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Case study

The destructive power of money and vanity in deviant tourist behavior

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HIGHLIGHTS

- A psychological model of deviant tourist behavior is given and testified.
- Tourists' perception of money as power will lead to deviant tourist behavior.
- Tourists' vanity is positively correlated to deviant tourist behavior.
- Vanity moderates the destructive effect of tourists' perception of money as power.

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ABSTRACT

Deviant tourist behavior is an important issue in tourism management. However, the academic understanding of this phenomenon remains limited. Based on the approach/inhibition theory of power, this study explored the effects of tourists' perception of money as power, their vanity and the interaction of these two factors on deviant tourist behavior. A survey and a quasi-experiment were performed to test the hypotheses; the results revealed that tourists' perception of money as power and their vanity were positively correlated to their agreement with deviant tourist behavior and their self-reported deviant tourist activity. Vanity had a moderate effect on the relationship between the perception of money as power and deviant tourist behavior. The research contributes to a better theoretical and practical understanding of this phenomenon.

1. Introduction

Deviant tourist behavior (DTB) is a deliberate practice undertaken by tourists in a tourism-related context that results in damage or loss of property. Deviant tourist behaviors are quite common in worldwide tourism, e.g., violence (Hughes et al., 2008; Kerr & de Kock, 2002), removal of native objects (e.g., rocks, plants, coral) as souvenirs (Weaver, 2006), disrespect for cultural traditions (Bhati & Pearce, 2016) or graffiti (Thirumaran, 2013). These behaviors are not only destructive to tourism resources but could also hamper other tourists' tourism experience and cause losses to tourism enterprises and other organizations. Nevertheless, few scholars have paid enough attention to this phenomenon (Bhati & Pearce, 2016; Thirumaran, 2013).

Limited research has been performed on this topic. In qualitative research, Uriely, Ram, and Malach-Pines (2011) introduced psychodynamic sociology to explain deviant tourist behavior and argued that such behavior reveals tourists' unconscious needs. However, the mechanism of how these needs lead to deviant tourist behavior remains unknown. Bhati and Pearce (2016) reviewed literature on vandalism and its motivation, and they discussed manifestations of vandalism in tourism and strategies to prevent it. Thirumaran (2013) provided suggestions to manage graffiti through fieldwork observations. In quantitative research, studies on this topic are generally descriptive in exploring the reasons for deviant tourist behavior. For example, Aslan and Kozak (2012) summarized customers' deviance behaviors toward resort hotel employees through interviews. Through a cross-sectional comparative survey, Hughes et al. (2008) found that tourists who are young male, engaging in frequent drunkenness and drug use are more likely to engage in violence. Uriely et al. (2011) provided a theoretical understanding of deviant tourist behavior. The existing literature mainly concerns the negative impacts of deviant tourist behavior, the identification of possible reasons for it and prevention strategies. However, few studies have built or tested a theoretical

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framework to explain the internal mechanism of what drives deviant tourist behavior. The existing literature is mainly introductory, and an academic understanding of deviant tourist behavior remains limited.

Tourism has been viewed as a permissive domain that provides tourists with a new environment in which they can ignore daily norms and regulations to some extent (Turner & Ash, 1975). It has been argued that deviant behavior in tourism could be a way of expressing individuals' unconscious needs (Uriely et al., 2011). However, few studies have looked into the antecedences of deviant tourist behavior. For some tourists, tourism might be not only a leisure activity but also an unconscious need to satisfy their vanity because the travel experience allows them to show off in front of others (e.g., climbing sculptures or trees to take a photo from a better angle). Scholars have found that vanity could lead to unfavorable behaviors (e.g., Belk, 1983; Chang, Lu, Su, Lin, & Chang, 2011). Thus, tourists' need to satisfy their vanity could be one factor that leads to deviant tourist behavior.

However, vanity is just one personal psychological factor that underlies tourists' behavior. Vanity may just answer the question of what tourists want to do. The question of why tourists can do remains unclear. Tourists still need approaches to fulfill their needs for vanity and the prerequisite trigger of deviant tourist behavior remains unknown.

The approach/inhibition theory of power explains how power influences individuals' behavior (Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003). According to this theory, people with elevated or high power will have more freedom to do what they want to do. On the contrary, people with little or no power will face more behavior restrictions. This theory has been widely used to explain undesirable behaviors. For example, elevated power could lead to more immoral behavior (Lammers, Stapel, & Galinsky, 2010). Thus, elevated power is needed for tourists to engage in deviant behavior. This is because when tourists have low power, their behavior is more restricted, and they are less likely to engage in deviant behavior. Thus, tourists' perception of elevated power provides an approach for them to satisfy their vanity.

Generally, tourists need to pay for a tour. Money is viewed as one type of power that could bring more freedom (Alford, 2003). It could generate a feeling of omnipotence (Goldberg & Lewis, 1978), which might bring about negative consequences (Lease, Kennedy, & Axelrod, 2002; Zhou, 2015). Moreover, scholars have testified that vanity is influential in consumers' behaviors (e.g., Huang, Lin, & Phau, 2015; Workman & Lee, 2013). Thus, tourists' sense of power that stems from spending money for a trip and tourists' vanity are two psychological incentives for deviant tourist behavior. The study will test the influence of tourists' perceptions of money as power and tourists' vanity on deviant tourist behavior. The research findings will contribute to the understanding of this phenomenon for both scholars and practitioners.

