

PICTURE PERFECT: REPRESENTING ARGENTINA, CHILE AND URUGUAY IN  
*AFAR, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC TRAVELER AND TRAVEL + LEISURE*, 2011-2015

A Thesis

presented to

the Faculty of the Graduate School  
at the University of Missouri-Columbia

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

ALLISON LEWIS

Dr. Berkley Hudson, Thesis Supervisor

DECEMBER 2015

The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

*PICTURE PERFECT: REPRESENTING ARGENTINA, CHILE AND URUGUAY IN AFAR, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC TRAVELER AND TRAVEL + LEISURE, 2011-2015*

presented by Allison Lewis,

a candidate for the degree of master of arts,

and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

---

Dr. Berkley Hudson

---

Professor John Fennell

---

Professor Jennifer Rowe

---

Professor Kristin Schwain

## DEDICATION

The author wishes to thank her parents and sister for their continued love, support and encouragement, her grandparents and neighbors for their words of wisdom, her friends both near and far for their inspiration, laughter and endless support. This thesis adventure would not have been the same without each of you. I'm humbled and forever indebted to you all.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research author would like to thank her committee chair, Dr. Berkley Hudson, for his constant encouragement, invaluable guidance, unending patience and for pushing the author to do her best research work. She wishes to thank Professor Jennifer Rowe for her impeccable attention to grammar and detail and for taking on this project. She wishes to thank Professor John Fennell for his magazine publishing industry expertise and for its application to this study. She wishes to thank Professor Kristin Schwain for her brainstorming sessions and for the unique perspective she provides magazine photography from the Art History Department. Lastly, the author wishes to thank Missouri School of Journalism Librarian Specialist Sue Schuermann for her perpetual help navigating databases, finding research articles and books, and most importantly, for locating back issues of leisure travel magazines. This research was only achievable because of each of you.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	ii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS .....	v
ABSTRACT .....	vi
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
Statement of Problem	
Purpose and Significance of Study	
2. LITERATURE REVIEW .....	3
History of travel journalism; emergence of travel magazines	
Magazine audience research	
Leisure travel magazine research	
Destination image research	
Leisure magazine selection process and media kits	
Coverage of South America: Argentina, Chile, Uruguay	
Theoretical magazine frameworks	
Research Questions	
3. STUDY .....	26
Photographic Representation of South America in American Travel Magazines	
Methodology	
Limitations	
Results	

Discussion	
4. CONCLUSION.....	46
Research Implications	
Future Research	
REFERENCES.....	51

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Table	Page
1. Image frequency of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay in <i>AFAR, National Geographic Traveler</i> and <i>Travel + Leisure</i> .....	31
2. Breakdown of department vs. feature images of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay in <i>AFAR, National Geographic Traveler</i> and <i>Travel + Leisure</i> .....	32
3. Representation of Beerli and Martin's (2004) qualitative destination image categories in <i>AFAR, National Geographic Traveler</i> and <i>Travel + Leisure</i> .....	34
Figure	
1. Beerli and Martin's (2004) categorical attributes for determining perceived destination image.....	28
2. Image of Torres del Paine National Park by Blaine Harrington III from April 2014 issue of the <i>National Geographic Traveler</i> .....	36
3. Image of Torres del Paine National Park Chile by Pablo Corral from November 2014 issue of <i>National Geographic Traveler</i> .....	37
4. Photo of Mendoza by Yadid Levy from January 2014 issue of <i>Travel + Leisure</i> ..	38
5. Photo of Mendoza by Yadid Levy from January/February 2015 issue of <i>AFAR</i> ....	39
6. Photos of Casa Cavia in April 2015 issue of <i>Travel + Leisure</i> .....	41
7. Photo of Casa Cavia in May 2015 issue of <i>AFAR</i> .....	42

PICTURE PERFECT: REPRESENTING ARGENTINA, CHILE AND URUGUAY IN  
*AFAR*, *NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC TRAVELER* AND *TRAVEL + LEISURE*, 2011-2015

Allison Lewis

Dr. Berkley Hudson, Thesis Supervisor

ABSTRACT

In a visually driven world, photographs are an imperative part of communication, especially in travel magazines. Over the past decade, only one qualitative study has been completed on images in leisure travel magazines. In 2013, Hsu and Song studied the top six Chinese leisure travel magazines to see if any patterns regarding photographic representation of Hong Kong and Macau existed. Using Beerli and Martín's (2004) nine qualitative classification categories, they found that certain characteristics were represented while others were not.

This qualitative study explored the photographic representation of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay in three American print leisure travel magazines. Following Beerli and Martín's (2004) qualitative research template, the study reviewed 230 images published in *AFAR*, *National Geographic Traveler* and *Travel + Leisure* from 2011 to 2015. Evidence concluded that most images focused on three categories: Culture, History and Art; Tourist Infrastructure; and Social Environment. Findings suggest there is a restricted selection of photographs available to travel publications due to magazine budget limitations and a small number of photographers who travel to Argentina, Chile and Uruguay.

## Chapter 1: Introduction

Since the late 1940s, Americans have been fascinated with travel. The post-war era ushered in a new lifestyle focused on leisure and vacation, and workplaces allowed their employees to take extended time off with their families (Popp, 2012). With each generation, the urge to travel has increased, and despite the decrease in work-related vacation time, the tourism industry today is more profitable than ever (Fürsich & Kavoori, 2001). According to the Association of Magazine Media (2015), print leisure travel magazine readers are most likely to travel within the next year.

For leisure travel magazines, pictures are literally worth a thousand words. Destination photographs provide visual examples that inspire readers to visit a specific location. Editors have a special responsibility to pick and choose images that positively reflect a destination while keeping readers and text content in mind. They must consider previous stories and any visuals that might have been used in an earlier project or by a competing publication. Image layout, composition and captions also factor into the complete visual package, making the selection process a complicated one.

Destination image research in leisure travel magazines is limited. Although a literature review disclosed one study of Chinese leisure travel magazines (Hsu & Song, 2013), little research has been completed on American leisure travel magazines. More specifically, there is a gap in the literature of how American leisure travel magazines visually portray geographic regions outside North America. According to the Magazine Media Factbook (2015), South America was named the premiere destination travelers are “very likely” to visit within the upcoming year, yet no in-depth research exists on how

American leisure travel magazines portray South America from issue to issue. This study examined previous destination image research and applied a qualitative visual analysis to a specific case: the photographic representation of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay.

The research offered two main objectives. First, it sought to understand how Argentina, Chile and Uruguay are visually represented in print issues of *AFAR*, *National Geographic* and *Travel + Leisure* magazines. Secondly, it recorded which of Beerli and Martín's (2004) destination image categories applied to South American photographs in American print leisure travel magazines and whether or not there were areas that needed improvement. The results are important because they help fill a gap in studies of South America in relation to photographic representations of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay in American leisure travel magazines.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

A thorough review of the literature was conducted and includes the history of travel journalism, research on magazine audiences, print leisure travel magazines, destination image, and a review of three print leisure travel magazine media kits. Examination of South American travel research was also included. The literature provided examples of past research studies and highlighted a gap in qualitative visual analysis of print travel magazine research, specifically the investigation of South American countries.

### **History of Travel Journalism; Emergence of Travel Magazines**

According to the *Encyclopedia of Journalism* (2009), travel journalism dates back to the nineteenth century when writers such as Robert Louis Stevenson published tales of difficult voyages across the wide, open sea (Dundas, 2009). By 1888, *National Geographic* was published and allowed people to “travel” to unfamiliar places without having to leave the comfort of their kitchen or living room (Dundas, 2009). In 1910, hand-tinted color photos were printed in *National Geographic*, and in 1914 the publication printed its first natural color photograph (*National Geographic*, 2015). By 1962, the publication was printed in color (*About National Geographic*, 2015). However, the popularity of travel magazines did not occur until after World War II (Popp, 2012).

The rise of the “travel boom” in America as Richard K. Popp (2012) wrote, resulted from three popular theories of the mid-century time period. One idea was that Americans were struck with an unquenchable desire to see the rest of the world. This was called “wanderlust,” and many speculated it was an inherently American trait (Mansfield,

1992; Popp, 2012). “Leisure,” “free time,” and “vacation” were crafted into everyday language, and American civilization was infatuated with adventure (Popp, 2012). Families camped, went to the beach, saw films and rode roller coasters, generally living up to the new, luxurious lifestyle before them (Popp, 2012). Another theory regarding the increase of American travel was a newly accepted ideal of having fun (Popp, 2012). Compared to previous eras, such as the Victorian, the postwar era allowed Americans to breathe easier and enjoy the company of friends outside the family parlor (Popp, 2012). Lastly, the rise of technology and mobility made travel easier. Railroads, automobiles, large cruise ships and airplanes brought trans-Atlantic travel to the forefront, and Americans jumped at the opportunity (Popp, 2012).

In his book, *The Holiday Makers*, Popp (2012) describes how magazines became a major factor during the rise of travel in the post-World War II era. Travel magazines were a place for consumers to connect with foreign landscapes and dream about vacations in Europe and beyond (Popp, 2012). Although they contended with television for a consumer’s attention, print magazines were able to retain audiences with images and text splayed neatly across glossy pages and by voicing opinions on a variety of topics (Popp, 2012). It was during the late 1940s that magazines and audiences realized the importance of the travel and tourism industry and embraced American cravings for a slower, relaxed pace of life, complete with paid time off for traveling (Popp, 2012). These same magazines provided stunning images that encouraged people to explore the world around them (Popp, 2012).

Following the 1940s travel explosion, several American travel publications began decades later. *Travel + Leisure* published its first copy in 1971 and *National Geographic*

*Traveler* printed its first edition in 1984 (About *Travel + Leisure*, 2015; About *National Geographic*, 2015). *Condé Nast Traveler* was published in 1987 (Dundas, 2009), and *AFAR* launched in 2009 (About *AFAR*, 2015). As Hanusch and Fürsich (2014) noted in their research, the travel journalism industry began a steady increase in the 1990s. By 2009, travel and tourism was ranked the third-highest retail sales business in the United States (Dundas, 2009). Reliable travel journalism became an American necessity and travel journalists responded (Dundas, 2009).

### **Magazine Audience Research**

Magazines as a whole continue to gain larger audiences and increased popularity with teens and adults. Since 2012, net audiences for print publications and their digital platforms have grown exponentially (Magazine Media Factbook, 2015). According to the Magazine Media Factbook (2015), print magazines reach more Americans than the top 25 competing broadcast programs. This reach is not limited to a specific age group, either. Ninety-four percent of adults less than 35 years old and 95 percent of individuals younger than 25 have read a magazine within the past six months (Magazine Media Factbook, 2015). Diversity is present among magazine readership, too. African Americans, Asian Americans and Latino Americans read between nine and a half and 12.8 issues each month, which is above the monthly average for all American adults combined (Magazine Media Factbook, 2015). Print publications rank higher than the Internet and newspapers as a source for affluent consumers, and the probability of readers trusting a magazine is higher than a website or television program (Magazine Media Factbook, 2015). On average, a print reader spends 53 minutes with a magazine

(Magazine Media Factbook, 2015). In general, print magazines can hold their own against other forms of media, digital or not.

