-native residents. Unlike in many developing nations, women have been at the forefront of the British Virgin Island's tourism boom,
with women filling many leadership and managerial jobs and holding most of the top positions on the tourist board.

Similarly, women run most of the planning committees for festivals and fairs, including the Miss British Virgin Islands Queen Show (the equivalent of a Miss America Pageant). The Queen then becomes an ambassador-of-sorts for the Islands; she, "exhibiting ideal standards of British Virgin Islands womanhood," is in a unique position to market her nation abroad during promotional campaigns and international pageants (Cohen, 2001, p. 56). As a former Miss British Virgin Islands remarked, "I am happy to have sold tourism for the British Virgin Islands. My sash indicated my place of origin and allowed me to explain the Territory's geographical location and the natural beauty it possesses" (Cohen, 2001, p.57).

Tourism in developing nations undoubtedly has an effect on more than only the female service workers. Men, children, government officials, and many other players contribute heavily in successful, tourism-oriented economies. Tourism is growing exponentially in developing regions which are only now becoming accessible and modernized to accommodate tourists. By looking at the social consequences at large, examining case studies, and studying the World Tourism Organization’s Guide for Local Authorities on Developing Sustainable Tourism, one
can garner insight into the effects of travel and tourism on these regions.

In developing regions, tourism can lead to the creation of a caste system with barriers to entry, modifying the sociological interactions of a given area. As the physical landscape is privatized and hotels, "public" beaches, and other facilities are installed, high prices are often charged to increase revenue and to restrict access to the undesirable poor and lower class (Harrison, 1992). Scenery and beaches that were once undeveloped and free for all are now the privilege of the relative elite. Similarly, the social structure of developing nations is altered by tourism as local owners and entrepreneurs can find themselves with new status and more expendable income.

Even basic institutions such as family structure can be redefined through tourism; the island of Malindi off the Kenyan coast is a good example. Before tourism, elders reigned supreme; as tourists started to visit the island, young men in particular found new sources of income and thus were able to survive independent from the traditional extended family structure, opting instead to "form nuclear families" and subscribe to a more Western and capitalist belief system ("thus rejecting their Swahili identity") (Harrison, p. 26).
Likewise in Crete, government loans to young businesspersons resulted in a similar "loss of control by older male household heads"; some natives married tourists, also altering the ethnic and cultural landscape. In addition to the changes in family structure, changes in art, values, and behaviors have been documented as a result of tourism.

Native art is often an important part of cultural identity, and Harrison noted that tourism "clearly affects the production and nature (and more arguably the quality) of local art forms (Harrison, 1992, p. 20). Indigenous art production increasingly becomes tourist-oriented (in the form of souvenirs and novelties) and loses traditional (and often religious) significance in the process. He stated that the Amish of Pennsylvania are a noteworthy example; while Amish women originally only produced quilts for family or community consumption, almost 90% of all quilts were being sold to tourists by the mid-1980s (p. 21). Likewise, natives on the Aran Islands are able to sell their trademark sweaters to tourists for extraordinary prices, though the intricate weaves were originally a means of identifying families.

Native populations do take on some of the tourists' values and behaviors, although the extent of adoption varies from country to country. This acculturation falls under the
concept of "demonstration effects"; young people in Kenya and India in particular have been observed imitating the fashion and lifestyles choices of American and European visitors (Harrison, 1992). While some of this imitation and behavior modification can logically be attributed to the increasingly-accessible world and greater exposure to other cultures and lifestyles via television and the internet, the presence of a tourist still disrupts the normal social order in the South Pacific, as "even young back-packers attract envy and unwanted attention through their possession of valued goods" (Harrison, 1992, p. 30). Cultural transference is generally deterred in the case of Malaysia, where tourists are allowed to engage in activities that would be considered immoral (or illegal, for that matter) if the natives participated in them, including sex tourism and indulging to excess in food and drink.

Tracy Berno and her team conducted over 100 in-depth interviews and administered two questionnaires to tourist workers and residents on the Cook Islands over the course of 6 months to study the psychological and sociocultural impacts of tourism. It was determined that tourism affects native populations most negatively when the host population is forced to compete with tourists for limited resources, most often a losing battle if the resource allocation decisions are made
purely on an economic basis. Berno also suggested that a
developing country’s colonial history is an important factor
in gauging the effects of tourism; countries with “strong
colonial ties...will experience a form of ‘neocolonialism,’
whereby hosts replicate their subservient role through serving
their former ‘masters’ in the tourism industry,” which can
result in many bitter feelings and resentment (Berno, 2003, p.
96).