2. Theory and hypotheses

Scholars have argued that tourism is fertile ground for irrational and deviant behaviors because tourists are able to ignore customary rules (Turner & Ash, 1975; Wang, 2000). Uriely et al. (2011) introduced the perspective of psychodynamic sociology in explaining the phenomenon of deviant tourism behavior. They argued that individuals' unconscious drives could be explanations for sexuality and aggression in tourism. Existing theories about deviant tourist behavior contribute to the understanding of the phenomenon. However, it remains unclear what motivates a tourist to engage in deviant behaviors.

According to the approach/inhibition theory of power (Keltner et al., 2003), elevated power or high power will increase individuals' freedom, which will lead to higher approach-related tendencies (e.g., disinhibited, trait-driven behavior). In contrast, reduced power or low power will increase individuals' social constraint and lead to inhibition-related tendencies (e.g., attention to threats, inhibited). DeCelles, DeRue, Margolis, and Ceranic (2012, p. 682) define power as 'a psychological state associated with perceiving control'. Power plays a vital role in social interactions and even the psychological experience of power can generate the feeling of freedom of to act (DeCelles et al., 2012; Galinsky, Magee, Inesi, & Gruenfeld, 2006). Thus, according to the approach/inhibition theory of power, there are some factors that imbue tourists with an elevated power to act more freely. Consequently, tourists with elevated power will be more likely to engage in deviant tourist behavior.

Tourists generally pay to enjoy a tour. Money has been found to be a valid factor in generating a feeling of power (e.g., Lea & Webley, 2006; Zaleskiewicz, Gasiorowska, Kesebir, Luszczynska, & Pyszczynski, 2013). Generally, it leads to negative behaviors (Lease et al., 2002; Zhou, 2015). Having spent money on a trip could generate a feeling of power to act freely during it. However, not all tourists indulge in acts of deviance even though they have paid, which indicates that together with power, there are other factors that motivate tourists' deviant behaviors.

Substantial research has shown that instead of shaping who you are, power reveals an individual's traits (Keltner et al., 2003; Overbeck & Park, 2001). This is supported by recent research. Through an interview of hotel employees, Aslan and Kozak (2012) found that customers' dissolute character and the idea that everything should be managed for them on vacation was an important reason for their deviance. For many tourists, taking a trip allows them not just to relax but also to express themselves. For example, some tourists create graffiti to express their thoughts, and some climb on sculptures or trees to take distinctive photos. Deviant behaviors such as these are ways to show off.

Belk (1983) found that vanity is associated with showing off, boasting and other vices. Vanity is an important personality trait that influences individuals' behaviors (e.g., Wang & Waller, 2006; Watchravesringkan, 2008). In the case of tourists, many types of deviant tourist behaviors show the influence of vanity. For example, some tourists will break regulations to take a photo or take away or damage something to keep as a souvenir. In that sense, tourism provides an environment for tourists to express their vanity. When tourists view money as power, a paid trip could provide them with a feeling of elevated power to act to fulfill their vanity, even through deviant behaviors. Consequently, this study argues that tourists' feeling of power that stems from their attitude toward money in addition to their vanity will lead to more deviant tourist behavior. In the following sections, the relationship between them will be further discussed.

2.1. Money and deviant tourist behavior

In society, money is not just a tool to facilitate exchange and commerce; it also possesses a type of power that could fulfill an individual's psychosocial needs (Lea & Webley, 2006; Zaleskiewicz et al., 2013). Money is a type of social resource (Zhou, Vohs, & Baumeister, 2009). It has power that could bring people access to specific opportunities or resources (Chaux & Castellanos, 2015; Zhou, 2015). It is also viewed as symbol of status and success (Ng, Tam, & Shu, 2011).

Money can strongly 'affect people's reactions toward matters related to money' (Lau, 1998, p. 298). Alford (2003) stated that money is essential to freedom. Money activates people's self-sufficient feelings (Vohs, Mead, & Goode, 2006), and such feelings could give people the confidence that their needs can be met and

that they should care less about others' approval (Zhou et al., 2009, p. 700). Money mainly worsens people's behaviors (Vohs et al., 2006). Research has found that children who have more money to spend are more popular and that those popular children are more likely to be bullies (Lease et al., 2002). If individuals are ill-intended with their money or do not know how to properly use it, they could abuse its power (Zhou, 2015). The power of money could even cause people to have a feeling of omnipotence (Goldberg & Lewis, 1978). However, when people have little money, they tend to feel weak (Furnham, Wilson, & Telford, 2012).