**Travel magazine readership.** One section of the Magazine Media Factbook (2015) was devoted to data about travel magazines. The editorial performance from January to March 2014 was compared to that of January to March 2015. In the first quarter, the travel category jumped from a 27.2 million monthly average audience in 2014 to a 30.3 million monthly average audience in 2015 (Magazine Media Factbook). The data concluded that individuals who read print travel magazines are intelligent, wealthy and eager globetrotters who are prone to spend more on travel (Magazine Media Factbook, 2015). Additionally, they are most likely to become a source of information for friends or family considering domestic or international travel (Magazine Media Factbook, 2015). Because print magazine readers have the highest probability of traveling within the next year (Magazine Media Factbook, 2015), it is important to study the audience and understand what they look for in a place they visit.

### **Leisure Travel Magazine Research**

Although travel journalism is a relatively small field, several niche areas within it have been studied over the years. Magazine uses and gratifications research dates back to the 1940s (Mersey, 2015). But until recently, travel magazine uses and gratifications had not been studied. Graduate student Caitlin Carter (2013), researched why people read leisure travel magazines and how that correlated to decisions they made about travel destinations and activities. Aimee Wachtel (2010), another graduate student, reviewed frames of authenticity in travel magazines and completed a textual analysis of *Condé Nast Traveler*, *National Geographic Traveler* and *Travel + Leisure*. Her work revealed

several frames and sub-frameworks that matched previous literature referenced in the study (Wachtel, 2010). This research showed a gap in qualitative study of leisure travel magazines, including visual analysis.

One popular and longstanding tradition of travel journalism is destination reporting. The term, which is most often associated with travel magazines, focuses on providing readers at home with details about the people and culture of a place (Dundas, 2009). Freelance writers are usually relied upon to visit, report on and write a story concerning a destination. However, it is becoming more ubiquitous for editors, art directors and even marketing representatives to travel and report upon a particular location for a publication. *AFAR*, for example, sends its staff on assignment around the world, as exemplified by issue content and the *AFAR* Instagram account. It is not uncommon for travel magazine groups to produce guidebooks that accompany their publications. *Lonely Planet* and *National Geographic* for example, both have travel magazines and handbooks available at retail stores that suggest hotel options, restaurants, activities and museums for consumers to check out while exploring a new place. Destination reporting provides service and entertainment to readers in a visually inviting way and separates travel publications from the rest of the magazine industry.

### **Destination Image Research**

Destination image is a concept that has continued to evolve throughout its academic history. A more formal definition describes destination image as a collection of anticipation, feeling, belief, opinion and reaction to a place according to H. Kim and S. L. Richardson (2003). Today, experts and researchers alike agree that the purpose of destination image is to create an enticing destination perception that will draw a traveler's

attention (Fakeye & Crompton, 1991). The process of establishing a perceived destination image that interests potential tourists and maintains a positive image is imperative to tourist destinations everywhere (Echtner & Ritchie, 1993). But to fully understand perceived destination image, it is important to pause and look at the image formation process.

**Image formation.** According to Assael (1984), image formation is the complete picture of a destination that a person develops over time based on multiple references. Image formation can be divided into two parts: information sources and personal factors (Beerli & Martín, 2004). Information sources, also known as image forming agents (Gartner, 1993) are characteristics that influence how an individual identifies and assesses a particular location (Beerli & Martín, 2004). These information sources have the power to help potential travelers decide which destination to visit and which places to rule out. Image forming agents can be further broken down into primary and secondary sources. Primary image formation is developed when an individual visits a destination and makes their own observations about a place, including personal experiences and whether or not the destination lived up to their expectations (Phelps, 1986; Beerli & Martín, 2004).

Secondary image formation is developed through “organic, induced and autonomous” sources (Phelps, 1986; Beerli & Martín, 2004). Guidebooks, travel brochures and other forms of mass media that provide insight to a destination without actually visiting are all forms of secondary image sources (Phelps, 1986). Gunn (1972) refers to these as “organic” secondary images, and includes newspapers, magazines, radio and television. Induced secondary information is received from travel companies and

tourism organizations (Gunn, 1972). In addition, secondary image formation solves three problems related to choosing a destination to visit. Secondary image formation lowers the risk factors of the decision-making process, helps travelers visualize a destination and acts as a defense for the final decision outcome (Mansfield, 1992).

Personal characteristics make up the other half of image formation, which in turn impact the perception of a destination image (Beerli & Martín, 2004). Some of these attributes include: desires, awareness of a destination and personal necessities (Ashworth & Voogd, 1990; Bramwell & Rawding, 1996; Gartner, 1993). An individual's gender association, geographic residence, age and genetics are personal characteristics that are a part of destination formation (Beerli & Martín, 2004).

**Perceived destination image.** “Cognitive, affective and behavioral” components form perceived destination image (Boulding, 1956; Scott, 1965; Gartner, 1993; Dann, 1996). By combining information sources (primary and secondary) with personal preferences, image formation plays into the three main sectors that make up perceived destination image (Beerli & Martín, 2004). The cognitive side uses the human brain to understand logistics of a destination (Scott, 1965; Dann, 1996). An affective element of destination image focuses on the reasons why someone wants to visit a place (Boulding, 1956; Dann, 1996). Lastly, the behavioral factor acts as the glue that binds all three parts together by forming a complete picture of the destination in question (Gartner, 1993).

**History of destination image.** Before Kim and Richardson (2003) cultivated the modern definition of destination image, J. D. Hunt (1975) focused on how perceptions of a destination shape the ideas and feelings a potential traveler has toward a country, city or other location. Hunt (1975) believed that a first impression was more important than

anything else because it gives a specific representation of a destination prior to an actual visit. Such a portrayal can encourage or hinder individuals and their families from considering a destination for travel. Through a questionnaire sent to 4,000 homes across America, Hunt (1975) confirmed that the perception of a destination image has positive or negative effects on a location and that if necessary, steps should be taken to improve the image quality of a place. Charlotte Echtner and J. Ritchie (1991) echoed Hunt's (1975) findings and added that for a destination to appeal to travelers and do well in a market, it must be unique and stand out from the rest of its competition.

In 1996, Graham M. S. Dann tested consumer satisfaction and dissatisfaction of a destination using a qualitative approach. With Barbados as the destination, he interviewed 535 visitors about their knowledge of the island (Dann, 1996). Interviewees were then shown an image of Barbados and asked what their perceptions of the destination were after seeing a photo (Dann, 1996). Findings suggested that the images people were shown changed their perception of Barbados, thus emphasizing the importance of photos in destination image perception (Dann, 1996).

Gallarza, Gil and Calderón (2001) expanded the conceptual framework and measurement of destination image from a marketing outlook. Especially in tourism, destination image is exposed to subjective interpretation from potential travelers, marketing experts and even journalists. They created a model based on earlier literature so that researchers could grasp the importance of the framework of destination image from a conceptual standpoint (Gallarza et. al, 2001). The model worked with the methods and measurements of destination image by understanding perception and its importance (Gallarza, et. al, 2001).

Beerli and Martín (2004) took the measurement of destination image to a new level. Prior to their research, a “universally accepted, valid and reliable scale for the measurement of image” did not exist (Beerli & Martín, 2004). Using nine categories, they created a frame that allowed every attribute of a perceived destination image to be qualitatively measured, depending on what a researcher wanted to record (Beerli & Martín, 2004). The nine categories were: Natural Resources; General Infrastructure; Tourist Infrastructure; Tourist Leisure and Recreation; Culture, History and Art; Political and Environmental Factors, Natural Environment; Social Environment; and Atmosphere of the Place (Beerli & Martín, 2004). Within each general category, specific requirements must be met to be included in that group. For example, the Culture, History and Art category conditions include: food, festivals, concerts, museums, religion, and customs pertaining to that place, to name a few (Beerli & Martín, 2004). These nine categories began the development of a measurement scale that could be used by all researchers in the field of tourism and destination image (Beerli & Martín, 2004).

In 2013, Hsu and Song applied Beerli and Martín’s (2004) attribution categories and measurements as they studied destination image in the top six travel magazines from China. The researchers coded images and texts from 88 travel magazine articles about Hong Kong and Macau from 2006 to 2008 (Hsu & Song, 2013). Findings suggested that destination images from both Hong Kong and Macau were mostly categorized into the Tourist Leisure and Recreation group and the Culture, History and Art group. Hsu and Song (2013) felt that the categories were quite broad and could be further broken down into more specific classifications. In addition, there were study limitations, such as the selected timeframe and the source of the images (i.e., media outlets or freelance

journalists, etc.), which could have had unseen implications on the study (Hsu & Song, 2013). Nonetheless, the research is an excellent example of the limited study of print leisure travel magazines.

### **Leisure Travel Magazine Selection Process and Media Kits**

The phrase “leisure travel” implies the idea of taking time off work to explore a new place in a relaxed manner (McGuian, n.d.). Leisure travel is subjective — it could be an extended trip or a weekend getaway, depending on the individual. Travelers might stay in a luxurious hotel or opt for an economically friendly hostel. Simply put, leisure travel can go as deep as an individual’s wallet allows. This provides many types of travelers and thus an expansive audience for leisure travel magazines to target.

To determine the leisure travel magazines for this study, the North American Travel Journalists Association (NATJA) and the Society of American Travel Writers Foundation (a subsidiary of SATW) were used as measuring standards. These organizations are two of the most well-known and respected in the North American travel writing community, and even more specifically, the United States, which increased their authority for the leisure travel magazine selection process. *AFAR*, *National Geographic Traveler* and *Travel + Leisure* were chosen for study because they consistently received between two and seven awards or honors from NATJA and the SATW Foundation between 2011 and 2015. Each publication routinely earned awards in several different categories. For NATJA (2011-2015), *National Geographic Traveler* and *Travel + Leisure* were awarded in the Destination Travel, Domestic Magazine; Local Lifestyle; Historical or Hobby Travel; Culinary Travel; and Cultural, Educational, Self-Improvement Travel categories, to name a few. *AFAR*, *National Geographic Traveler*

and *Travel + Leisure* received high marks in the SATW Foundation (2012-2015) Travel Magazine; Special Purpose; Photo Illustration of Travel; Foreign Travel and Special Package/Project categories.

Since this study focuses primarily on how changes in travel culture are portrayed within magazines, *AFAR*, *National Geographic Traveler* and *Travel + Leisure* were used as comparison and contrast points. One important aspect of *AFAR*, *National Geographic Traveler* and *Travel + Leisure* is targeted readership and demographics. These parts of the magazine are necessary to examine in depth because of the similarities and differences among the three publications in terms of readership. The parallels and contrasts are critical to the study because they revealed overlap between magazines.

***AFAR.*** *AFAR*'s tagline is "the leader in experiential travel" (About *AFAR*, 2015). The mission statement for the publication adds: "We are the leader in experiential travel, inspiring, guiding, and connecting travelers to have deeper, richer and more personal experiences" (About *AFAR*, 2015). The phrase "experiential travel" is what makes *AFAR* different from the other publications. Rather than covering luxury travel to popular, touristy destinations, *AFAR* puts an emphasis on unique travel exploration and community, which makes it stand out among its competitors. To accomplish this goal, *AFAR* relies on local experts around the globe to provide images and content for monthly issues of the magazine. These writers and photographers produce current stories pertaining to the events of their country in lieu of itineraries that are found in travel books or other travel magazines. In addition, *AFAR* has an educational foundation called Learning AFAR that grants underprivileged youth opportunities to explore the world around them through service, leadership and culture in a chosen destination (About

*AFAR*, 2015). Each of these aspects of the magazine make *AFAR* a leader not only in experiential travel, but also in a community-centered, globally driven American travel magazine.