Hall and Tucker (2004) explored the relationship between
tourism and post-colonialism by examining a study by Craik
(1999). Craik determined that:

Tourism has an intimate relationship to post-colonialism
in that ex-colonies have increased in popularity of
favored destinations (sites) for tourists (the Pacific
Rim; Asia; Africa; South America); while the detritus of
post-colonialism have been transformed into tourist sites
(including exotic peoples and customs; artifacts; arts
and crafts; indigenous and colonial lifestyles, heritage,
and histories). (p. 2)

Hall and Tucker concluded from Craik’s research that “tourism
therefore both reinforces and is embedded in postcolonial
relationships” (p. 2). Even though many developing countries
no longer technically belong to the world’s great empires,
their cultures are still being exploited through commodification and their indigenous populations are still servile.

Returning to the Cook Islands study (Berno, 2003), Berno also proposed a conceptual framework for understanding socio-cultural and psychological effects of tourism (Figure 1). The ultimate result of the model is to determine whether or not native populations’ methods of coping with the stresses of tourism will be successful or not. Finally, Berno found that the "host country’s government tourism policies dictate the overall climate of tourism in a country" (Berno, p. 96); the World Tourism Organization published a guide on developing sustainable tourism to assist governments in successfully launching tourism initiatives.

In order to help governments plan for the future, the WTO provided a list of "significant qualitative trends" in the industry (Table 1), along with identifying the major concepts of sustainable tourism (Table 2). Some major problems the WTO identified with tourism in developing regions are mainly the result of a poorly-prepared infrastructure; poor disposal and treatment of waste due to insufficient technology, air and noise pollution from uninhibited or inadequately-regulated construction, and crowd circulation and management problems
were also discussed (World Trade Organization, 1999). The publication also cautioned that "economic benefits to the local communities and residents may be limited if many persons from outside the area are employed in tourism and tourism enterprises" (World Trade Organization, p. 31). However, as is the case with the aforementioned British Virgin Islands and in many other countries with steadily-growing economies (including Ireland), labor from outside the area is required in order to fill all available and necessary jobs.

Regardless, the WTO proposed a 7-part process of sequential steps to effectively carry out tourism planning, and each step is discussed in detail (World Trade Organization, 1999). While an analysis of each step would go beyond the scope of this project, the steps are: study preparation, determination of objectives, surveys and evaluations of all the relevant elements, analysis and synthesis of the survey information, formulation of the tourism policy and plan, formulation of other recommendations, and implementation and management. Nevertheless, development strategies are futile if sound marketing campaigns do not accompany them. So who are the consumers of this final tourism product?
As with any other industry, the success of a tourism campaign is dependent on proper marketing, and proper marketing often involves the application of psychological and consumer behavior principles. One intriguing theory on consumer decision making is based on several work motivation theories (Ross, 1998). The "basic tenet" of the "spill-over theory" is that the practices and behaviors that we become accustomed to and comfortable with through our everyday work will "spill over" into our leisure pursuits, whether positive or negative (Ross, p. 17). Ergo, a tourist whose job involves a need for highly-scheduled activities will most likely choose a vacation that is comparatively structured, though the decision may well be made subconsciously.

Another theory (and one that I find to be more logical) is the compensation theory, in which tourists seek out experiences that are vastly different from or lacking in their ordinary lives (in congruence with the aforementioned "king-for-a-day" cruise line example). Both the need for comfort and the need for a unique experience can be simultaneously fulfilled by the ideal tourist destination: the perfect hybrid of the reassuring and exceptional. Similarly, Ross applied Murray's Classification of Human Needs (Table 3) and Maslow's Hierarchy of needs to explain tourist decision making.
Related to the discussion of motivation is the application of personality theory in discussing tourists' decisions. The current "best known and most useful application of personality constructs to tourism behavior" is Plog's allocentric/psychocentric model (Ross, 1998, p. 33). Unsurprisingly, studies have shown that allocentric (interests centered in other persons rather than the self) prefer exotic destinations and unstructured vacations (which result in more tourist-native interaction), while psychocentrics (whose interests are centered on the self) prefer familiar destinations and packaged tours. A similar application of the theory discovered that active people enjoy active vacations, while comparatively low-energy travelers favor less activity on their vacations (a discovery in congruence with the "spill-over theory" of tourist motivation).