Money as power is based on individuals' perception of money as a source of power. According to the approach/inhibition theory of power, when tourists with the perception of money as power have paid for a trip, having spent money is one type of elevated power that could allow them more freedom. Their perception of money as power could make them feel that they deserve freedom on their vacation and this could induce them to ignore and transgress norms and regulations. Examples can be found in Aslan and Kozak's (2012) research. In contrast, for tourists who do not view money as power, having spent money will not give them a sense of elevated power. In other words, they are less likely to have excessive feelings of freedom. Therefore, they are less likely to engage in deviant tourist behavior. Thus, hypotheses 1 is constructed:

Hypothesis 1. Tourists' perception of money as power is positively correlated with their deviant tourist behavior.

2.2. Vanity and deviant tourist behavior

Vanity is 'a fixation on physical appearance and achievement of personal goals' (Netemeyer, Burton, & Lichtenstein, 1995, p. 612). Netemeyer et al. (1995) defined the inflated concern for personal physical appearance as physical vanity, while the inflated concern for personal achievement is achievement vanity. Vanity involves comparisons with others (Workman & Lee, 2013). Compared with others who have a better appearance or achievements, individuals will feel shameful and self-doubt (Watchravesringkan, 2008).

Scholars have often studied the influence of vanity on consumer behaviors (e.g., Huang et al., 2015; Wang & Waller, 2006; Watchravesringkan, 2008; Workman & Lee, 2013). Vanity affects consumers' brand sensitivity and consciousness (Workman & Lee, 2013), and it will contribute to consumers' idol attachment (Huang et al., 2015). Consumers with higher achievement vanity show higher price-based prestige sensitivity (Chang, Liu, Lin, & Wen, 2008). However, too much concern over vanity may result in materialism (Chang et al., 2011) and negative behaviors, such as showing off (Belk, 1983).

Similar factors also affect tourists. For tourists who are too concerned with vanity, the tourism experience is viewed as one type of achievement that could be a way to show off in front of others. Being different from other tourists by breaking the rules or regulations to take a photo or engaging in other deviant tourist behaviors represent some possible ways to show off. In contrast, tourists who do not care much about vanity may not use the experience to show off and may not try to be noticeable to others, which could lower their possibility of engaging in deviant tourist behavior. Thus, hypotheses 2 is constructed:

Hypothesis 2. Tourists' vanity is positively correlated with their deviant tourist behavior.

Additionally, individuals' value orientations influence their attitudes toward money (Lau, 1998). Lau (1998) found that individuals with high achievement values view money as more important than those with low achievement values. Meanwhile, power enhances individuals' trait-consistent behavior (Keltner et al., 2003; Overbeck & Park, 2001). This indicates that power itself might not motivate negative behaviors; instead, personality traits could be the basis.

Tourists with a high level of vanity have the psychological basis to fulfill that vanity. However, to do that, tourists resort to certain approaches. According to the approach/inhibition theory of power, when high-vanity tourists pay for their tour and their perception of money as power is high, they will adopt more approach-related tendencies to fulfill their vanity. Thus, they will be more likely to engage in deviant tourist behavior than those whose perception of money as power is low.

Tourists with low vanity lack the need to seem more successful than others. Thus, even if they hold the perception of money as power, their low vanity may inhibit them from engaging in deviant activity during travel. Consequently, tourists' vanity and perception of money as power could interact in a way that affects deviant tourist behavior. For tourists with low vanity, the influence of the perception of money as power might not be as strong as it is for those who have more vanity. However, for tourists with high vanity, a high perception of money as power could cause them to have a greater sense of freedom and be careless in engaging in deviant tourist behavior to fulfill that vanity. Thus, hypotheses 3 is constructed.

Hypothesis 3. Tourists' vanity has a positive moderating effect on the relationship between their perception of money as power and deviant tourist behavior.

3. Research method

To test the hypotheses, two studies were designed. Study 1 was a survey that was used to test the effects of money and vanity on tourists' self-reported deviant tourist behavior. Study 2 was a quasi-experiment that was used to test the effects of money and vanity on tourists' attitudes toward deviant tourist behavior.

3.1. Study 1

3.1.1. Participants

Participants were recruited through an intercept survey in the Nanjing Confucius Temple (a famous tourism resort in China) during the May Day holiday in May 2015. Questionnaires were distributed at the rest area of the resort for two reasons. First, resting tourists were not in a hurry to continue their tours. They were thus assumed to be more likely and patient to participate in a survey. Second, large numbers of tourists visit Nanjing Confucius Temple every day, and constant flows of tourists go to the rest area. Tourists were randomly invited to participate in the survey. The purpose of the survey was stated before it was administered. Tourists were given a souvenir (a key chain) after the questionnaire.

Five hundred questionnaires were collected from Chinese tourists, and 435 were valid. Of the participants, 288 (66.21%) were male. In terms of age, 149 participants (34.26%) were 21–30, 258 (59.31%) were 31–40, and 28 (6.43%) were 41–50. As for work experience, 4 participants (0.92%) had no work experience, 36 (8.28%) had 1–2 years, 135 (31.03%) had 3–5 years, 137 (31.49%) had 6–10 years, and 123 (28.28%) had more than ten years. As for monthly income, 8 participants (1.84%) earned less than ¥2000, 24 (5.52%) earned between ¥2001 and ¥3000, 95 (21.84%) earned between ¥3001 and ¥5000, 158 (36.32%) earned between ¥5100 and ¥8000, 73 (16.78%) earned between ¥8001 and ¥12,000, 59 (13.56%) earned between¥12,001 and ¥20,000, and 18 (4.14%) earned more than ¥20,000. Of the participants, 239 (54.94%) had engaged in 1 or 2 instances of travel in the past year, 160 (36.78%) had engaged in 3–5 instances of travel, and 36 (8.28%) had engaged in more than 5

instances of travel.