*AFAR* has the smallest audience of the three publications — one million — and is published seven times annually. The magazine’s rate base is 250,000, according to its 2015 media kit. Total circulation is currently 264,133 for print (*AFAR* media kit, 2015). Readers on average are 46.4 years old, and 87 percent of the audience has a college degree. Seventy-one percent of readers are employed, and 77 percent are married and own homes. The average household income is \$116,808 (About *AFAR*, 2015). *AFAR* readers are affluent, and the ratio of male to female readers is 44 to 56 percent, respectively. As far as travel goes, 80 percent of *AFAR* readers have a passport, and 40 percent have taken four or more international trips in the past three years (About *AFAR*, 2015). Only 12 percent of *AFAR* travelers fly business or first class, which supports the publication’s claim of leading “experiential travel,” (About *AFAR*, 2015). A single issue costs \$5.99 on the newsstand. The ad to edit ratio for *AFAR* is 40/60, which means there is up to 20 percent more editorial content per issue, compared to other print magazines that have a 50/50 or 60/40 ad to edit ratio.

***National Geographic Traveler***. With the tagline “Nobody knows the world better,” *National Geographic Traveler* seeks to enlighten readers about the world around them through stunning photography and expert advice (About *National Geographic Traveler*, 2015). The mission statement says it reaches the “youngest audience of any travel title” and that it “inspires millions with the means and mindset to explore. Our content shares authentic experiences that reveal a true sense of place — turning adventure

vacations, family trips and weekend getaways into transformative journeys” (About *National Geographic Traveler*, 2015).

*National Geographic Traveler* has an audience of almost 9.5 million — the most of any other travel publication in the United States. It is published eight times each year and has a rate base of 615,100 according to its media kit (2015). The total circulation for print is 622,181 per the online media kit (2015). According to the Fall 2014 MRI report, the median age of a *National Geographic Traveler* reader is 43, which is not much younger than the average *AFAR* reader. Men make up 54 percent of the readership, while women claim 46 percent. Almost 70 percent of readers have attended and graduated college, and 61 percent are employed. The average household income is \$87,792, and 48 percent of readers are married. The newsstand price for an issue is \$4.99.

The *National Geographic Traveler* audience is dedicated to taking trips frequently, both domestic and international. According to its media kit (2015), readers have taken more vacations and trips around the world in the past three years compared to individuals that read other major travel publications, such as *AFAR*, *Condé Nast Traveler* and *Travel + Leisure*. For the past three years, 4.9 million readers have traveled abroad and \$11.7 billion has been spent on vacations during the past year (About *National Geographic Traveler*, 2015). More than 60 percent of readers keep old issues of the magazine for reuse and 78 percent do not read any other kind of travel publication.

***Travel + Leisure***. The *Travel + Leisure* mission statement (2015) says that the publication is “... the preeminent voice for the sophisticated, insatiable traveler, serving up expert intelligence and the most immersive, inspiring travel lifestyle content anywhere.” The purpose of the magazine is to “capture the pure joy of discovering the

pleasures the world has to offer — from art and design to shopping and style to food and wine” (About *Travel + Leisure*, 2015). As the oldest of the three American print leisure travel magazines, it had the advantage of creating the first publication centered primarily on luxury travel, which is still its mission today.

In July 2014, former *Travel + Leisure* Editor-in-Chief Nancy Novogrod announced her retirement after a 21-year career with the publication (Clampet, 2014; *Women’s Wear Daily*, 2014). Novogrod is known for her many contributions to *Travel + Leisure*, including coverage of new travel trends and adding distinguished freelance writers and photographers to the *Travel + Leisure* staff (Clampet, 2014). She set the standard for travel publications and pioneered ways to incorporate digital journalism into the *Travel + Leisure* brand (Clampet, 2014, Time Inc., 2014). On September 8, 2014, Nathan Lump took over as Editor-in-Chief for *Travel + Leisure* (Steigrad, 2014). His resume includes a variety of roles within the magazine world: Features Director at *Travel + Leisure*, Digital Director of *Condé Nast Traveler* and much more (Clampet, 2014; Steigrad, 2014). Such a switch from one editor to another could have an influence on how *Travel + Leisure* is produced in the years to come.

*Travel + Leisure* has 6.6 million readers, according to its parent company, Time Inc. The title is published 12 times annually and has a rate base of 950,000 (About *Travel + Leisure*, 2015). The total print circulation stands at 951,764 according to the magazine’s media kit. Readers on average are 50 years old and are the oldest age group of the three travel publications. More than 50 percent have attended and graduated college, are employed in a professional or managerial position and are married (About *Travel + Leisure*, 2015). Eighty-seven percent of *Travel + Leisure* subscribers have a

valid passport. In addition, 65 percent of readers have taken five or more trips abroad in the past year, according to the IPSOS Affluent Survey (*About Travel + Leisure*, 2015). Household incomes average at \$111,000 with homes valued at \$350,000. Fifty-one percent of the audience is female, with male readers making up 49 percent. The newsstand price is \$5.99 per issue.

*Condé Nast Traveler*. Access to *Condé Nast Traveler* was not granted, despite several efforts to contact the publication via email and phone calls. This is important to note, because *Condé Nast Traveler* would have been a great addition to the study and would have offered another perspective of American leisure travel magazines. Should the publication become available, it would make a wonderful addition to future studies in leisure travel magazine research.

#### **Coverage of South America: Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay**

Leara D. Rhodes discovered a wide gap in magazine research around the world and in several niche magazines markets (Rhodes, 2015). Rhodes' magazine research, although focused on the study of international editions and publications and their function in society, did not find much literature concerning the magazines published in South America, except for Brazil (Rhodes, 2015). Despite this study's focus on American travel publications and their visual content of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, Rhodes' (2015) research is important because it provides evidence of a larger gap in general studies of South America within domestic and international print leisure travel magazines.

Previous coverage of South America is limited to none in terms of leisure travel magazine research. As developing nations, Argentina, Chile and Uruguay have experienced political and economic turmoil during their histories, according to L.

Manzetti (2014). Today, Argentine president Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner still struggles to bring the troubled economy back to life (Manzetti, 2014). However, Chile and Uruguay have been more fruitful assets to foreigners (Manzetti, 2014). Despite the economic and financial setbacks, curiosity about South America has grown in recent years, according to the Magazine Media Factbook (2015).

**Who's Traveling to South America?** According to the *International Business Times* (Mangla, 2015), Americans increased their international travel by 10 percent in 2014. This figure marks the first time that global travel for the American public has been above a single-digit number in more than 10 years (Mangla, 2015). For the 68 million-plus Americans who traveled abroad in 2014, roughly 1.8 million individuals, or 2.6 percent of the population, spent time in South America, according to the *International Business Times* and the Office of Travel and Tourism Industries (a subsidiary of the United States Department of Commerce, 2014). To put it in a different context, the number of American traveling to South America increased by 36, 317 visitors from 2013 to 2014. Although this number might seem small, it is rather significant, especially compared to other destinations, such as Africa.

Argentina, Chile and Uruguay were chosen for in-depth visual analysis and the study of photographic representation for a few reasons. They are the three southern-most countries in South America. Each destination has similar climates, cultures, economics, languages and destinations frequented by travelers. Within these countries, many travel attractions exist, from national parks to specific cities and even the beach. These destinations are all photogenic and worthy of more page coverage in print leisure travel magazines. The goal in showcasing these places is to compare and contrast visual

reporting (images of people, places, etc.) and encourage travel magazines to add more coverage of South America to their editorial lineups.

### **Theoretical Magazine Frameworks**

Magazines are an intricate part of any society. They show and tell how a society functions and provide suggestions for how individuals can improve it (Kitch, 2015). To that end, many magazine scholars today define them as “prescriptive” and “descriptive,” (Kitch, 2015). A positive outcome from this viewpoint is that some researchers believe magazines are “vehicles of aspiration” that bring together “imagined communities of like-minded people” (Kitch, 2015). As of 2015, the most current magazine scholarship suggests three categories for which publications can be utilized: as instruments of power, as instruments of community and as instruments of culture (Routledge Magazine Handbook, 2015). For this study, each of these categories was used as a theoretical lens.

**Instrument of power.** Regarded as power players, print magazines carry authority within economic and political spheres, among others (Kitch, 2015). This connotation originates from a Marxist ideal that magazines, along with other types of media, are notably influential to consumers (Kitch, 2015). Much research focuses on discovering how magazines maintain power, such as text and image assembly, the organization of readers, and how specific messages are conveyed and understood (Kitch, 2015). Two of the most common studies of magazine power are female body image and historical publications (Kitch, 2015). This leaves plenty of room for the study of leisure travel magazines and the power that photographic representation has in persuading readers to visit a particular place.

**Instrument of community.** Magazines are an excellent example of a “ready-made” community (Kitch, 2015). David Abrahamson (2002) states that magazines are communal due to their audiences — they have similar interests and ideals, even if they are not together in a physical sense. Furthermore, readers of the same publication are likely to share economic backgrounds, educations and even career fields. These individuals are what Stanley Fish (1976) calls “interpretive communities,” because they are not afraid to make meaning of the cultural and societal undertones of what they read. M.M. Bakhtin (1981) adds that magazines create an environment to discuss text that often results in “multi-vocal” and “polysemic” conversations, or discussions that have many voices and meanings, respectively. Fish’s (1976) and Bakhtin’s (1981) terminology can also be applied to visual characteristics of magazines, such as pictures. It is almost universal that wherever people read magazines, they will stop to admire a photograph or two within that publication and will ask whoever is with them to study and comment on the same image. In this way, the community aspect of magazines gives readers power to invoke meaning and build identities from a model where magazines merely express “society and cultural identity” (Kitch, 2015).

**Instrument of culture.** It could be argued that of the three points thus far, the most important framework is a magazine as culture. As Tim Holmes once wrote:

If culture is the stories we tell about ourselves, then magazines are prime examples of cultural resource. They are full of stories which we tell about ourselves, which we make up about ourselves, which we accept as being about ourselves. (2007)

Magazines provide society with “a cultural form ... an expression of the ideals of the surrounding culture,” and a “statement of cultural identity,” (Kitch, 2015). In other words, magazines hold the story of a culture, usually portrayed in repetitions of text and images over time (Kitch, 2015). As S. Elizabeth Bird and Robert Dardenne (1977) describe it, magazines uphold “culturally specific storytelling codes” through which images, symbols and other meanings are laid out for readers. One example of this application is Wendy Kozol’s study of the perfect “American family” in *Life* magazine photo essays published after World War II (Kitch, 2015). Through her careful study of lighting, picture composition and accompanying text, Kozol was able to identify a specific storytelling format that *Life* used to talk about American society (Kitch, 2015).

Another crucial piece of magazines as culture is that they are “windows on cultural conditions in any given time and place” (Kitch, 2015). During almost every era, a print publication emphasized the dreams and desires of an audience, while also depicting the needs of society (Kitch, 2015). Magazines were at the forefront of major culture changes, or what Abrahamson (2007) called “Magazine Exceptionalism.” He wrote:

Magazines not only reflect or are a product of the social reality of the times, but they also serve a larger and more pro-active function—that they can also be a catalyst, shaping the very social reality of their sociocultural moment.

(Abrahamson, 2007)

As mentioned earlier in this paper, the 1940s were a prime time for change in American lifestyle, and magazines eased the transition from wartime stress to leisurely vacations by creating a niche audience for leisure travel publications (Kitch, 2015). This cycle of change and the addition of modern magazines continues to the present. Even

now, print leisure travel publications adapt and reinvent content to keep up with the expectations and demands of a changing travel culture and its audience.

