

Gender Images in State Tourism Brochures: An Overlooked Area in Socially Responsible Tourism Marketing

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Abstract:

The purpose of this article is to examine photographs (pictorial displays) presented in state tourism promotional materials for gender depictions within Goffman's framework. Specifically, the study investigated latent (i.e., facial expressions, gestures) and manifested (i.e., roles, activities) characteristics delineating relationships between men and women and the roles and meanings associated with these depictions. The results suggest that women are depicted in "traditional stereotypical" poses (i.e., subordinate, submissive, dependent) disproportionately more often than men. These findings suggest that tourism advertisers and destination promoters need to be aware of both the subtle and more blatant visual cues that depict the relationship between men and women in tourism advertisements.

Article:

Aware of the economic contribution of tourism to local economies, destinations around the globe spend billions of dollars on tourism advertising to capture larger shares of the tourism market in an effort to fulfill their tourism potential. In the United States alone, according to a recent report, state tourism offices allocated \$478.7 million for promotion in 1997-98; total advertising for U.S. travel and tourism in 1996 was nearly \$1.03 billion (U.S. Travel Data Center 1998). Because public monies are spent in search of new tourist dollars, legislators and taxpayers are increasingly holding state tourism divisions accountable (Perdue and Gustke 1992; Schoenbachler et al. 1995). Accountability research has traditionally consisted of conversion studies that deal with the proportion of a dollar converted to tourism purchases as a result of exposure to a specific advertising message. While some advertising agencies might have conducted proprietary research on the topic, little scholarly work has been published that discusses the appropriate format, content, and design needed to increase the effectiveness of promotional messages (Gilbert and Houghton 1991). Published tourism research too often has concentrated on traditional concepts such as the meaning and impact of a tourism setting (sun, sea, sex, and sand) on perceived vacation experiences (e.g., Olsen, McAlexander, and Roberts 1986; Uzzell 1984). The portrayal of tourists in tourism settings and the extent to which tourists are influenced by images of people have not been studied. Research in this area might help destination promoters and tourism offices to theme their promotional messages more effectively toward the intended target market and thereby increase dollar conversions. Because visual advertising (e.g., television and photographs) plays an indispensable role in promotional campaigns, among other types of advertising strategies (Schmitt 1994), the focus of this study is on visual travel promotional literature.

Women's role and status in both the family and society have evolved dramatically in the United States since the 1940s. Women have entered the labor force in substantial numbers and assumed a variety of professional and managerial positions that were once monopolized by men (Chafetz, Lorence, and Larosa 1993; Fox and Hesse-Biber 1984). Today, working women, other than homemakers, make up about 50% of the total workforce (Hodson and Sullivan 1995). They are generally more educated, more economically independent, and have greater flexibility to travel than their counterparts who stay at home and raise families. Thus, working women represent a substantial and lucrative target market for advertisers. The business world, including the tourism and hospitality industries, has begun to regard women as consumers who are either sole decision makers or have a crucial (or critical) role in purchase decisions of families for a variety of goods and services.

The media, playing an increasingly influential role while mirroring public opinion and long-term changes in societal norms and values, has begun to reflect the transformation of women's role in society. Working women represent a target audience for various promotional messages. In an era when the societal-marketing orientation is gaining prominence among marketers, it is reasonable to expect that tourism ads targeting a generation of better educated and independent working women would reflect strategies to portray them more realistically in their newly defined positions in postmodern society. To the contrary, according to a recent study by Chafetz, Lorence, and Larosa (1993), images of women in mass media continue to be portrayed in their "traditional stereotypical" roles (i.e., domestic, sexy, helpless, noncompetitive, shy, passive). According to various social scientists (Courtney and Whipple 1983), this type of portrayal is explained by the media's tendency to lag behind in terms of recognizing societal changes, particularly with regard to representations of gender roles. It is also speculated that key positions in advertising firms are held by men who are unable to understand subtle messages communicated in ads that portray women (Chafetz, Lorence, and Larosa 1993; Masse and Rosenblum 1988). This misrepresentation of roles is a direct contradiction of effective marketing strategy, which involves the accurate portrayal of target groups (i.e., men or women) to increase self-identification with advertising messages and ensure positive responses (Fakeye and Crompton 1991). For several reasons, it is crucial for tourism marketers and destination promoters to understand potential implications of the content and context of their advertising messages. Women are key players in family travel decisions (Ritchie and Filiatrault 1980) who are attentive to detail in promotional messages (Prakash 1992) and possess superior skills in evaluating nonverbal cues (Hall and Halberstadt 1986). Research in this area might help the tourism industry to realign itself with its female customer base and to help convey positive destination images.