3.1.2. Variables

Money as power. Tourists' perception of money as power was measured through Lim, Teo & Loo's (2003) money as power scale. This scale has five items (e.g., *Money will help you express your competence and abilities*). Respondents indicated their agreement with each item on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Reliability was calculated at 0.855.

Vanity. Tourists' vanity was measured through Netemeyer et al. (1995) appearance and achievement concern scale. One item was deleted to meet the requirement of discriminant validity. The scale used in the research has nine items (e.g., *I want others to look up to me because of my accomplishments*). Respondents indicated their agreement with each item on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Reliability was calculated at 0.923.

Deviant tourist behavior. To measure deviant tourist behavior, a widely used Chinese search engine (news.baidu.com) was used to retrieve news, with 'deviant tourist behavior' as the keywords. The search produced 396 pieces of news about deviant tourist behavior from 2002 to 2015. Within these news, 39 types of deviant tourist behavior were identified, the top ten being as follows: littering on a tour, graffiti, trampling on lawns, climbing sculptures or trees to take a photo, making a racket in public, taking a photo without waiting in line, urinating in public, not flushing the toilet, smoking in a non-smoking area, jaywalking, feeding animals at the zoo and not turning off their phone on a plane. These ten behaviors accounted for 71.97% of the reported news (285 pieces of news), and the remaining 29 behaviors accounted for only 28.03%.

To test whether these ten behaviors were representative, three scholars in tourism management were invited to list the most representative deviant tourist behaviors. They mentioned 9 types of behavior, and all of these behaviors were among the ten deviant tourist behaviors listed above. This indicated that the top ten behaviors are not only frequent but also the most representative deviant tourist behaviors. Therefore, they were used to measure common deviant tourist behavior. Before the measurements, participants were shown this list of deviant tourist behaviors. Then, one single item was used to measure how frequently the tourist had engaged in the deviant tourist behavior listed above. Participants were asked to respond to the question "*How many times have you engaged in similar behaviors listed above in the past year when you were traveling*?"

Control variables. Participants' gender, age and income were collected as control variables. It is quite possible that the time that participants spent traveling in a given period was positively correlated with their deviant tourist behavior. Therefore, participants' travel frequency in the past year was also collected as control variables.

Moreover, social desirability was collected as a control variable. Social desirability was used to measure the respondents' need for social approval. When social desirability is high, a respondent is prone to hide his/her real thoughts in order to be consistent with favorable social requirements. Since deviant tourist behavior is unfavorable according to social norms, social desirability could affect the results. It was measured through Reynolds (1982) short form on the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale with 13 items, which is widely accepted for social desirability assessment. Respondents indicated their agreement with each item on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Reliability was calculated at 0.879.

All scales used were translated into Chinese using Brislin's (1980) multistage translation/back-translation procedure.

3.1.3. Results

For multivariate analyses, the sample size should be at least five times the number of items in the model (Malhotra & Grover, 1998). In this study, the sample size (435) is more than 10 times the number of the items (28 items, excluding the demographic items), which indicates an adequate sample size.

The means, standard deviations and correlations of variables are shown in Table 1. Linear regressions are used to test the hypotheses. Tourists' perception of money as power and vanity are centered to test their interactive effect on deviant tourist behavior. The regression results are shown in Table 2. In step 1, all control variables are put into a regression. In the followings steps, tourists' perception of money as power, vanity and their interaction are added into the regression.

After all the variables are added into the regression, the R-squared of the model equals 0.172. The Durbin-Watson test equals 1.902, which is larger than upper critical value (1.885) of the Durbin-Watson test (when the sample number is 440, the variable number is 10). This indicates the residuals are independent. As shown in Table 2, step 4, the VIFs are all no more than 2, which means there is no significant multicollinearity in the regression. The explanatory power is acceptable when the R-squared value is no less than 0.10, according to Falk and Miller (1992). This standard is accepted by many researchers in published papers (e.g., Harris, 1999; Kankanhalli, Tan, & Wei, 2005; Martínez-Canas, Sáez-Martínez, & Ruiz-Palomino, 2012; Brinsfield, 2013). Moreover, deviant tourist behavior is influenced by a variety of factors (Bhati & Pearce, 2016). Bhati and Pearce (2016) listed six types of factors in their framework, including micro-level (biological, development and psychological factors) and macro-level (social, economic, environmental factors) influences on deviant tourist behavior. Since the aim of this study was to explore the particular psychological factors based on Uriely et al. (2011) theory that individuals' unconscious needs are the source of tourist deviant behavior. Thus, the research mainly focused on tourists' vanity and perception of money as power as two indicating factors, representing one part of the psychological factors mentioned by Bhati and Pearce (2016). The two statistically significant factors explain nearly 20% of the

Table 1
Means and standard deviance of correlations of variables.