**Visual culture in magazines.** One unique facet of magazines is they are more likely than other types of print media to contain visual imagery, either through photographs, illustrations or otherwise (Hudson & Lance, 2015). *The New Yorker*, for example, is recognized by its famous illustrated covers. Photo essays, too, make up a large portion of magazine feature stories. Newspapers and other forms of print media are less likely to contain such large images or devote whole covers to pictures. But as Alan Trachtenberg wrote, images “must be recognized as exercising a powerful kind of persuasion as a carrier of ideological messages in everyday life” (Trachtenberg, 1980). Without images, the entire idea of a magazine as power, as community and as culture is lost.

As Hudson and Lance (2015) found, visual culture has become a more prominent area of research within the past few decades. Previously, it was an underdeveloped topic, going back as far as 1980 (Hudson & Lance, 2015). Even in 1999, Jessica Evans and Stuart Hall alerted researchers to the gap in visual culture studies (Hudson & Lance, 2015). Since their work and that of others, photography has been granted more attention in the academic world. Image studies on gatekeeping and agenda setting are common, as these are issues photographers and magazine editors must deal with almost daily (Hudson & Lance, 2015). Another area of visual culture study is the image selection process (Hudson & Lance, 2015). These sectors of visual culture have created a baseline for the study of how important images are to print magazines and the impressions they leave on a target audience.

**Image layout.** Another crucial aspect of visual culture in magazines is the process of creating image layouts. Collins and Lutz (1993) define photographic layout as the balance of several ideas: image placement (by other photos or text), color, clarity and interaction with major design principles such as hierarchy. Photo layout is important to all part of the magazine, especially the front of book, feature well and back of book sections. Captions guide readers to the meaning a publication is trying to get across in a photo. Roland Barthes (1977) writes that captions give images "... a culture, a moral, an imagination." Each of these criteria are essential components of magazine gaze and photographic representation.

**Magazine gaze and its components.** As Susan Sontag writes in *On Photography* (1977), "If photographs are messages, the messages are both transparent and mysterious." This phrase, which opens chapter seven of *Reading National Geographic* by Collins and Lutz (1993), sets the tone for the importance of looking at images in magazines, especially travel publications. Every picture is "a dynamic site at which many gazes or viewpoints intersect" according to Collins and Lutz (1993). Awareness of these gazes is therefore important to the travel magazine industry and its readers. An image tells a story and helps audiences understand the identities of those whose photos were taken as well as their own (Collins & Lutz, 1993). The researchers argue that meaning, which is derived from pictures, stems from a variety of things, including gaze (Collins & Lutz, 1993). They add that social context and the category of a gaze "open up certain possibilities for interpreting a photograph and to foreclose others" (Collins & Lutz, 1993). Seven main types of photographic gazes within *National Geographic* are described: the photographer's gaze, the magazine's gaze, the magazine readers' gaze, the non-Western

subject's gaze, the direct Western gaze, the refracted gaze of the other (how others see how others see them) and the academic spectator gaze (Collin & Lutz, 1993).

Only the magazine's gaze was used as a theoretical framework during the study, along with frameworks previously outlined. According to Collins and Lutz (1993), the magazine's gaze is compiled of four steps: an editor that assigns a story and its art, the editor's selection of photographs, the cropping and layout of pictures by the editor and designer to produce meaning, and the writing and editing of accompanying photo captions. To better understand the intended meaning of a photograph, readers may refer to captions (Collins & Lutz, 1993). When representing developing countries, the magazine's gaze "operates to represent it to an American audience in ways that can but do not always shore up a Western cultural identity or sense of self as modern and civilized," according to Collins and Lutz (1993). One downside of the magazine's gaze is its dependence on the context of editors, who sometimes have disparate viewpoints about an image. However, the magazine's gaze framework highlights the image selection process and applies well to this study.

For print leisure travel magazines, the value of photographs cannot be emphasized enough. Previous research noted the image formation process and destination image perception as two key factors in securing a traveler's interest to a particular place. Beerli and Martín's (2004) qualitative classification of photos further improved destination image research by boosting measurement specificity. The magazine's gaze framework of Collins and Lutz (1993) adds another layer of depth to the image selection process and the importance of captions. But South American studies in leisure travel magazines have been limited, both in domestic and international research (Rhodes, 2015).

## Research Questions

To evaluate the visual representation of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay in print American leisure travel magazines, a qualitative image analysis of print issues was completed using Beerli and Martín's (2004) nine destination image measurement categories. Through examination of the research questions below, the study sought to fully understand how Argentina, Chile and Uruguay were visually represented in print leisure travel magazines. The study aimed to fill a gap in print leisure travel magazine research by revealing image representation patterns in American travel magazines and discovering which of Beerli and Martín's categories are characterized in leisure travel magazines.

RQ1: How are Argentina, Chile and Uruguay visually (photos and captions) represented in print issues of *AFAR*, *National Geographic Traveler*, and *Travel + Leisure*?

RQ2: Which of the nine destination image categories from Beerli and Martín (2004) are found in leisure travel magazines?

## Chapter 3: Study

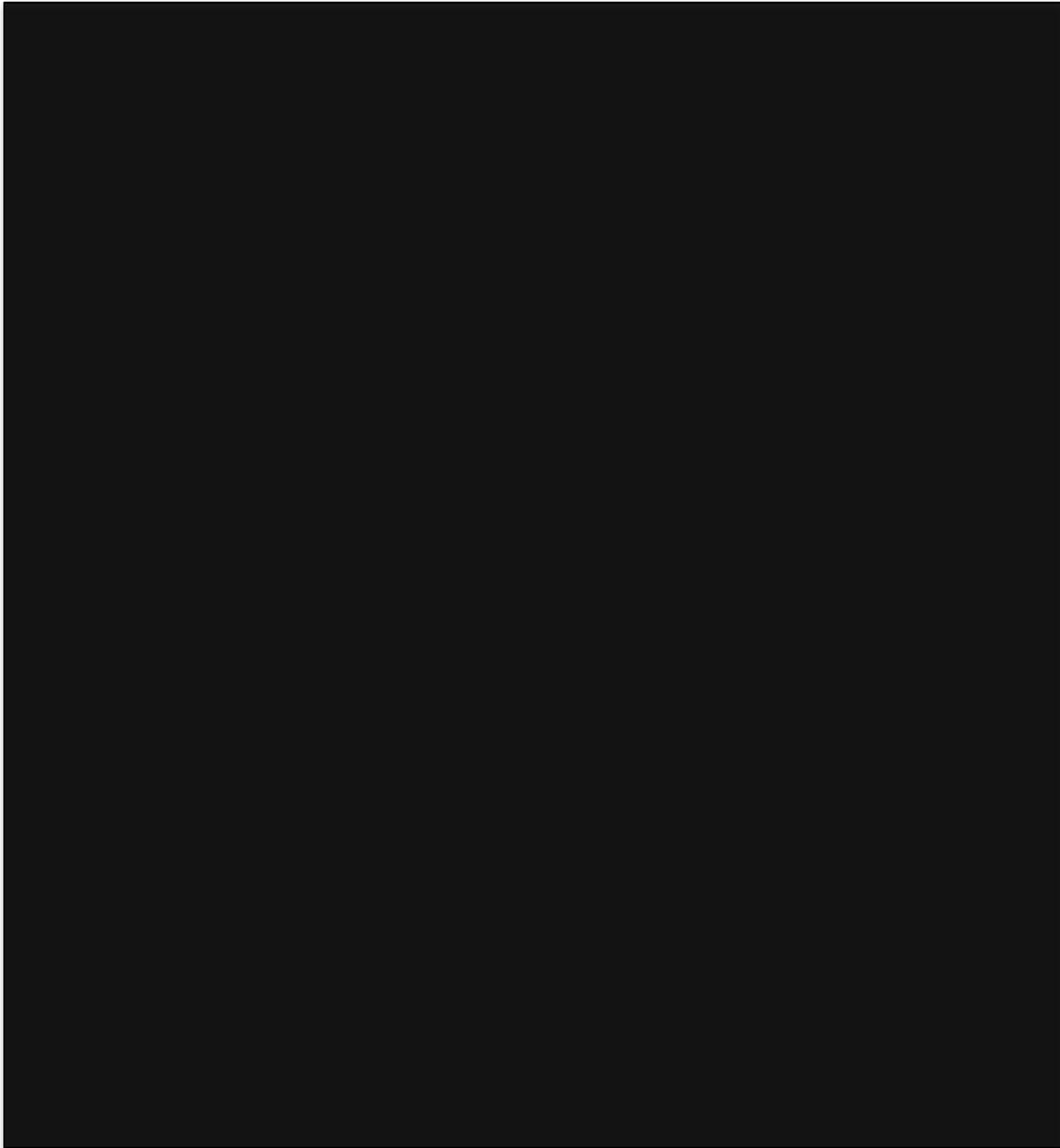
### Photographic Representation of South America in American Travel Magazines

Utilizing *AFAR*, *National Geographic Traveler* and *Travel + Leisure*, this study aimed to fill the visual content research gap of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay in print American leisure travel magazines. By including the selected magazines for comparison and contrast points, the study explored how Argentina, Chile and Uruguay were photographically represented in American leisure travel magazines from November/December 2011 to May 2015. The application of Beerli and Martín's (2004) qualitative image categories established patterns regarding representation or lack thereof. Limiting the study to the three southern-most South American countries ensured patterns about Argentina, Chile and Uruguay emerged. These patterns are important in assisting editors with the image selection process for leisure travel magazines and understanding the meaning conveyed by images used to represent each place. The study found that three of Beerli and Martín's qualitative categories were best represented in the three American publications while the other six had little to no representation.

### Method

Back issues of *AFAR* magazine were gathered directly from the publisher. Twenty-three issues of the publication were collected from November/December 2011 to May 2015. One issue, May/June 2012, could not be located and thus was not included in the study. Next, images of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay were marked with a Post-It in each issue and noted in two tables. One table recorded the image frequency of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay from November/December 2011 to May 2015 with the following

subcategories: country name, issue, year of publication and location within the magazine, i.e., front of book, feature well or back of book. The second table was a tally of Beerli and Martín's (2004) nine destination image measurement categories: Natural Resources; General Infrastructure; Tourist Infrastructure; Tourist Leisure and Recreation; Culture, History and Art; Political and Environmental Factors, Natural Environment; Social Environment; and Atmosphere of the Place. Each photograph was documented in one, two or three categories based on the requirements detailed by Beerli and Martín (2004).



*Figure 1.* Beerli and Martín's (2004) categorical attributes for determining perceived destination image. Reference: Beerli, A., & Martín, J. (2004). Factors Influencing Destination Image. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31(3), 657-681. Retrieved February 28, 2015, from Science Direct. DOI: 10.1016/j.annals.2004.01.010

To provide comparison and contrast of visual content, the methodology was repeated with back issues of *National Geographic Traveler* and *Travel + Leisure*. After talking with Kevin Kunitake, the assistant to the editor of *National Geographic Traveler*, it was determined that back issues from 2011 to 2013 could not be received from the

publisher. However, six issues of *National Geographic Traveler* were collected from April 2014 to May 2015 using Texture Magazine App. The app stores back issues of American print magazines and allows readers to “flip” through old editions of hundreds of publications, including travel magazines. Although six issues may seem like a small number, it was significant considering that South American countries were not often discussed in *National Geographic Traveler*. Twenty-two copies of *Travel + Leisure* were obtained through university libraries in Texas. The issue dates ranged from January 2012 to May 2015.