Despite increasing societal concern with gender equality and discrimination issues, as well as the need for societal marketing, research dealing with these issues in tourism is virtually nonexistent. A recent evaluation of tourism literature (Manfredo, Bright, and Haas 1992) involving tourism advertising revealed four foci, including conversion studies (e.g., Silberman and Klock 1986; Woodside and Ronkainen 1982; Woodside 1990; Yochum 1985), information seeking (e.g., Etzel and Wahlers 1985; Gitelson and Crompton 1983; Manfredo 1989a), comparison of advertising content and media (e.g., Baas et al. 1989; Woodside and Ronkainen 1982; Weaver and McLeary 1984; Yochum 1985), and validation of conceptual issues (e.g., Calantone, Schewe, and Allen 1980; Manfredo 1989b; Woodside and Motes 1981). Very few studies have addressed the issues of the role of class in tourism advertising (e.g., Thurot and Thurot 1983) and the nature of tourism advertising from a ritual perspective (e.g., Hummon 1988). Just as marketers need to adapt their promotional strategies to perpetual changes in consumer tastes and attitudes in order to be successful (Brosius, Mundorf, and Staab 1991), so too, studies involving tourism advertising must address issues of changing societal trends. This study differs from previous research in that it focuses on the more subtle visual cues in tourism advertising involving male-female relationships.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Women's groups claiming that women were portrayed in a false and discriminating fashion by the advertising industry served as the catalyst for research interest in the issue (Brown, El-Ansary, and Darsey 1976). Since the emergence of the concept of societal marketing in the 1970s, scholars from many disciplines, including marketers, sociologists, broadcast researchers, and organized feminists, have initiated studies to examine the portrayal of women in advertising. Interestingly, studies dealing with gender discrimination in ads are often concerned with career positions that men and women hold in the labor market (Alegria and Idsa 1988; Park 1992; Wu and Leffler 1992). Another major area of scholarly investigation is whether women's status has progressed over time toward greater equality in the social hierarchy (Andes 1992; Bland 1983; Chafetz, Lorence, and Larosa 1993; Skelly and Lundstrom 1981; Tuchman 1979). Other studies have compared gender displays among different magazines (Brosius, Mundorf, and Staab 1991; Masse and Rosenblum 1988) or examined the use of the female body in tourism advertisements (Heatwole 1989). In addition, there have been studies that have directly addressed the problem of gender displays and subordination of women in promotional or nonpromotional material based on Erving Goffman's theoretical work (Klassen, Jasper, and Schwartz 1993; Weaner 1987; Miller 1992). Chafetz and colleagues (1993) argue that the depiction of how women and men "should be" (rather than a realistic portrayal) helps to perpetuate a patriarchal society that maintains and

reproduces a system of gender stratification. This, in turn, may serve to legitimize and “strengthen the traditional gender division of labor and inequalities in the evaluations of and rewards received from gendered work” (p. 65).

A pioneering study of gender portrayals in print media by Goffman (1979) contains nearly 500 photographs of men, women, and children. Goffman attempted to understand general societal rules representing gender displays in advertisements by examining power relationships and role modeling. From samples of North American advertisements, Goffman isolated those that create and reinforce typical gender role stereotypes. He noted that camera angles and other photographic techniques often overemphasize men’s actual size and height relative to women. Furthermore, women are depicted in a manner in which their gestures are oriented toward the male counterpart, indicating submissiveness and eagerness to learn from him. Goffman found women to be displayed as passive “creatures” posing in prone situations, in contrast to men in active roles (i.e., standing, running). Goffman also deliberated upon typical gender dissimilarities with respect to touching of objects and positioning of hands and head. Women were more frequently portrayed touching objects softly, keeping their hands closer to the body, and more often looking downward rather than upward or straight ahead. Whereas these depictions are considered as simple reflections of general societal values by Goffman, other researchers such as Heller (1984) and Wex (1979) suggest a “conspiracy theory”—that nonverbal messages are intentionally used by a male-dominated advertising industry to suppress and discriminate against women.

The primary purpose of this article is to address a topic that has received scant research attention by examining images presented in state tourism promotional materials delineating relationships between men and women, and by looking at expected roles and meanings associated with those depictions. Photographs (pictorial displays) of gender depictions were investigated within a modified Goffman (1979) framework. In addition, suggestions offered by Brosius, Mundorf, and Staab (1991) were integrated into the study, and latent (i.e., facial expressions, gestures) and manifested (i.e., roles, activities) characteristics differentiating the sexes were examined.