Variables	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Age	–	–							
2 Work experience	–	–	0.607***						
3 Tourism times	–	–	0.059	0.052					
4 Income	–	–	0.158**	0.238***	0.343***				
5 Social desirability	4.132	0.482	−0.041	−0.032	−0.158***	0.048			
6 Money as power	4.475	1.067	−0.029	−0.004	0.152**	0.144**	−0.269***		
7 Vanity	4.578	0.972	−0.072	−0.066	0.053	0.073	−0.279***	0.668***	
8 DTB	2.766	2.112	0.009	−0.082	0.161**	−0.015	−0.178***	0.240***	0.228***

Note: **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001.

Table 2
Regression of variables and deviant tourist behavior.

Variables	Deviant tourist behavior				
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4	VIF
Constant	5.510***	4.685***	4.343***	3.826***	
Gender	−0.166	−0.218	−0.225	−0.289	1.028
Age	0.291	0.333	0.344	0.507*	1.620
Work experience	−0.278*	−0.267*	−0.253*	−0.219	1.671
Tourism times	0.501**	0.458**	0.483**	0.388*	1.202
Income	−0.073	−0.125	−0.130	−0.150	1.253
Social desirability	−0.661**	−0.413	−0.352	−0.344	1.157
Money as power		0.410***	0.265*	0.340**	1.909
Vanity			0.248	0.350**	1.903
Money as power × Vanity				0.331***	1.116
R square	0.066	0.104	0.111	0.172	

Note: *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001.

variance, which indicates they are important factors in tourist deviant behavior. Thus, using linear regression is appropriate.

As shown in Table 2, step 4, tourists' perception of money as power has a significant positive effect on deviant tourist behavior (coefficient = 0.340; p < 0.001). Thus, hypothesis 1 is supported. Tourists' vanity has a significant positive effect on deviant tourist behavior (coefficient = 0.350; p < 0.01); thus, hypothesis 2 is supported. The interaction of tourists' perception of money as power and vanity has a significant positive effect on deviant tourist behavior (coefficient = 0.331; p < 0.001); thus, hypothesis 3 is supported.

The regression lines are plotted to further explore the interactive effect of tourists' perception of money as power and vanity on deviant tourist behavior. The lines are plotted by substituting high (1 SD above the mean) and low (1 SD below the mean) values of the power of money. Control variables are all set to be 0 because the slope of the regression line will not be affected by their value. As shown in Fig. 1, when a tourist's vanity is low, perception of money as power has no significant effect on deviant tourist behavior. This indicates that low vanity could moderate the effect of the perception of money as power on deviant tourist behavior. However, when vanity is high for tourists whose perception of money as power is high, there is a significant increase in their deviant tourist behavior. This indicates that high vanity is essential for the perception of money as power to be effective in triggering deviant tourist behavior.

3.1.4. Discussion

Tourists' perception of money as power, vanity and their interaction are positively correlated with their self-reported deviant tourist behavior. Additionally, for tourists with both high vanity and a high perception of money as power, deviant tourist behavior is significantly higher than it is for others. Deviant tourist behaviors are negative behaviors, which indicate that people might not provide the real frequency of their deviant tourist behavior to maintain a positive self-image. Social desirability is used as a control variable for such an impression management effects. After ruling out the effect of tourists' social desirability, the hypotheses are still supported. This indicates that psychological factors such as value and perceptions are influential in tourists' behaviors.

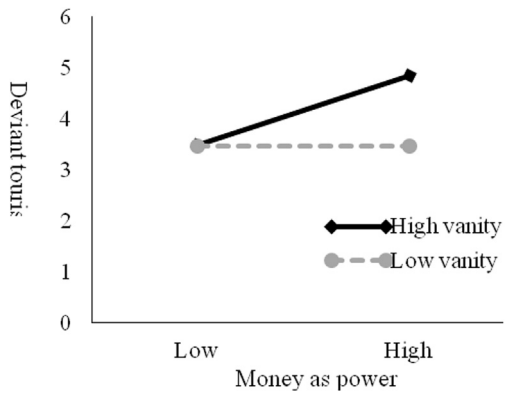

Fig. 1. Interactive effect money as power and vanity on DTB.

Although the hypotheses are supported, one question might be more important for deviant tourist behavior management: so as to reduce deviant tourist behavior, could tourists' perceptions of vanity or money as power be influenced? Study 2 was designed to answer this question.

3.2. Study 2

Given that vanity is a trait (Workman & Lee, 2013) and money perception is a type of attitude, then individuals' perception of money as power is easier than their vanity to influence through the external environment. Therefore, a quasi-experiment was designed, and participants' perception of money as power was manipulated to test our hypotheses.