One challenge that surfaced during the coding process was the broad spectrum of requirements that fell under the Culture, History and Arts category. Some concrete characteristics, such as “museums, historical buildings, concerts” fell under the straightforward umbrella of images found in *Travel + Leisure*. Other details, such as “handicraft, folklore, customs and ways of life” were more descriptive of the “experiential” aspect of *AFAR* and its mission statement. This tension made it difficult to record and organize images at times.

Captions were included as part of the destination image measurement. *National Geographic Traveler* and *Travel + Leisure* used short captions to give readers basic information, including the names of people, hotels, restaurants, the city or province where the photo was taken and the photographer or organization who provided an image for publication purposes. *AFAR* captions were more descriptive and offered names, locations, quotes and specific details about content in photographs. For example, one caption from

the Argentine polo feature included the origin of Argentine polo ponies (*AFAR* March/April 2011; p. 77).

## **Limitations**

Parameters were established so that the qualitative data obtained for the study was thoroughly observed and interpreted. To that end, this study was limited solely to the study of three print American leisure travel magazines: *AFAR*, *National Geographic Traveler* and *Travel + Leisure*. Although international magazines could have been included for the study, they were intentionally left out so that the American viewpoint could be deciphered more easily. Images and photo captions found in front of book departments, back of book departments and the feature well were included in the study. However, images in advertisements were not a part of the data set. The timeframe was limited from November/December 2011 to May 2015 so that the photo evaluation process was more manageable. The timetable coincided well with the spike of reader interest in visiting South America (MPA, 2015). Another significant limitation was the inclusion of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay only rather than studying the entire content of South America. Restricting the study to the three southernmost countries of South America ensured similarities in culture, environment and history that were conducive for research.

## **Results**

In total, 230 images of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay were examined in *AFAR*, *National Geographic Traveler* and *Travel + Leisure*. Photographs were organized based on their content and fit into a single category or as many as three categories. Argentina had 121 images catalogued across all three publications, the most of the three countries studied. Chile tallied 66 photos and Uruguay had 43 pictures, as seen in Table 1. The image count for Chile seemed smaller than what was anticipated before the project's

beginning especially due to its size and the wide range of activities available to tourists. However, the photo count for Uruguay was surprisingly larger than expected given that it is geographically smaller than Argentina and Chile. The substantial amount of Uruguayan photographs is most likely correlated to its proximity to Argentina. Many travelers who visit Argentina often take a day trip to Uruguay because it is only a 45-minute flight or a short ferry ride from Buenos Aires. Overall, the total image count was higher than predicted, which was a pleasant surprise.

Table 1

Image frequency of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay in *AFAR*, *National Geographic Traveler* and *Travel + Leisure* from January 2011 to May 2015

Travel Magazine	Images of Argentina	Images of Chile	Images of Uruguay	Total Images for Publication
<i>AFAR</i>	65	42	10	117
<i>National Geographic Traveler</i>	4	4	0	8
<i>Travel + Leisure</i>	52	20	33	105
				<b>230</b>

Table 2 maps out image location throughout each travel publication. Department images were placed in the front or back of book, and feature images were found in the middle of the book. One exception to feature image placement was *AFAR* — feature photos and text were located at the end of the publication, just after back of book department pages. Overwhelmingly, *Travel + Leisure* had more feature images of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, while *AFAR* and *National Geographic Traveler* were department-image heavy. This observation is worth noting because it reveals a difference in content coverage within the publications.

Table 2

Breakdown of department vs. feature images of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay in *AFAR*, *National Geographic Traveler* and *Travel + Leisure* from January 2011 to May 2015

Travel Magazine	Country	Department Images	Feature Images	Total Images
<i>AFAR</i>	Argentina	43	22	65
<i>AFAR</i>	Chile	30	12	42
<i>AFAR</i>	Uruguay	9	1	10
<i>National Geographic Traveler</i>	Argentina	3	1	4
<i>National Geographic Traveler</i>	Chile	0	4	4
<i>National Geographic Traveler</i>	Uruguay	0	0	0
<i>Travel + Leisure</i>	Argentina	23	29	52
<i>Travel + Leisure</i>	Chile	5	15	20
<i>Travel + Leisure</i>	Uruguay	1	32	33

Qualitatively, the study found three of Beerli and Martín's (2004) categories to be the most popular: Culture, History, and Art; Tourist Infrastructure; and Social Environment (see bolded categories in Figure 4 above). For Argentina, the Tourist Leisure and Recreation category also ranked high in terms of photographic representation within *AFAR*, *National Geographic Traveler* and *Travel + Leisure*. As noted in Figure 4, the Political and Economic Factors category was not represented at all in any publication. Chile and Uruguay lacked representation in the General Infrastructure category, and Argentina only had three photos that fit into the General Infrastructure group. Of the three countries, Uruguay could use even more representation across all three publications.

Argentina and Chile would do well to receive more attention in the feature wells for *AFAR* and *National Geographic Traveler*.

Table 3

Representation of Beerli and Martín's (2004) qualitative destination image attribution categories in AFAR, National Geographic Traveler and Travel + Leisure from January 2011 to May 2015

Category (Beerli and Martín, 2004)	Country	<i>AFAR</i>	<i>National Geographic Traveler</i>	<i>Travel + Leisure</i>
<b>Atmosphere of Place</b>	Argentina	1	1	3
<b>Atmosphere of Place</b>	Chile	N/A	3	1
<b>Atmosphere of Place</b>	Uruguay	N/A	N/A	N/A
Culture, History and Art	Argentina	42	2	17
Culture, History and Art	Chile	31	N/A	6
Culture, History and Art	Uruguay	5	N/A	12
<b>General Infrastructure</b>	Argentina	N/A	N/A	3
<b>General Infrastructure</b>	Chile	N/A	N/A	N/A
<b>General Infrastructure</b>	Uruguay	N/A	N/A	N/A
<b>Natural Environment</b>	Argentina	3	1	5
<b>Natural Environment</b>	Chile	2	3	7
<b>Natural Environment</b>	Uruguay	N/A	N/A	5
<b>Natural Resources</b>	Argentina	3	1	2
<b>Natural Resources</b>	Chile	2	3	2
<b>Natural Resources</b>	Uruguay	3	N/A	3
<b>Political and Economic Factors</b>	Argentina	N/A	N/A	N/A
<b>Political and Economic Factors</b>	Chile	N/A	N/A	N/A
<b>Political and Economic Factors</b>	Uruguay	N/A	N/A	N/A
Tourist Infrastructure	Argentina	15	N/A	12
Tourist Infrastructure	Chile	12	1	11
Tourist Infrastructure	Uruguay	4	N/A	10
<b>Tourist Leisure and Recreation</b>	Argentina	19	2	18
<b>Tourist Leisure and Recreation</b>	Chile	4	4	2
<b>Tourist Leisure and Recreation</b>	Uruguay	2	N/A	3
Social Environment	Argentina	21	1	8
Social Environment	Chile	8	N/A	2
Social Environment	Uruguay	N/A	N/A	11

## Discussion

**RQ1: How are Argentina, Chile and Uruguay visually (photos and captions) represented in print issues of AFAR, National Geographic Traveler and Travel + Leisure?** *AFAR* and *National Geographic Traveler* emphasized images of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay within the department pages of each issue. For *AFAR*, most images were in the front or back of book, and the pattern was repeated with most photographs throughout 23 issue of the publication included for the study. A similar pattern was found in back issues of *National Geographic Traveler*. Photographs for both publications were a mix of detail shots, medium shots and scene-setting shots, which were often displayed across one page or a spread. Because many images were department-oriented, they were smaller than pictures that would be displayed in the features section of a magazine. Captions for *AFAR* were lengthier than those in *National Geographic Traveler*. Quotes and extra information about the subject were frequently included with *AFAR* captions while *National Geographic Traveler* captions provided basic details, such as location, names and dates.

Notably, *National Geographic Traveler* ran two similar images of Torres del Paine National Park in its April 2014 and November 2014 issues. The first was a far-away landscape view of the entire park by Pablo Corral, which included the shoreline, skyline and a bridge between two islands. In November, *National Geographic Traveler* ran another image of the national park by Blaine Harrington III. It seems as though the second photo from November was a close-up of the bridge and the area surrounding it, with a slightly different view of the mountains and sky. Finding similar pictures within a few issues of each other was unexpected, especially from the *Traveler*, which is known

for its beautiful, varied photography. Yet, the similarities in content could also be the publication's way of providing content that is attractive to its readers.



*Figure 2. Torres del Paine National Park in Chile by Blaine Harrington III from April 2014 National Geographic Traveler. Reference: App Store/TextureApp/National Geographic Traveler/April 2014/page 78.*

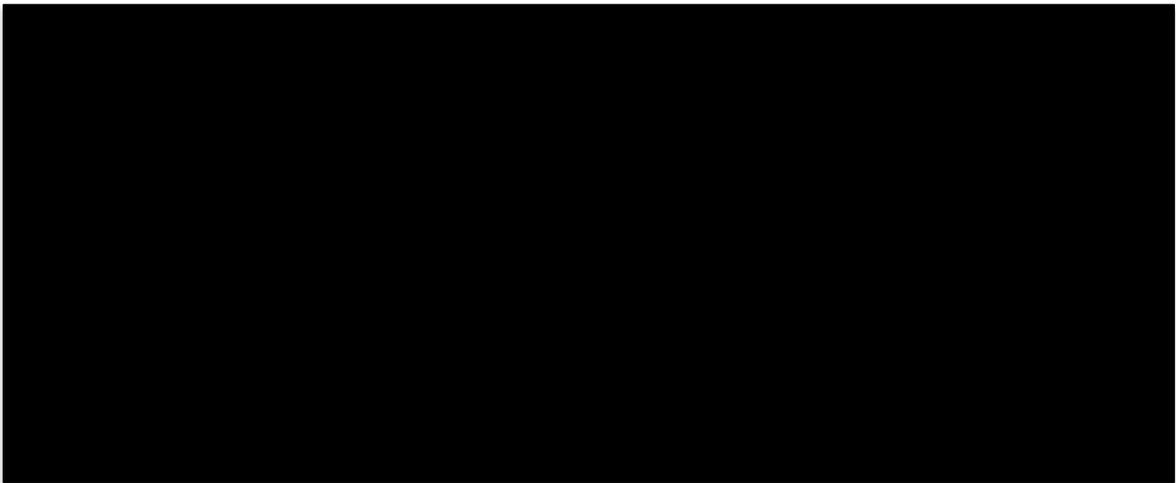
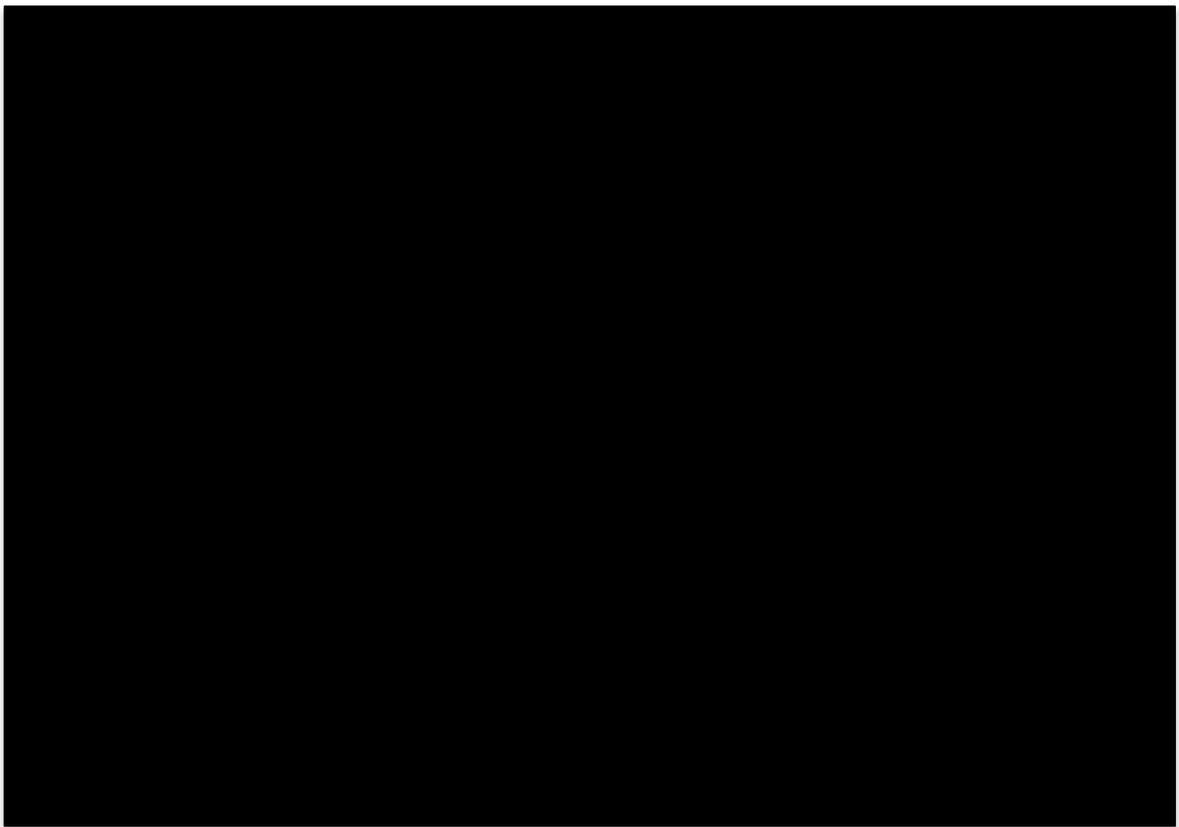