Goffman’s Framework of Gender Displays

Goffman’s (1979) framework is the only reliable source to date that systematically investigates nonverbal gender displays in advertising. His original conceptualizations are more exploratory than definitive; however, many studies conducted since then have used and supported his categorizations of gender roles in analyses of visual advertising messages. Klassen, Jasper, and Schwartz (1993) point out two strengths of Goffman’s approach: (1) it allows researchers to examine images of relationships between men and women, thereby offering simultaneous insights into the displays of both sexes, and (2) it allows the exploration of less obvious, more subtle elements of an advertisement. In this article, gender displays refer to formalized and ritualized behaviors of men and women that are inherently performed to signal their alignment and intent in social situations. Ragan (1982, p. 33) describes displays as “emotionally motivated behaviors that have become stereotypic by simplification or exaggeration so that a brief expression suffices in lieu of playing out the entire act.” Researchers, examining the display of gender roles from feminist or sociological perspectives, argue that such gender displays affirm what the basic social arrangements should be and present doctrines about people and social order. In this sense, displays of gender roles help to maintain the status quo in which male dominance over women prevails. The significance of the way men and women are displayed together in advertisements was explained some 20 years ago by Gornick (cited in Goffman 1979, p. vi):

Advertising depicts for us not necessarily how we actually behave as men and women but how we think men and women behave. This depiction serves the social purpose of convincing us that this is how men and women are, or want to be, or should be, not only in relation to themselves but also in relation to each other. They orient men and women to the idea of men and women acting in concert with each other in the larger play or scene or arrangement that is our social life. That orientation accomplishes the task a society has of maintaining an essential order, an undisturbed on-goingness, regardless of the actual experience of its participants.

From a marketing perspective, there are inherent strategic implications of this analysis. The realignment of tourism advertising with the female customer base will aid not only the development of appropriate themes but also the fulfillment of the intended target market's needs. Furthermore, "socially responsible" advertising may help in improving the industry's public image and public relations.

Categorizations used by Goffman (1979) and others are briefly discussed below to establish the basis for this study and to clarify its findings for the reader. Goffman's nonverbal gender displays contain, basically, six categories within which relationships between the sexes and the meanings of more subtle nonverbal cues are discussed: (1) relative size, (2) feminine touch, (3) rank order of gender, (4) gender depiction in the family, (5) ritualization of subordination, and (6) gender detachment (Tables 1-6).

Relative size. This type of gender display refers to the physical size (e.g., height) of people. Biological and social selection ensures that, on average, men are taller than women. Although women are expected to be biologically smaller than men and photographs reflect social reality, this simple biological fact is often deliberately exaggerated. Camera angles and positioning techniques are used to increase men's size relative to women's, or to ensure that men stand more often than women, to imply male social superiority and leadership (Goffman 1979). Consequently, proportionately taller people symbolize superiority in the social class, whereas shorter people symbolize subordination. For example, in ads depicting men and women together, if women are portrayed as "little women" in the background or by inset cameos on a scale different from that of the main frame, one can conclude that men are depicted as relatively taller than women. Goffman (1979, p. 28) points out, "On the very few occasions when women are pictured taller than men, the men seem almost always to be not only subordinated in social status, but also thoroughly costumed as craft bound servitors who—it might appear—can be safely treated totally in the circumscribed terms of their modest trade." Accordingly, it is assumed that this social positioning of men generally portrays their power, authority, rank, and status. In this sense, what is portrayed is not simply the obvious biological superiority of men but their superiority in social situations.

Feminine touch. The cradling of an object/person is commonly referred to as the "feminine touch" (Goffman 1979). According to Goffman, women more often than men are displayed using their fingers and hands to touch the outlines of an object, to cradle it or fondle its surface, or to cradle a person. This type of ritualistic touching is done with the finger-tips or hands, as well as the face. Furthermore, self-touching is also used to illustrate the delicateness and preciousness of one's body. On the other hand, Heatwole (1989) writes that men are the primary "touchers" and do so in a manner to suggest intimacy. In fact, according to Heatwole (1989, p. 9), "When a man and a woman are photographed together, the latter is almost always the dominant photographic subject ... moreover, she is more likely than her companion to be posed in a sexually suggestive manner."

Rank order of gender. The rank order of gender is commonly referred to as "function ranking" by Goffman (1979) and is used to facilitate easy interpretation of advertisements at a glance. Relationships between men and women are explained through the analysis of their social and occupational functions and roles in society. One domain in this category refers to the executive role—implying that a person is active, usually the man, doing the instruction while the other(s), usually the woman, is watching, observing, or just "being there"; in other words, women are depicted as passive participants in a given social situation. Goffman (1979, p. 34) stated:

All instruction seems to involve some sort of subordination of the instructed and deference for the instructor. These expressive features of the learning situation are reinforced by the linking of learning to age-grade subordination throughout most of the individual's learning career. In American society, one form of learning is associated with child status, "kinaesthetic" form of learning, involving a molding physical contact between instructor and instructed. Men seem to be pictured instructing women this way more than the reverse.