3.2.1. Participants

Participants were recruited at the Nanjing Confucius Temple and the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum (both famous tourist resorts in China) during a national holiday in October 2015. The quasi-experiment was carried out at the rest areas in the resorts for the same reasons as in study 1. A fixed resting bench was used for the experiment. If tourists travelled in a group (e.g., family, friends), only 1 or 2 tourists were invited from each group to participate in the experiment individually. If more than 2 tourists in a group had been invited, the first participant might have discussed the experiment with the later participants and thus influenced their responses. However, it was assumed that tourists would be unlikely to speak to tourists they did not know regarding the study. Therefore, inviting only 1 or 2 tourists from each group prevented the influence of participants' discussion on the results.

In experiments, participants might guess the purpose of the study, which could influence the results. Therefore, before the scenario questionnaire was administered, participants were not told the experiment was about deviant tourist behavior. Instead, they were told it was an experiment on tourism satisfaction. This was done to lower the influence of participants' guessing.

Participants included 240 Chinese tourists. Each of them was given a ¥ 5 (approximately $ 0.75) gift for their participation. Of the participants, 141 (58.75%) were male. As for age, 3 participants (1.25%) were less than 20 years old, 112 (46.67%) were between 21 and 30 years old, 110 (45.83%) were between 31 and 40 years old, 14 (5.83%) were 41–50 years old, and 1 (0.42%) was older than 50 years old. As for work experience, 5 (2.08%) participants had none, 21 (8.75%) had between 1 and 2 years, 83 (34.58%) had 3–5 years, 77 (32.08%) had 6–10 years, and 54 (22.50%) had more than ten years. As for monthly income, 6 participants (2.50%) earned less than ¥2000, 22 (9.17%) earned between ¥2001 and ¥3000, 134 (55.83%) earned between ¥3001 and ¥5000, 53 (22.08%) earned between ¥5100 and ¥8000, 17 (7.08%) earned between ¥8001 and ¥12,000, and 8 (3.33%) earned between ¥12,001 and ¥20,000.

3.2.2. Procedure

Participants were told they were going to participate in a study on tourist satisfaction. First, participants' vanity was measured with the same scale used in study 1 (reliability was calculated at 0.926).

Next, participants were randomly provided with different scenarios that were meant to manipulate their perceptions of money as power.

Money as power manipulation. Tourists' perception of money as power was manipulated into a high or a low group. In the high perception of money as power group, two pieces of news were presented to participants. One was a news story about a film star's wedding, which was reported as costing more than $30 million. Another was a news story about a young man who had no money to treat cancer, so he '*roasted*' himself, hoping to kill the cancer cells. The two pieces of news delivered the idea that money represented power in two aspects. The first conveyed the idea that having money could allow one to do more things. The second conveyed the idea that without money, one's choices are limited.

As for the low perception of money as power group, another two pieces of news were presented to participants. One was a news story about a pair of parents who offered to pay for their child's time so that they could enjoy a holiday together. The other was about a scavenger over ninety years old who donated to more than 100 poor students during the past 17 years. The two pieces of news delivered the idea that money was not equal to power from two perspectives. The first conveyed the idea that even if you had money, there were still many things you could not do. The second conveyed the idea that although you may have very little money, you could still do great things.

After reading the scenario, three items, "*Money gives you autonomy or freedom*", "*Money means power*", and "*Money can give you the opportunity to be what you want to be*", from Lim et al. (2003) money as power scale were used to measure participants' perceptions of money as power because they clearly matched the scenario. Reliability was calculated at 0.812.

Deviant tourist behavior. Next, questions were asked about participants' views of deviant tourist behavior. Participants' agreement with deviant tourist behavior can be used as a predictor of that behavior because the more one agrees with it, the more likely he/she is to engage in it. Participants were asked to what extent they agreed with such behaviors (e.g., *seeing other people are feeding animals in the zoo, Wang fed the animals with his own food too*) on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Reliability was calculated at 0.855.

Demographic information and social desirability (using the same scale as in study 1) were collected afterwards. To obtain a sample with an adequate variance in vanity, the study did not manipulate vanity. The study did not stop until 120 high-power and 120 low-power effective participants were obtained.

3.2.3. Results

Manipulation check. The perceived power of the high-power group (mean = 4.833, SD = 0.962, N = 120) is significantly higher ($F = 0.006$, $p = 0.939$, $t = -4.005$, $p < 0.001$) than that of the low-power group (mean = 4.435, SD = 1.004, N = 120). This indicates that the manipulation of money as power is effective.

Vanity grouping. Given that the study did not manipulate vanity, the high-vanity group is composed of participants whose vanity score is higher than the mean of the whole sample's vanity score (mean = 4.568, SD = 1.047). Others are grouped in the low-vanity group. The mean vanity of the high-vanity group (mean = 5.304, SD = 0.0616, N = 127) is significantly higher ($F = 2.542$, $p = 0.112$, $t = -17.318$, $p < 0.001$) than that of the low-vanity group (mean = 3.740, SD = 0.780, N = 113). This indicates that the grouping is effective.

Among participants whose perception of money as power is low, 51 participants have low vanity and 69 have high vanity. Among participants whose perception of money as power is high, 62 participants have low vanity and 58 have high vanity. In an experimental design, at least 30 participants in each group are required (Gay & Airasian, 2003). In this study, the number of participants in each group reaches this standard, which indicates the sample size is adequate.