Figure 3. Torres del Paine National Park in Chile by Pablo Corral from November 2014 *National Geographic Traveler*. Reference: [App Store/TextureApp/NationalGeographicTraveler/November2014/page72](https://www.nationalgeographic.com/travel/2014/11/torres-del-paine-national-park-chile/)

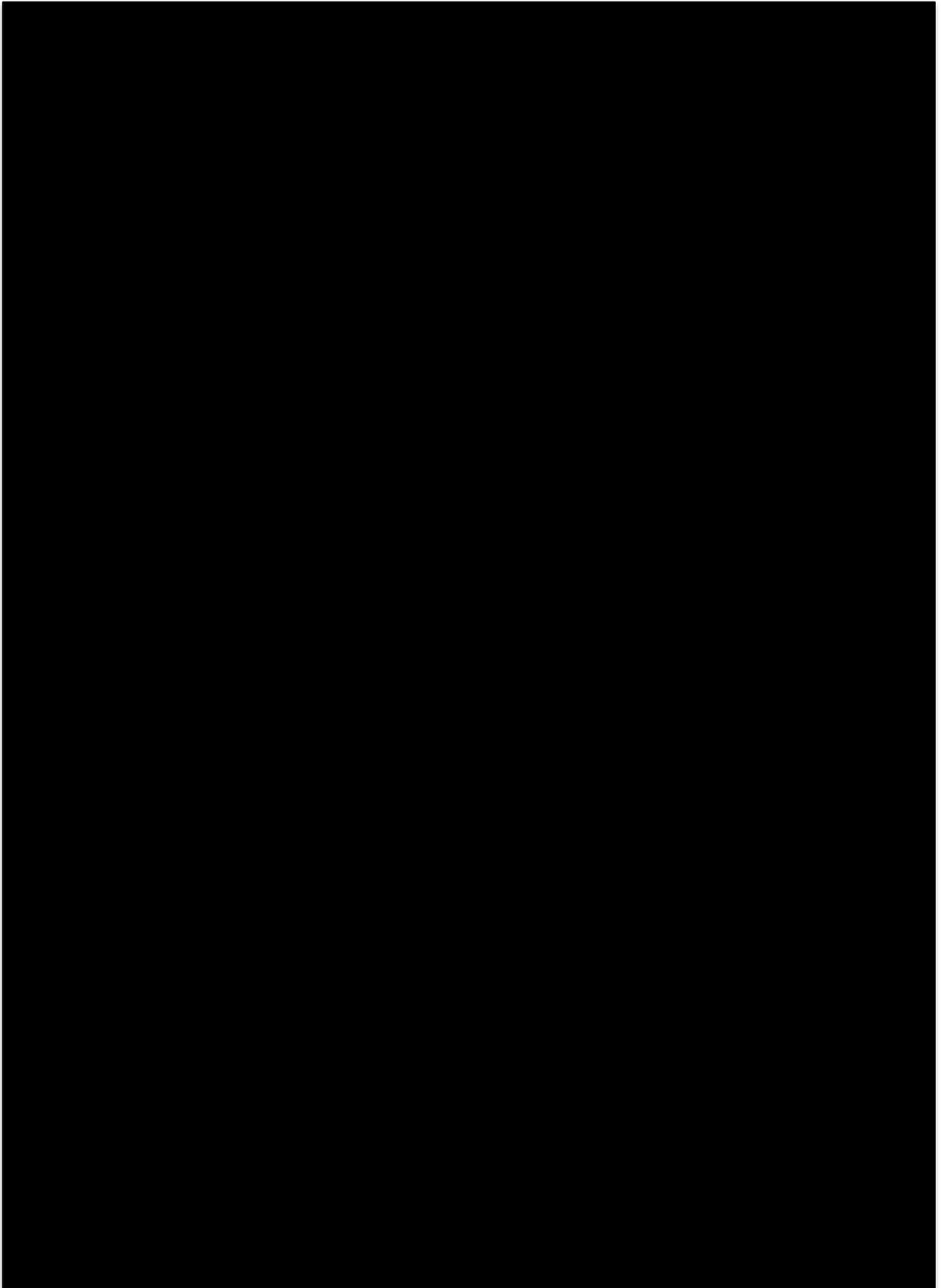
*Travel + Leisure* put images of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay in the feature well rather than department pages. For example, in its February 2012 feature, *Travel + Leisure* used six pages to tell the story. Only three pages used text — the rest consisted of large photographs, two of which were full pages. Images varied, from close-ups of specific food dishes to people and even the inside of a hotel. Captions for images mirrored those of *National Geographic Traveler* in that they provided basic information, including names, dates and where a photograph was taken.

On two occasions, photographs of Argentina featured in *AFAR* were previously used in print editions of *Travel + Leisure*. The January/February 2015 *AFAR* print issue utilized a quarter-cropped photo of Cavas Wine Lodge in Mendoza, Argentina, by Yadid Levy for a department piece. *AFAR*'s story angle focused on finding good places to stay and wineries to check out while in Mendoza and highlighted Cavas Wine Lodge. Levy's image was also printed by *Travel + Leisure* in its January 2014 issue. However, *Travel +*

*Leisure* used the photo as a two-page opening spread for a feature on the “World’s Best Hotels” for 2014, including more of the photo that *AFAR* cropped out. Cavas Wine Lodge was added to the list as one of the best new hotels in the Central and South America section of the feature. With the image’s contrast of light and dark colors, the serene feeling that accompanies it, and the timeliness of its opening, it is easy to understand why the photo was used by both publications.

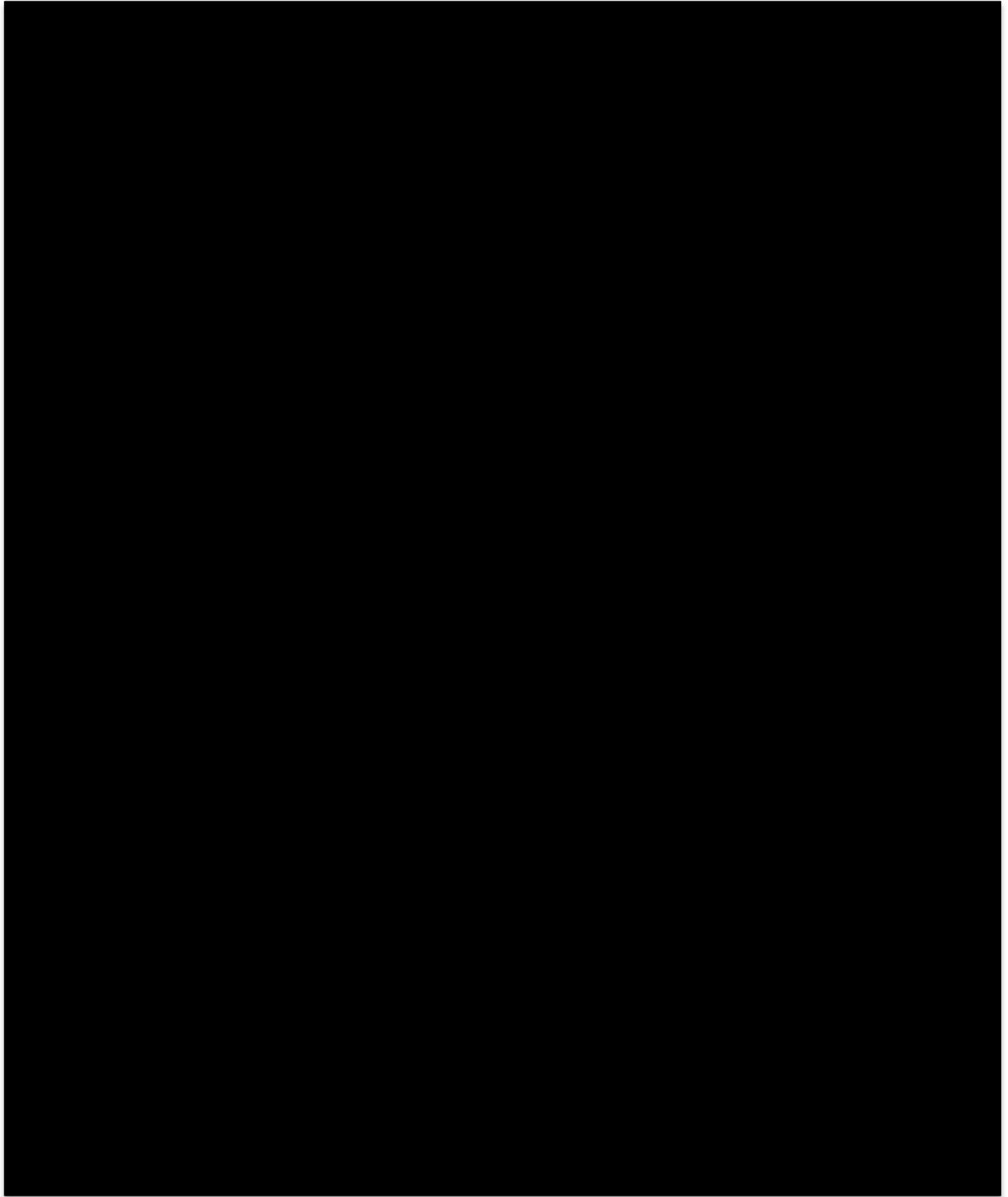


*Figure 4.* Photo of Mendoza by Yadid Levy from January 2014 *Travel + Leisure*  
Reference: App Store/TextureApp/*Travel+Leisure*/January2014/ReaderPoll/T+L500