Gender depiction in the family. The nuclear family (son, daughter, and parents) is frequently depicted in advertisements to reflect societal norms. Photographs display the presumed special bond between daughter and

mother and son and father by using special camera techniques and positioning. Furthermore, by positioning the father slightly outside the circle of other family members, male protective power and authority in the household are portrayed (the son is often used in the absence of a father figure).

General forms of subordination. Nine domains (forms) of subordination referred to as the “ritualization of subordination” (Goffman 1979) or “stance subordination” (Masse and Rosenblum 1988) have been identified. According to Masse and Rosenblum (1988), similar to size disparity, the function of the ritualization of subordination is to stratify the way the images are viewed in a frame. Usually, this is accomplished by a single figure’s bent knee, canted hip, prone posture, or “puckish” pose, as well as by relative discrepancy in the poses of two or more figures (i.e., one standing while the other sits; one figure being positioned behind the other). Pictorial displays contain images of lowering oneself (correspondingly, holding the body erect), bending the head, being supported by the same sex, bending knees, smiling, being serious, mocking the other person, extending arms, and holding the hand of the opposite sex. “A classic type of deference is that of lowering oneself physically in some form or other of prostration. Correspondingly, holding the body erect and the head high is stereotypically a mark of unashamedness, superiority, and disdain” (Goffman 1979, p. 40). According to Goffman, advertisers draw on (and endorse) the claimed universality of this belief by using social situations and places such as beds and floors to convey the intended message (i.e., the superiority of a person). A common association can be drawn from the courtroom, where the authority figure (the judge) occupies an elevated space. Goffman (1979) found that children and women are pictured on floors and beds more often than men.

Gender detachment. Gender detachment by sex is commonly referred to as “licensed withdrawal” (Goffman 1979) and illustrates physical reactions such as hiding the mouth with fingers, lying deeper, and nuzzling. In other words, this category refers to situations in which someone is psychologically withdrawn from a social setting and disoriented and, thus, dependent on the protectiveness and goodwill of others nearby. “When emotional response causes her to lose control of facial posture, that is, to ‘flood out,’ she can partly conceal the lapse by turning away from the others present or by covering her face, especially the mouth with her hands” (Goffman 1979, p. 57).

METHOD

We contacted the tourism offices of each of the 50 states, two territories (U.S. Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico), and the District of Columbia and requested their “vacation pack-ages,” which are distributed free of charge to prospective visitors. Tourism offices responded by sending general pamphlets, attraction guides, calendars of events, state maps, and various inserts—in most cases within 3 to 4 weeks after the request. When both winter and summer vacation packages were sent, we analyzed both. Inserts, which were in some of the vacation packages, were not analyzed because they contained mainly state maps and nonvisual advertisements. The vacation packages were considered as the total population of such collateral material published and distributed by official government tourism offices.

Images of men and women in each vacation package were examined according to Goffman’s (1979) six categories (because the focus of the study was to examine the aforementioned pictorial framework, textual descriptions were not analyzed). Images were examined using frame analysis, “a method of study of the images of pictured people reflected in the pose contrived by the photographer. Elements of the pose (such as the relative positioning of the actors or facial expressions) form the ‘display’ that informs the viewer about the social identity, mood, and intent of those portrayed, and simultaneously educates the viewer regarding acceptable behaviors and relationships for her or himself” (Klassen, Jasper, and Schwartz 1993, p. 32). Advertisements were analyzed in three stages. They were first numbered for reliability testing and then divided into categories (object only, one figure, two figures, three figures, four or more figures, children either by themselves or with one or more figures) before analysis according to preestablished criteria. Of the ads depicting four or more figures, only those photographs that distinctively featured people were analyzed. Advertisements were organized to provide distinctive interactive relationships between men and women by categories of two, three, and four or more figures. Photographs that did not distinctively feature people were excluded from further analysis. Furthermore, photographs representing very large groups, blended groups, or

children by themselves were eliminated from the analysis because their nature did not allow the identification of sought relationships between men and women. The distinction between object only as well as one, two, three, and four or more figures or children was adapted from Masse and Rosenblum (1988). Finally, photographs of families and children were analyzed according to their interactions with one another. A sample of the photographs used in coding and analysis is displayed in Figure 1.