A univariate general linear model is used to test the hypotheses. As shown in Table 3, participants' vanity ($F = 5.508$; $p = 0.020 < 0.05$), their perception of money as power ($F = 4.271$; $p = 0.040 < 0.05$) and the interaction of the two ($F = 4.547$; $p = 0.034 < 0.05$) all have significant effects on tourists' agreement with deviant tourist behavior. All hypotheses are supported.

To see the interactive effects of tourists' vanity and perception of money as power on their agreement with deviant tourist behavior, the estimated marginal means of tourists' agreement with deviant tourist behavior are plotted (See Fig. 2). Control variables appearing in the model are evaluated with the following values: gender = 1.41, age = 2.58, work experience = 3.64, income = 3.32 and social desirability = 4.1035. The mean difference in the different perceptions of money as power and vanity groups are also compared through a post hoc one-way ANOVA test (see Table 4).

As shown in Fig. 2, when tourists' vanity is low, their perception of money as power does not have a significant effect on their agreement with deviant tourist behavior. As shown in Table 4, the mean difference in agreement with deviant tourist behavior between tourists with 'low money as power & low vanity' and 'high money as power & low vanity' are not significant (mean difference = 0.007, $p > 0.05$). Among high-vanity participants, those whose perception of money as power is high have significantly higher agreement with deviant tourist behavior than those whose perception of money as power is low. As shown in Table 4, among tourists with a high perception of money as power and high vanity, agreement with deviant tourist behavior is significantly higher (mean difference = 0.428, $p < 0.05$) than those with a low perception of money as power and high vanity. Additionally,

Table 3
Tests of between-subjects effects of vanity and the perception of money as power on agreement with DTB.

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	12.021	8	1.503	2.544	0.011
Intercept	20.532	1	20.532	34.766	0.000
Gender	1.902	1	1.902	3.221	0.074
Age	0.064	1	0.064	0.108	0.742
Work experience	0.499	1	0.499	0.844	0.359
Income	0.671	1	0.671	1.136	0.288
Social desirability	0.107	1	0.107	0.181	0.671
Vanity	3.253	1	3.253	5.508	0.020
Money as power	2.522	1	2.522	4.271	0.040
Money as power × vanity	2.685	1	2.685	4.547	0.034
Error	136.421	231	0.591		
Total	2636.000	240			
Corrected Total	148.443	239			

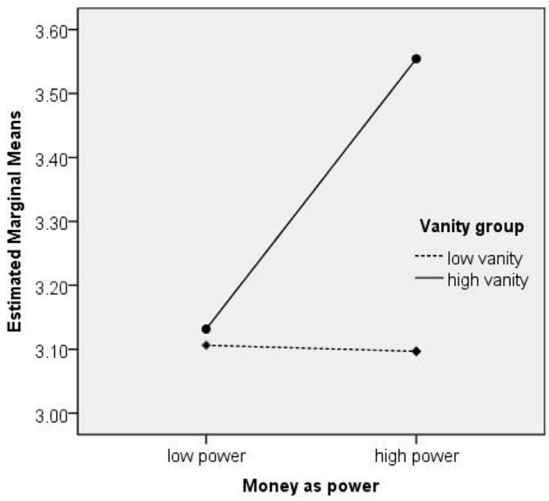

Fig. 2. Estimated marginal means of agreement with DTB.

tourists with a high perception of money as power and high vanity show significantly higher levels of agreement with deviant tourist behavior than the other three groups. For the other three groups, there is no significant difference among their agreement with deviant tourist behavior.

3.2.4. Discussion

Study 2 found that individuals' vanity, their perceptions of money as power and the interactions between the two had a significant positive effect on their agreement with deviant tourist behavior. All hypotheses are supported. The findings support the idea that tourists' money perception can be influenced; consequently, their agreement with deviant tourist behavior can also be affected. Therefore, managing and reducing deviant tourist behavior is feasible because when tourists' perception of money as power is low, even if their vanity is high, their agreement with deviant tourist behavior is not significantly higher than when their vanity is low. Study 2 not only retested the hypotheses but also provided an approach to manage deviant tourist behavior.

4. General discussion

This research found that tourists' psychological factors could affect their deviant tourist behavior and their attitudes toward such behaviors. Tourists' perception of money as power was found to be positively correlated with their deviant tourist behavior and their agreement with that behavior. This effect was more significant for tourists with high vanity.

In study 2, two scenarios were described to the participants to manipulate their perception of money as power. According to random sampling, if tourists' attitudes toward money could not be influenced, the mean of the perception of money as power in the two groups would be no salient difference. The study had constructed two opposite scenarios to show the powerless and powerful of money to tourists. According to the manipulation check, tourists who were shown the powerlessness of money expressed a significantly lower level of perception of money as power; those who were shown the powerfulness of money expressed a significantly higher level of perception of money as power. This indicates that study 2 successfully manipulated tourists' perception of money as power, and those who were shown the powerlessness of money expressed lower levels of agreement with deviant tourist behavior. Therefore, deviant tourist behavior can be managed by influencing tourists' attitudes toward money.