Shifting toward marketing and consumer behavior, Murray (1991) found that consumers seek information about a product as a risk-reduction strategy when little is known about the product or its specific characteristics. Ergo, because potential tourists have limited first-hand knowledge of many destinations, they rely on marketed images and symbols to make their decisions. Unsurprisingly, destinations with overall positive perceptions were more likely to be selected than
destinations that did not register in the tourist's evoked set of possibilities. The difficulty for developing nations and new tourist sites is thereby inferred; it is clearly an uphill battle for a newly-opened resort in Dubrovnik to challenge the longstanding popularity of Club Med or Cancun. In order to change attitudes, marketers must first break into the perceptual fields of their potential customers. One way to do this is through tools used in every major industry: effective advertising and promotional information.

However, the intangibility of the tourism product makes it a unique challenge for marketers. A would-be tourist is not able to go to the travel agency, pick out a trip, and then hold the trip in his or her hands to inspect it. Tourists are buying promises and expectations based on brochures and visual cues; it has been determined that travelers “rely largely on what they read and see in operators’ brochures” in addition to word-of-mouth recommendations (Goossens, 1994, p. 92). Three different forms of representation were studied in constructing effective brochures: verbal representation, visual imagery (actual pictures and pictures created in the “mind’s eye”) and enactive imagery (“a kind of imagined action or role play”) (Goossens, p. 94).
Chi-square analyses were done on results of an experiment measuring effectiveness of promotional material based on consumer response time that featured several brochures (Goossens, 1994). Surprisingly, it was determined in this experiment that emotional information (primarily visual and enactive) did not affect respondents' response time. Larger (visual) images also had no effect on response time. It could be argued that since the physical aspects of the marketing materials had little effect on times, it was the emotional connotations regarding the destinations marketed that were partially the source of response time variation.

In this experiment, the Dutch coast region was marketed to citizens of Tilburn, a large city in the The Netherlands that is only about 200 miles from the destination. Due to the relative proximity of the marketed location, the respondents undoubtedly had some preconceived perceptions of the region. There are many other studies in marketing research that support the notion that visual cues do influence consumers' behavior, even in the context of tourism (Schul & Crompton, 1983; Manfredo, 1989; Purdue, 1993).

So, what are we as consumers to do with all this information? Now that we have considered how we are likely to react, we should place the effects of our actions in context.
In economically underdeveloped nations, it is evident that we must behave very carefully. Our consumption choices play an important role in the future development of such nations, if for no other reason than based on the basic laws of supply and demand; by eating at the McDonald's instead of a locally-owned restaurant or staying at the chain hotel instead of the quaint bed and breakfast, tourists are sending a powerful message that impacts the decisions of future investors and entrepreneurs.

In addition to economic and developmental changes, we must also take into consideration that our presence in different cultures will affect how these cultures operate socially. Our behaviors may be assimilated, and cultures may detrimentally adjust traditional practices in order to better serve our needs. As much of the research outlined in this paper has demonstrated, the effect of tourism is largely determined by the economic and sociopolitical status of the toured nation. Ergo, we must be particularly mindful of our behaviors in developing nations.

To help minimize the risk of a disadvantageous interaction between tourist and native, the World Tourism Organization ratified the *Tourism Bill of Rights and Tourist Code* in 1985 (World Tourism Organization, 1998). The document
"emphasizes the true, human dimension of tourism" and "recognizes the new role of tourism as an appropriate instrument for improving the quality of life of all peoples...as a vital force for peace and international understanding" (World Tourism Organization, p. 165). The *Tourism Bill of Rights* states in Article I that "The right of everyone to rest and leisure, reasonable limitation of working hours, periodic leave with pay and freedom of movement without limitation, within the bounds of law, is universally recognized" (World Tourism Organization, p.166). The authors of the document also encourage nations to distribute information regarding native customs, traditional and religious practices, local taboos, sacred sites and shrines, artistic and archaeological treasures, and wildlife and other natural resources so that tourists will be well-informed and therefore more understanding of and sensitive to the culture of the toured country.