To determine the reliability of the study, the second author and a third judge (a student) were trained through familiarization with Goffman's display of advertisements and the author's coding methods (including samples of already coded gender portrayals and conceptual and operational definitions). Consensus was reached in the preparation of coding guidelines. Initially, the analysis of tourism brochure photographs involved an evaluation by both authors, independently from each other. The intercoder agreement between the authors ranged from a low of 85% (relative size) to a high of 100% (executive role) for each category of photographs. A reason for

reaching only 85% agreement on the category of relative size may be that the operational and conceptual definitions of this category were still unclear, even though the second author was instructed not to associate this category with genetically expected results (men larger/taller than women) and to try to identify camera and positioning angles that may have been used specifically to convey the expected relationships between the sexes. Perreault and Leigh (1989) recommend a third judge to increase research objectivity while maintaining some economy. Accordingly, for the subset of frames that did not elicit identical judgments from the two evaluators, a third person was used to provide an additional independent assessment. In other words, the third judge focused on exceptions and resolved those discrepancies on a majority-rule basis. After the third person's evaluations, no more conflicting frames remained in the analysis; hence, 100% intercoder reliability was achieved. The analysis then proceeded with calculations of chi-squares to determine whether a significant association exists between depictions of men and women with regard to Goffman's categories.

FINDINGS

The 53 vacation packages featured a total of 11,908 photographs, of which 3,295 photographs were analyzed after the exclusion of objects only, children only, and blended groups. All photographs with one or more figures included partial body parts and/or whole figures. As illustrated in Table 1, a large portion of ads include no people at all (55.9%), which is not surprising, since destinations' natural features are often promoted as the tourism product. Of the remaining ads, 10.8% feature one figure, 9.9% feature two figures, 2.9% feature three figures, and 18.7% feature four or more figures. The high representation of four or more figures is assumed to be especially directed to lure men to purchase the intended product/service, since men have been found to prefer large groups in ads (Prakash 1992). Men were represented in 58.8% of the tourism promotional materials, women in 41.2%, and children in 21.3% (includes children either alone or with adults).

TABLE 1
TYPES OF ADVERTISEMENTS

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Object(s) only	6,653	55.9
Children ^a	2,537	21.3
One figure only ^b	1,290	10.8
Two figures only ^b	1,181	9.9
Three figures only ^b	344	2.9
Four or more figures ^b	2,223	18.7

Note: The overall percentage exceeds 100 because children alone and children with adults were evaluated together while counting the photographs.

a. Includes children alone and children with adults.

b. Includes partial body parts and whole figures.

Relative Size

The relative size of persons portrayed in a photograph signals those persons' function vis-à-vis each other (Masse and Rosenblum 1988). In 73.3% of the ads in promotional materials distributed by state tourism offices that portray men and women, men are significantly overrepresented as relatively taller than women, $\chi^2 = 25.50$, $p < .0001$, whereas women are taller than men in only 22.5% of the ads (Table 2). This finding implies that state tourism offices follow conventional styles of representing women as subordinate to men, and supports earlier studies with similar findings (Goffman 1979; Masse and Rosenblum 1988).

TABLE 2
RELATIVE SIZE AND FEMININE TOUCH

Category	Men		Women		χ^2	p Value
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage		
Relative size ^a	1,215	73.3	374	22.5	25.50	.0001
Feminine touch (cradling an object)	38	30.8	55	69.2	12.53	.0004

a. In 71 (4.3%) photographs, both genders were portrayed in their actual size.

Feminine Touch

Similar to earlier research findings in ads developed by other industries, tourism promotional materials portrayed more women (69.2%) than men (30.8%) cradling or caressing an object or person, $\chi^2 = 12.53, p < .0004$ (see Table 2). One might question how realistic it is to depict soft, non-aggressive, and noncompetitive individuals in the latter part of the 1990s. It can be argued that women portrayed in ads—which do not exhibit “ideal” career-oriented characteristics of the aggressive or competitive manager/supervisor in the workplace—may not accurately mirror today’s working woman.

Rank Order of Gender

Men (61.1%) more often than women (38.9%) were shown in the executive role, $\chi^2 = 13.87, p < .0002$ (see Table 3). In this category, the domain that refers to the kinesthetic form of learning is associated with child status and involves a molding physical contact between the instructor and instructed (Goffman 1979). In this form of learning, men (73.8%) instruct women and children significantly more often than women (26.5%) instruct others, $\chi^2 = 7.43, p < .0064$. Arguably, this form of relationship reinforces the status quo of the subordination of women. An examination of advertisements depicting individuals assisting others revealed that men assist women with activities (i.e., opening a car door, helping them out of a car) 100% of the time, whereas no women help men in situations where they are equally capable of performing on their own, $\chi^2 = 7.01, p < .0081$. Women were pictured as being more dependent on men, a finding consistent with related literature. Two remaining categories (e.g., “having no contributing role at home,” “supervising the other sex in performing domestic tasks”) in representations of rank order were deleted for not having sufficient cell numbers that would have allowed the researchers to test statistical significance (see Table 3). The absence of the last two categories was not surprising due to the very nature of the tourism product, which promotes images of escape from daily routine

TABLE 3
PERCENTAGE REPRESENTATION OF GENDER BY FUNCTION PERFORMED

Function Performed	Men (N = 4,636)		Women (N = 3,245)		χ^2	p Value
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage		
Executive role	2,220	61.1	1,415	38.9	13.87	.0002
Instruction in kinesthetic form of learning	59	73.8	21	26.5	7.43	.0064
Helping the other with activities he or she is equally capable of doing	10	100.0	0	0.0	7.01	.0081
Having no contributing role at home ^a						
Supervises other sex by doing domestic task ^a						

a. Deleted due to insufficient cell numbers.