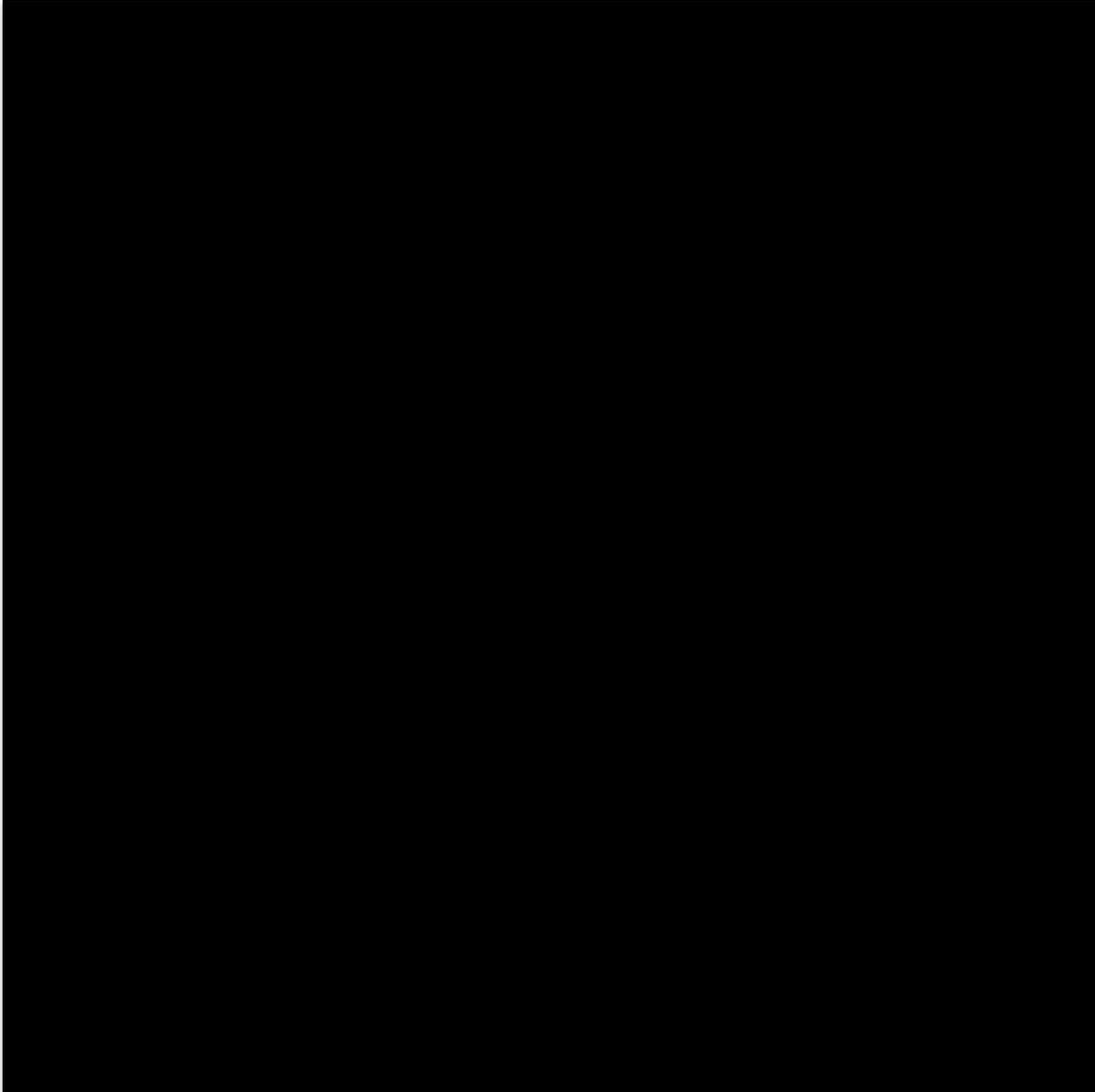


*Figure 5.* Photo of Mendoza by Yadid Levy from January/February 2015 issue of *AFAR*. Reference: [App Store/TextureApp/AFAR/January/February2015/page30](#)

In May 2015, *AFAR* published an image of a new design boutique called Casa Cavia, in Buenos Aires, Argentina, as a front of book department story on home design. The image was courtesy of Casa Cavia itself and cropped in so the dining room table and books hung from the ceiling were focal points. This crop was purposefully done to emphasize design aspects of the room that readers could copy in their own homes, such as shelving arrangements and table settings. *Travel + Leisure* published a similar image of Casa Cavia by photographer Javier Pierini in its April 2015 issue, but the table was farther away from the camera. Although the *Travel + Leisure* story was a rare department article, it highlighted the overall design as well as the numerous books available for purchase around the entire room.



*Figure 6.* Photo of Casa Cavia by Javier Pierini in April 2015 issue of *Travel + Leisure*. Reference: [App Store/TextureApp/Travel+Leisure/April2015/Radar/MadeinBuenosAires](#)



*Figure 7.* Photo of Casa Cavia in May 2015 issue of *AFAR*. Reference: App Store/TextureApp/*AFAR*/May2015/page26

These two particular observations could be an unusual coincidence. More than likely, though, it is probably due to two things: limited magazine budgets and limited

photographers traveling to Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. Commissioning photographic work in another country is costly and can easily cut into a travel magazine's annual expense budget, both to pay travel expenses and to pay for the image(s). For feature stories, it makes more sense to commission photographs. For department pages, editors are more likely to find ways to limit budget costs, which often includes cropping pictures that are readily available, as shown in the two above examples. The illustrations were not included to criticize either publication, but rather to raise awareness of an issue and encourage researchers and journalists alike to find ways to prevent it from occurring again.

**RQ2: Which of the nine destination image categories from Beerli and Martín (2004) are found in leisure travel magazines?** Results showed a repetition of images and categories were used to portray Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. Culture, History and Art was limited to pictures of food, drink and restaurant settings. Tourist Infrastructure showcased hotels, including the insides, outsides and surrounding property. Social Environment centered on images of locals and people interacting, and the Natural Resources and Natural Environment groups illustrated the organic scenery of South America.

However, Beerli and Martín (2004) created nine categories, most of which could be better utilized in print leisure travel magazines, including: Atmosphere of the Place; General Infrastructure; Political and Economic Factors; and Tourist Leisure and Recreation. For example, Atmosphere of the Place deserves more attention because of the emotional connection it creates with a reader. "Relaxing, pleasant, luxurious, exotic, mystic" and "fashionable" are a few adjectives used to describe a destination in the

Atmosphere of the Place category (Beerli & Martín, 2004). General Infrastructure provides an overall understanding of the public services a place offers, such as transportation, health support, and business-related endeavors (Beerli & Martín, 2004). The Political and Economic Factors group captures “economic development” and “safety,” according to Beerli and Martín’s (2004) table. Lastly, the Tourist Leisure and Recreation classification caters to the entertainment aspects of travel. Beerli and Martín (2004) specifically incorporate “trekking, night life, casinos, shopping, theme parks, zoos, golf, fishing, hunting, skiing, scuba diving, etc.” as important parts of Tourist Leisure and Recreation. This category was best represented by Argentina, but improvements could be made so that it is also expressed in photographs of Chile and Uruguay.

Unfortunately, the finite use of photographic representation of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay was not a surprise, especially given the restrictions of magazine budgets, travel expenses and fewer photographers. In fact, imbalanced photographic representation seems to be a trend among many travel publications, not just American ones. Hsu and Song (2013) reached similar conclusions with their research of six Chinese travel magazines. When they applied Beerli and Martín’s (2004) image attribution categories to their research, they found only a handful of categories were used in the hundreds of images they observed and recorded. Without equal representation from all categories, it is impossible for readers and researchers alike to grasp a complete, balanced and accurate portrayal of a place.

One theory why the Culture, History, and Art; Tourist Infrastructure and Social Environment categories receive more attention than others is because they provide

evidence of basic human needs being fulfilled in a destination: food and drink, shelter, and individuals to learn from and build friendships. These categories could also be perceived as more picture-friendly than some of Beerli and Martín's (2004) categories, such as General Infrastructure. Awareness of these limitations though, should challenge journalists to try and find photos that speak to a variety of characteristics about Argentina, Chile, Uruguay as well as other destinations around the world.

## Chapter 4: Conclusion

### Research Implications

The findings of this study provide both theoretical and empirical implications. In a practical sense, the study fills a gap in leisure travel magazine research, particularly American publications. It also raises awareness about the limitations of travel magazine photography. From a theoretical perspective, the research fills a gap in visual culture (Hudson & Lance, 2005) by reiterating the importance of photography and the power and influence it has on whether or not an individual decides to visit a destination. Lastly, an explanation is given regarding why the research findings are important to magazine editorial staffs and photographers.

To understand the empirical significance of this study, 230 images printed in *AFAR*, *National Geographic* and *Travel + Leisure* from November/December 2011 to May 2015 were examined and recorded. The findings helped fill a gap in research within the leisure travel magazine industry. The biggest discovery was that only three of Beerli and Martín's (2004) nine qualitative categories were most often represented within each publication: Culture, History and Art; Tourist Infrastructure; and Social Environment. Three photographs of Argentina represented the General Infrastructure category in *Travel + Leisure* throughout the entire data set. Uruguay was only represented in the Natural Resources category by *Travel + Leisure*. None of the three American magazines represented the Political and Economic Factors category in photographs, and several other groups could have been represented with higher volumes of pictures. Overall, it seemed that *AFAR* offered the most varied content of Argentina and Chile in department

sections and *Travel + Leisure* provided the most varied content of Uruguay in its feature well.

A similar outcome occurred with Hsu and Song's (2013) study of Chinese leisure travel magazines. The researchers found that some of Beerli and Martín's (2004) destination image attribution categories were well-represented in the Chinese travel magazines included for study while other categories had few or no images available to represent a group (Hsu & Song, 2013). Such a lack of representation begs the question: is imbalanced photographic representation a universal phenomenon among national and international travel publications? Does it extend to other niche magazine categories? Further study is needed to answer this question definitively.

In addition to the lack of variety in photographic representation, there was one documented case of image overlap in *AFAR* and *Travel + Leisure* in the study's findings. Due to a minimal number of travel photographers who are readily available to take pictures in South America and limitations of magazine financial budgets, it was not exactly a huge surprise. But, the observation has practical implications way beyond the travel magazine industry. For example, how many times have photographs in fashion or sports magazines been repeated in competing fashion and/or sports publications? Realistically, this has probably happened more than the magazine industry would like to admit at both national and international levels. Yet, it begs the question: is photographic repetition in magazines bad? Is it a noticeable concern in the publishing industry? Do travel and tourism organizations benefit from the same images repeated in various leisure travel magazines? More intensive research would be necessary to fully answer these questions.

From a theoretical perspective, as Abrahamson (2007) so aptly wrote, magazines have the power to stimulate social change. This theory is applicable to magazine photographs as well. Pictures are the essence of humanity and the records of history. Trachtenberg wrote in 1980 that photographs “must be recognized as exercising a powerful kind of persuasion as a carrier of ideological messages in everyday life.” His theory along with Abrahamson’s, still ring true today, as photographs are capable of relating so much to an audience that words cannot always describe.

This particular study filled a gap in visual culture theory research (Hudson & Lance, 2015) regarding travel photography in three American publications. Travel magazine photos represent cultures and communities. They are transparent puzzle pieces that help audiences put together meaning about people and places from around the world. These same photographs have the power to positively or negatively emulate a destination, leave impressions on viewers and have the power to influence change. Thus, the research findings emphasize yet again the importance of magazine photographs and the influence they leave on a society.