In conclusion, as the world becomes increasingly globalized, the number of destinations and opportunities that are available to tourists will increase as well, both in presently-developed and developing nations. Ideally, tourists should not engage in activities that take advantage of, belittle, or endanger native populations and cultures. With a
little effort and consideration, the conscious and conscientious tourist can ensure that the tourist experience is rewarding to all parties involved. Michael Cronin, a professor at Dublin City University who has written extensively on tourism in Ireland, stated that “we have to see ourselves now as very much citizens of a planet as much as citizens of a town, or a city, or a country” and encouraged travelers to start “understanding tourism as a way of behaving in an ethical and responsible fashion in our dealings and relationships with others” (personal communication, April 16, 2005). By taking into account the current research, it is clear that the psychological and sociocultural effects of travel and tourism should not be ignored when making travel decisions.
References


Works Consulted


Young, R., & Young, A. F. (2002). The demand for holidays as events in quantized processes (Discussion paper No. 2002/3). Nottingham, UK: Christel DeHaan Tourism and Travel Research Institute, Nottingham University.
Table 1. Major qualitative tourism trends.

- More tourists are desiring to participate in recreation, sports and adventure and learn about the history, culture, nature and wildlife of areas they visit. Tourists are more physically and intellectually active now than previously.

- More tourists wish to pursue their special interests and hobbies. There are many types of special interest tourism based on nature and wildlife, historic sites, cultural patterns, economic activities and professional interests.

- 'Roots' tourism of tourists visiting their ancestral home areas in becoming important in many places. Nature, cultural and adventure tourism are rapidly growing forms of tourism development. Religious tourism of persons visiting sacred sites related to their religious beliefs will remain a significant type of tourism.

- More tourists are seeking new destinations and new tourism products. This provides many opportunities to develop new tourism areas and improve and expand existing destinations.

- More tourists are concerned about maintaining and improving their health and there is much development of health resorts and spas. Conventional hotels and resorts are including exercise facilities. There is a renewed interest in traditional medical treatments and these can form the basis for health resorts and special interest tourism.

- Many tourists are taking more frequent but shorter vacations throughout the year. This provides the opportunity to develop more tourist destinations, and for destinations to offer facilities and activities for tourists to use during different seasons throughout the year.

- More older and active retired persons, many of who are affluent, are traveling. However, younger and middle aged people are still traveling in large numbers. More handicapped persons are traveling as tourists and facilities and services are being designed to handle handicapped tourists.

- Tourists are becoming more experienced and sophisticated in their travel habits and expect good quality attractions, facilities and services, and 'good value for money' in their travel expenditure.

- Business travel and conference/meeting tourism will continue expanding and can bring benefits to many places. Many persons traveling on business or to attend conferences and meetings also function as holiday tourists during part of their stay in an area.

- More tourists are becoming environmentally and socially sensitive and sook well designed, less polluted tourist destinations, bypassing badly planned destinations that have environmental and social problems.

- More tourist destinations are adopting the planned and managed approach to developing tourism and wish to develop good quality tourism that avoids environmental and social problems and optimizes economic benefits.

- Older tourist resorts are being upgraded and revitalized to meet present-day tourists' expectations, with this renovation being carried out in a carefully planned manner.

- The tourism sector is making increasing use of modern technology, in areas such as reservation services and marketing. Internet, for example, is becoming an important information and marketing tool.

Table 2. Concepts of sustainable tourism.

- The natural, historical, cultural and other resources for tourism are conserved for continuous use in the future, while still bringing benefits to the present society.

- Tourism development is planned and managed so that it does not generate serious environmental or sociocultural problems in the tourism area.

- The overall environmental quality of the tourism area is maintained and improved where needed.

- A high level of tourist satisfaction is maintained so that the tourist destinations will retain their marketability and popularity.

- The benefits of tourism are widely spread throughout the society.

Table 3. A selection of Murray's Classification of Human Needs which may be applicable to tourist behavior.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Achievement</th>
<th>To feel that something has been accomplished.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dominance</td>
<td>To control other people. To organize the behavior of a group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy</td>
<td>To value and strive for a sense of independence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play</td>
<td>To relax, amuse oneself, seek diversion and entertainment. To 'have fun', to play games. To laugh, joke and be merry. To avoid serious tension.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognizance</td>
<td>To explore. To ask questions. To satisfy curiosity. To look, listen, inspect. To read and seek knowledge.</td>
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Note. Adapted from The psychology of tourism (p. 21), by G. F. Ross, 1998, Melbourne: Hospitality. Copyright 1999 by G. F. Ross.
Figure 1. Berno's conceptual framework for understanding sociocultural and psychological effects of tourism.

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