Gender Depiction in the Family

There were more depictions of the special bond between mother and daughter (72.7%), in which the daughter interacts with the mother but not the father, than of the interaction demonstrated between father and daughter (27.3%), $\chi^2 = 105.27, p < .0000$ (see Table 4). As expected, there were more depictions of the special bond between father and son (75.2%) than between mother and son (24.8%), $\chi^2 = 31.36, p < .0000$.

TABLE 4
PERCENTAGE OF DEPICTION OF INTERACTIONS IN THE FAMILY BY SEX

Interaction Category	Men (N = 4,636)		Women (N = 3,245)		χ^2	p Value
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage		
Special bond with daughter	72	27.3	186	72.7	105.27	.0000
Special bond with son	206	75.2	68	24.8	31.36	.0000
Peaceful relationship with children	72	28.7	185	71.3	104.11	.0000
Problematic relationship with children	79	92.9	6	7.06	41.29	.0000
Standing behind the family to observe or to protect	15	71.4	6	28.6	1.38	.2399

“Peacefulness” portrayed between mother and daughter and father and son was collapsed into one category and labeled “peaceful relationship with children.” Women (71.3%) were more often portrayed than men (28.7%) in this relationship, $\chi^2 = 104.11, p < .0000$. Unlike earlier studies, problematic relationships between mother or father and children were aggregated (into a category labeled “problematic relationships with children”), since cell numbers were not sufficient to conduct reliable statistical testing. Men (92.9%) more frequently than women (7%) demonstrated problematic relationships with children, $\chi^2 = 41.29, p < .0000$. Goffman (1979) explains this as an aggressive character trait of men, manifested in their relationships with children, but not always compromised peacefully. From a sociological perspective, Goffman postulates that this aggressive trait might be transferable to the workplace and even help advance careers.

The last coding point, in which the man or woman stands behind the family to observe or to protect, indicates that the individual demonstrates authority and dominance over the family and the family demonstrates dependency on that individual (Goffman 1979). Although the analysis revealed an overrepresentation of men (71.4%) standing behind the family compared with women (28.6%), this category was not statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 1.38, p < .2399$.

General Forms of Subordination

In this study, “lowering oneself physically”—including sitting on a lower seat, on the floor, or on a bed—was clearly higher for women (82.9%) than for men (17.1%), $\chi^2 = 286.90, p < .0000$; this outcome is sometimes associated with women’s sexual availability (see Table 5). Bending the head either downward, upward, or sideways is slightly higher for women (56.2%) than for men (43.8%), $\chi^2 = 380.47, p < .0000$. The results for bending the knees by either sitting or standing were very surprising in that fewer women (44.5%) than men (55.5%) were in this position, $\chi^2 = 19.76, p < .0000$.

TABLE 5
PERCENTAGE OF GENERAL FORMS OF SUBORDINATION BY SEX

Form of Subordination	Men (N = 4,636)		Women (N = 3,245)		χ^2	p Value
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage		
Lowering oneself physically	65	17.1	315	82.9	286.90	.0000
Bending head	1,175	43.8	1,509	56.2	380.47	.0000
Being supported by the same gender	4	26.6	11	73.4	6.42	.0113
Bending knees	1,585	55.5	1,268	44.5	19.76	.0000
Smiling	645	41.3	915	58.5	245.33	.0000
Being serious	2,028	66.1	1,346	33.9	4.00	.0455
Mocking the other	22	100.0	0	0	15.44	.0000
Extending arm to other gender to show his or her social property	127	74.7	43	25.3	18.09	.0000
Holding the other gender’s hand	75	86.2	12	13.79	27.23	.0000