Tourists' vanity was also found to be positively correlated with their deviant tourist behavior and their agreement with deviant tourist behavior. Low vanity could moderate the effect of tourists' perception of money as power on deviant tourist behavior. Among tourists with low vanity, the effect of the perception of money as power on deviant tourist behavior was not significant. Only for high-vanity tourists was the destructive power of money significant.

Although the participants in this study were from China, deviant tourist behavior is a worldwide phenomenon. Durvasula, Lysonski, and Watson (2001) found that Netemeyer et al. (1995) vanity scale has cross-cultural validity. Moreover, people's perception of money as power is a universal dimension in different scales (e.g., Lim, Teo, & Loo, 2003; Lemrová, Reiterová, Fatěnová, Lemr, & Tang, 2014; Yamauchi & Templer, 1982). Therefore, because vanity and people's perception of money as power are both cross-cultural psychological factors, the research findings can largely be generalized to tourists from other countries.

4.1. Contributions

Few scholars have explored the mechanisms underlying deviant tourist behavior. The present study explored the psychological factors underlying deviant tourist behavior. The findings affirmed that tourists' vanity and perception of money as power as well as the interaction of these factors are positively correlated with deviant tourist behavior. The findings contribute to the theoretical and practical understanding of this phenomenon.

First, the findings shed light on the psychological mechanisms of deviant tourist behavior based on vanity and the perception of money as power. Prior research had mainly focused on describing this phenomenon. This study provides a new research approach for scholars to explain this destructive phenomenon.

Second, the effect of the perception of money as power on deviant tourist behavior provides support for prior arguments that tourism provides an environment in which tourists can ignore norms and regulations (e.g., Turner & Ash, 1975). Based on the approach/inhibition theory of power, the perception of money as power leads to more freedom to ignore social norms. This finding provides one reliable explanation for deviant tourist behavior.

Third, the effects of vanity on deviant tourist behavior show that

Table 4
Multiple comparisons of the mean difference in agreement with DTB among different groups.

	Mean Difference					
	N	Mean	SD	1	2	3
1 Low money as power & low vanity	51	3.098	0.664			
2 Low money as power & high vanity	69	3.135	0.952	−0.037		
3 High money as power & low vanity	62	3.091	0.740	0.007	0.044	
4 High money as power & high vanity	58	3.563	0.625	−0.465*	−0.428*	−0.472*

*$p < 0.05$.

it is a reflection of individuals' unconscious needs. Uriely et al. (2011) proposed that individuals' unconscious needs might lead to deviant tourist behavior. The findings provide support for this view. Only for tourists with high vanity, a high perception of money as power leads to more deviant tourist behavior. For tourists with low vanity, perception of money as power does not have a significant effect on deviant tourist behavior. This indicates that individuals' unconscious needs might need to be triggered by other factors (e.g., the perception of money as power). Thus, the research has provided a deep understanding of this phenomenon.

Aside from its theoretical contributions, the research has also provided guidelines for practitioners to manage deviant tourist behavior. First, tourists' perception of money can be affected. Therefore, tourism projects and service designs should avoid conveying the idea that money equals privilege. It is more important that tourists receive relatively fair services even if their expenditures are different. Second, although vanity is not easy to influence, practitioners could still use other factors to minimize its side effects. For example, vanity is positively correlated with idol attachment (Huang et al., 2015). Therefore, idols (e.g., film stars, sports stars) could be invited as charity ambassadors to promote responsible tourism and avoid deviant tourist behavior. This could be an effective way of reducing high-vanity tourists' deviant behavior.

4.2. Limitations and future directions

Although the research contributes to a better understanding of deviant tourist behavior, there are still several limitations. First, the study considered two psychological factors in the research model based on the approach/inhibition theory. However, there are many other factors (e.g., social factors, economic factors) that could influence deviant tourist behavior (Bhati & Pearce, 2016). Future research should explore the effects of other factors on deviant tourist behavior. Second, the research focused on individual-level deviant tourist behavior. However, some deviant behaviors are infectious (e.g., graffiti). Therefore, future research could explore the phenomenon on a group level. Third, the samples in this research were from China. Although deviant tourist behaviors as well as the two factors studied in this research are general cross-cultural factors, future research could explore whether cultural differences affect deviant tourist behavior.

5. Conclusion

Deviant tourist behavior is an important issue both for scholars and practitioners. However, it has not received much academic concern. The present study explored the psychological mechanisms underlying deviant tourist behavior. The findings revealed that tourists' vanity and perception of money as power were positively correlated to their self-reported agreement with deviant tourist behavior. Tourists' vanity also had a positive moderating effect on the relationship between their perception of money as power and deviant tourist behavior. The research not only provides support for prior theories about deviant tourist behavior but also expands them. Moreover, it provides guidelines for practitioners to manage and reduce deviant tourist behavior. The findings contribute to a better theoretical and practical understanding of this phenomenon.

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Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data related to this article can be found at http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2017.02.001.

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