Women smiled more frequently (58.5%) than men (41.3%), $\chi^2 = 245.33, p < .0000$. A “smile” (absent or present, wide or slight) is considered to represent either “connectedness” with others in the frame (viewers/readers) or preoccupation with one’s thoughts (Masse and Rosenblum 1988). Accordingly, tourism advertisers may be using smiling female figures to lessen the tension inherent in selling, by displays of connection with others in the frame as well as with the implied viewer. Results indicate that men (66.1%) are depicted in a serious demeanor more often than women (33.9%) in tourism promotions, $\chi^2 = 4.00, p < .0455$. The depiction of individuals mocking one another includes chasing the other person (as if to show what one could do to the other). The results reveal that men mock women 100% of the time, $\chi^2 = 15.44, p < .0000$, and maybe indicative of dependency and submissiveness of women. Additionally, the coding point of individuals extending their arms to their counter-parts (to identify his or her social property) is far lower for women (25.3%) than for men (74.7%), $\chi^2 = 18.09, p < .0000$. This could be construed as women needing protection and shelter. Similarly with handholding, the person taking the other’s hand is more independent and in control; men

(86.2%) are more often depicted holding women's hands, $\chi^2 = 27.23, p < .0000$. In sum, other than the matter of bent knees, women were more often portrayed in a subordinate and unrealistic manner—in what may be considered their traditional roles.

Gender Detachment

In photographs where individuals are shown as withdrawn or psychologically detached from the social situation, 94.6% were of women, $\chi^2 = 273.61, p < .0000$ (see Table 6). One interpretation of this finding is that women continue to be viewed as unable to master a situation as capably as men. Women (50.5%) and men (49.5%) looking away in photographs scored very closely, $\chi^2 = 0.77, p < .3800$. When individuals hide behind objects or other persons, it is considered as an indication that they are not fully available or are withdrawn. In this study, women (45.6%) were less likely to be depicted in this manner than men (54.4%), $\chi^2 = 15.89, p < .0000$. In photographs where men and women are presented in lying positions, women (75%) were positioned lower than men, $\chi^2 = 13.27, p < .0002$. Goffman (1979) interprets this as the woman's inferiority to the man. In photographs of people nuzzling together (i.e., seeking shelter, not participating in the situation), women (93.4%) are depicted nuzzling more often than men (6.6%), $\chi^2 = 103.69, p < .0000$. Like smiling, touching is another behavior used to signal connection (Masse and Rosenblum 1988). In photographs where touching another person gives the situation sexual overtones, women (52.1%) initiated the behavior more often than men (47.9%), $\chi^2 = 9.86, p < .0016$. Ironically, in photographs where touching another gives the situation parental overtones, men (50.6%) initiated the behavior more often than women (49.4%), $\chi^2 = 7.65, p < .0056$. Although this finding is significant, the difference between men and women creating parental overtones is not as dramatic as in Goffman's (1979) study.

TABLE 6
PERCENTAGE OF GENDER DETACHMENT BY SEX

Form of Gender Detachment	Men (N = 4,636)		Women (N = 3,245)		χ^2	p Value
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage		
Being more withdrawn from the situation	12	5.4	213	94.6	273.61	.0000
Hiding mouth with fingers ^a						
Looking away from other person	2,295	49.5	1,639	50.5	0.77	.3800
Hiding behind object or person	858	54.4	719	45.6	15.89	.0000
Lying lower	7	25.0	21	75.0	13.27	.0002
Nuzzling	6	6.6	85	93.4	103.69	.0000
When touching another person, giving the situation a parental overtone	133	50.6	130	49.4	7.65	.0056
When touching another person, giving the situation a sexual overtone	95	47.9	103	52.1	9.86	.0016
Showing a partial view of a person's body/face	2,698	58.2	1,889	41.8	205.77	.0000

a. Deleted due to insufficient cell numbers.

The coding point "partials" represents the partial depiction of an individual's face or body, which presumes the lack of a coherent, integrated, and substantive self (Masse and Rosenblum 1988). Surprisingly, contrary to past research, which has shown female figures to be depicted disproportionately more often in partials than males, this study found that in tourism promotion materials, women (41.8%) were less often shown partially than men (58.2%), $\chi^2 = 205.77, p < .0000$.

DISCUSSION

Women have entered the labor force in substantially increasing numbers and assumed a variety of professional and managerial occupations since World War II. The role of women, in the traditionally patriarchal society of

the United States, changed even more dramatically after the 1960s due to the feminist movement. Although the transformation of women's role in society has been reflected by the media—believed to mirror public opinion and change in norms and values—stereotypical images of women continue to be portrayed (i.e., sexy, helpless, not competitive, shy, passive) (Chafetz, Lorence, and Larosa 1993). By depicting how women and men “should be” rather than presenting a realistic picture, the print media reinforces the status quo of women. This study has attempted to demonstrate the current status of gender depictions in tourism advertising. In this sense, the findings of the study are rather descriptive in nature and, thus, cannot explain why women are depicted the way they are. The results of this study, which support earlier findings (Goffman 1979; Klassen, Jasper, and Schwartz 1993; Lill, Gross, and Peterson 1986), reveal to a great extent that women are portrayed unrealistically—even if with little conscious intent—in printed tourism advertising. The study found women to be portrayed disproportionately more in traditional stereotypical poses (i.e., overly subordinate, submissive, dependent on men) than men. The results are similar to those of others who have considered women's roles in tourism promotions: “Women are represented as traditional (not influenced by Feminism) and therefore more suitable to signify the daydreams and fantasies encouraged by the promotion of tourism ... thus action, power, and ownership are associated with men and passivity, availability and being owned for women ... this selling of otherness generalizes and then institutionalizes particular gendered perceptions on race, generation and class” (Rao 1995, p. 31).

From this study, several marketing implications emerge. Assuming that printed ads play some type of role in potential travelers' destination choices, destination promoters need to be aware of both subtle and more blatant visual cues that depict relationships between men and women in tourism advertisements. An oversight of the subtle meanings projected in ads—embedded in visual messages—may perpetuate gender stereotypes and, subsequently, lead to serious consequences for destination development. Women are considered superior to men in sending and judging meanings of nonverbal cues (Hall and Halberstadt 1986) and are known to be more detail oriented when they evaluate advertisements of products and services (Prakash 1992). This takes on a different significance in light of the fact that most vacation decisions are made by women (Ritchie and Filiatrault 1980). Sensing subliminal messages of female submissiveness or subordination in tourism advertisements can negatively affect a female decision maker's image of the destination under consideration, and even make the destination appear biased against women. Negative images can, in turn, cause positive messages about the destination to be rejected, fuel the development of negative attitudes, and possibly cause the destination to be eliminated completely from the decision process. In some cases, negative feelings can lead to damaging word of mouth and perhaps even discouraging comments to friends and family members about the destination.

Aaker and Bruzzone (1985), who investigated irritation levels among viewers of prime-time television commercials, found the levels to be higher when the portrayed situation was artificial and fabricated or when someone was put down. Conversely, irritation levels dropped when the story line and actors created credible and sympathetic characters and scenes. Careful construction of visual messages accurately portraying gender roles in a changing society is vital for successful tourism marketing and development. Destinations that realize the importance of the meanings of such subtle cues and design socially responsible ads would have a competitive advantage over less sensitive destinations.

There is another dimension to the depiction of gender roles in tourism promotions that is useful to mention. A significant amount of destination advertising uses body shots, defined as “photographs of attractive young women in advertisements and brochures that promote tourism” (Heatwole 1989, p. 7). Because tourist destinations are interested in creating awareness and enticing potential travelers to visit, brochures often contain photographs to capture the attention of travelers. Heatwole (1989) offers five hypotheses to explain the reasoning behind advertisements featuring women in revealing and suggestive poses. The climatic hypothesis assumes that advertisements depict warm surroundings, beaches, and bathing-suit-clad tourists to say “It's warm down here.” The heterosexual hypothesis explains the implicit assumption that male travelers will be attracted to destinations featuring beautiful young women. The female fantasy hypothesis explains female travelers' desire to be attractive to men; thus, destination ads featuring beautiful young women suggest that

“you can look like this if you vacation here.” The unphotogenic destination hypothesis suggests that body shots are intended to attract visitors to destinations that do not offer much beauty. Finally, the hedonistic hypothesis explains that body shots describe the destination as a place where the tourist can indulge him- or her-self. Clearly, this type of depiction of women reinforces stereotypes of women as sex objects. In her article focusing on the depiction of Aboriginal people in Australia’s tourism promotions, Simondson (1995, p. 23) argues that “tourist brochures, and the imagery contained within them, are examples of the traces left by power, and can be considered the visual evidence of the points of contact between superior and inferior social groups who exist in a power relationship.” While her point focuses on the power relationship in the context of race and primitivism, the argument can be applied to the power relationship in the context of gender relations. Not only is the manipulation of visual imagery of women’s roles in society harmful from a sociological perspective, but representations of women in tourism promotions are in direct opposition to the fact that women are primary decision makers in vacation travel decisions. One can conclude that marketers either are unaware of their target market and message audience or do not properly use market research data.

It is recommended that tourism scholars and destination marketers continue to monitor the mode and method of gender role depiction in tourism advertisements. Other research questions in need of close examination include the following: What are the impacts of gender role depiction in tourism advertising on destination decisions? What is the nature of gender depiction in audiovisual ads (i.e., television)? Do gender differences influence the attitude toward the advertisement? How do tourists from different cultures react to gender representations? Does private industry advertising differ from governmental advertising in gender role depictions? Do incongruent gender representations affect overall travel behavior? Researchers may want to test the hypothesis that gender depictions are a function of the male-dominated advertising industry. Moreover, an experimental study might determine the effectiveness of various types of advertising format on consumer behavior.

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