The results of this study have many implications for magazine journalists. For editors, it reinforces the limited selection of travel images available for use in print. Secondly, the findings acknowledge striking similarities in target audiences for *AFAR*, *National Geographic Traveler* and *Travel + Leisure*. Each publication has a similar readership with comparable median ages, educational backgrounds, professions and a desire to travel. In addition, the findings suggest that “experiential” travel may not be as different from other American travel magazines as *AFAR* defines it to be. This information is important because it can help editorial staffs to better streamline their

publication's travel photography to stand out from various competitors. For example, *AFAR* might consider using more abstract types of imagery, such as a slightly fuzzy skyline or an out of focus picture that attracts "experiential" travelers (*About AFAR*). However, *Travel + Leisure* would probably do well to continue using straightforward, symmetrical pictures of destinations that appeal to a slightly older, retiring-age audience. The research also challenges editorial teams to find creative ways to bring travel photography variety to their publication's pages, while still maintaining a set financial budget. It invites travel magazines to continue to work hard and preserve their authority, authenticity and credibility, thereby standing out from the rest of the competition.

For photographers, the research raises awareness of a problem in travel photography, namely a limited subject variety, especially in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. However, this could be due to the fact that repetition is quite natural and certain places are known for specific attributes. For example, Recoleta, a suburb of Buenos Aires, Argentina, is famous for Recoleta Cemetery and the celebrities buried there. Rather than criticizing, this research sought to alert students, photographers and other researchers to realize how large the problem is, and then take steps to combat it. Although this study focused on images in American leisure travel publications, the issue is not limited to one continent, but rather is problematic worldwide, as exemplified by Hsu and Song's (2013) research of Hong Kong and Macau in six well-known Chinese travel magazines. Though the findings cannot offer any immediate solutions, it is anticipated that bringing attention to the matter will start a process of problem solving.

## **Future Research**

Although the general study of leisure travel magazines is limited, there is plenty of room to conduct more research. For example, future studies on digital editions of American leisure travel magazines compared to American print magazines would be one avenue of research worth pursuing. Additional research on visual culture in travel photography could increase understanding on the process of image selection. Going back to Lutz and Collins (1993), it would be helpful to see research on what the American photographic representation of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay says about America and its views of international places as a whole. The lack of image representation of South America in American travel magazines is significant. It challenges researchers to understand why the United States is not more interested in South America, especially with more millennials planning international travel. As more travelers venture to destinations in South America, it would be interesting to note how visual perspectives of a place are similar or different based on the country interpreting it.

## References

- About *AFAR*. (2015). Retrieved from <http://about.afar.com/about/advertise/afar-media-kit/>
- About *Conde Nast Traveler* (2015). Retrieved from <http://www.condenast.com/brands/conde-nast-traveler/media-kit>
- About *National Geographic Traveler*. (2015). Retrieved from [http://www.nationalgeographic.com/mediakit/ng\\_traveler.html](http://www.nationalgeographic.com/mediakit/ng_traveler.html)
- About *Travel + Leisure*. (2015). Retrieved from <http://www.travelandleisure.com/microsites/tlmediakit/index.html>
- Abrahamson, D. (2002). Beyond the Mirror Metaphor: Magazine Exceptionalism and Sociocultural Change. *Journal of Magazine & New Media Research*, 4(1), n.p.
- Abrahamson, D. (2007). Magazine Exceptionalism, *Journalism Studies*, 8(4), 667-670, DOI: 10.1080/14616700701412225
- Ashworth, G. & Voogd, H. (1990). *Selling the City: Marketing Approaches in Public Sector Urban Planning*. London: Belhaven Press.
- Assael, H. (1984). *Consumer Behavior and Marketing Action*. Boston, MA: Kent.
- Association of Magazine Media (2015). [Graph illustrations of magazine audience, category growth and advertising]. *Magazine Media Factbook*. Retrieved from <http://www.magazine.org/sites/default/files/2015MagazineMediaFactbook.pdf>
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*. M. Holquist (ed.), (C. Emerson and M. Holquist, trans.). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Barthes, R. (1977). The photographic message. In *Image-Music-Text*, trans. S. Heath. Glasgow: Fontana.
- Beerli, A., & Martín, J. (2004). Factors Influencing Destination Image. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31(3), 657-681. Retrieved February 28, 2015, from Science Direct. DOI: 10.1016/j.annals.2004.01.010
- Bird, E. S. & Dardenne, R. W. (1977). Myth, Chronicle and Story: Exploring the Narrative Qualities of News. In D. Berkowitz (ed.), *Social Meanings of News: A Text-Reader* (338-339). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Bramwell, B. & Rawding, L. (1996). Tourism Marketing Images of Industrial Cities. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 23, 201-221.
- Boulding, K. (1956). *The Image: Knowledge in Life and Society*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Carter, C. (2013). Come Away with Me: The Uses and Gratifications of Leisure Travel Magazine Readership. (Unpublished Masters' thesis). University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.
- Clampet, J. (2014, August 25). Time Inc. Names Nathan Lump as New Travel + Leisure Editor. *Skift*. Retrieved from <http://skift.com/2014/08/25/time-inc-names-nathan-lump-as-new-travel-leisure-editor/>
- Clampet, J. (2014, July 10). Travel + Leisure Editor-in-Chief Nancy Novogrod Retires. *Skift*. Retrieved from <http://skift.com/2014/07/10/travel-leisure-editor-in-chief-nancy-novogrod-retires/>
- Collins, Jane L. and Lutz, C. A. (1993). *Reading National Geographic*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Dann, G. M. S. (1996). Tourists' Images of a Destination — An Alternative Analysis. *Journal of Travel*. 1(2), 41-55.
- Dundas, S. (2009). Travel Journalism. In C. Sterling (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Journalism*, Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Echtner, C. M. & Ritchie, J. (1991). The Meaning and Measurement of Destination Image. *Journal of Tourism Studies*, 2(2), 2-12.
- Echtner C. & Ritchie, J. (1993). The Measurement of Destination Image: An Empirical Assessment. *Journal of Travel Research*, 31(4), 3-13.
- Fakeye, P. & Crompton, J. (1991). Image Differences Between Prospective, First-Time and Repeat Visitors to the Lower Rio Grande Valley. *Journal of Travel Research* 30(2), 10-16.
- First All-Color *National Geographic*. Retrieved from <http://photography.nationalgeographic.com/photography/photographers/all-color-issue.html>
- Fish, S. E. (1976). Interpreting the "Variorum." *Critical Inquiry*, 2(2), 465-485.
- Fürsich, E. & Kavoori, A.P. (2001). Mapping a critical framework for the study of travel journalism. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*. 4(2), 149-171.

- Gartner, W. (1993). Image Formation Process. In M. Uysal & D. R. Fesenmaier, (eds.), *Communication and Channel Systems in Tourism Marketing*, (pp. 191-215) New York: Haworth Press.
- Gallarza, M., Gil S. I., & Calderón G. H. (2001). Destination Image: Toward a Conceptual Framework. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(1), 56-78. Retrieved from Science Direct. DOI: 10.1016/S0160-7383(01)00031-7
- Gunn, C. (1972). *Vacationscape: Designing Tourist Regions*. Austin, TX: Bureau of Business Research, University of Texas.
- Hanusch F. & Fürsich, E. (2014). *Travel journalism: Exploring production, impact and culture*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hsu, C., & Song, H. (2013). Destination image in travel magazines: A textual and pictorial analysis of Hong Kong and Macau. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 19(3), 253-268. Retrieved February 25, 2015, from Sage Journals. DOI: 10.1177/1356766712473469
- Holmes, T. (2007). Mapping the Magazine: An Introduction. *Journalism Studies*, 8(4), 515.
- Hudson, B. & Lance, E. A. (2015). The Power and Promise of the Image. In D. Abrahamson & M. Prior-Miller (eds.), *Routledge Magazine Handbook: The Future of the Magazine Form* (410-421) New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hunt, J.D. (1975). Image as a Factor in Tourism Development. *Journal of Travel Research*. 13(3). 1-7. DOI: 10.1177/004728757501300301
- Kim, H. and Richardson, S.L. (2003). Motion picture impacts on destination images. *Annals of Tourism Research* 30(1), 216–237.
- Kitch, C. (2015). Models for Understanding Magazines. In D. Abrahamson & M. Prior-Miller (eds.), *Routledge Magazine Handbook: The Future of the Magazine Form* (9-15) New York, NY: Routledge.
- Mangla, I. S. (2015, Feb. 24). Americans Traveled Abroad In Record Numbers In 2014. *International Business Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.ibtimes.com/americans-traveled-abroad-record-numbers-2014-1826816>
- Mansfield, Y. (1992). From Motivation to Actual Travel. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 19(3), 399-419.

- Manzetti, L. (2014). Accountability and Corruption in Argentina During the Kirchner's Era. *Latin American Research Review*, 49(2), 173-195.
- McGuian, B. (n.d.). The Definition of a Leisure Traveler. Retrieved from <http://traveltips.usatoday.com/definition-leisure-traveler-15302.html>
- Mersey, R. D. (2015). Enriching the Reader Relationship. In D. Abrahamson & M. Prior-Miller (Eds.), *Routledge Magazine Handbook: The Future of the Magazine Form* (519-527) New York, NY: Routledge.
- (n.d.). *National Geographic 125*. Retrieved from <http://www.nationalgeographic.com/125/facts/>
- North American Travel Journalists Association Awards Competition Winners. (2014). Retrieved from <https://natja.memberclicks.net/2014-natja-awards-winners>
- North American Travel Journalists Association Awards Competition Winners. (2013). Retrieved from [https://natja.memberclicks.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=51:2013-natja-awards-winners&catid=23:awards](https://natja.memberclicks.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=51:2013-natja-awards-winners&catid=23:awards)
- North American Travel Journalists Association Awards Competition Winners. (2012). Retrieved from [https://natja.memberclicks.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=50:2012-natja-awards-winners&catid=23:awards](https://natja.memberclicks.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=50:2012-natja-awards-winners&catid=23:awards)
- Phelps, A. (1986). Holiday Destination Image-The Problem of Assessment. An Example Developed in Menorca. *Tourism Management*, 7, 168-180.
- Popp, R. K. (2012). *The Holiday Makers: Magazines, Advertising and Mass Tourism in Postwar America*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- Rhodes, L. D. (2015). The Transformative Power of Globalization. In D. Abrahamson & M. Prior-Miller (eds.), *Routledge Magazine Handbook: The Future of the Magazine Form* (135-146) New York, NY: Routledge.
- Scott, W. (1965). Psychological and Social Correlates of Internal Images. In H. Kelman (ed.) *International Behavior: A Social-Psychological Analysis*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Society of American Travel Writers Foundation Lowell Thomas Travel Journalism Competition for Works Published in 2014-2015. Retrieved from <http://www.satwf.com/2015-satw-foundation-lowell-thomas-travel-journalism/2013-list-of-winners>

- Society of American Travel Writers Foundation Lowell Thomas Travel Journalism Competition for Works Published in 2013-2014. (2014). Retrieved from <http://www.satwf.com/2014-satw-foundation-lowell-thomas-travel-jour-%281%29/2014-list-of-winners>
- Society of American Travel Writers Foundation Lowell Thomas Travel Journalism Competition for Works Published in 2012-2013 (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.satwf.com/past-winners-satw-foundation-lowell-thomas-competi/2013-list-of-winners-in-lt>
- Sontag, S. (1977). *On Photography*. New York, NY: Dell.
- Steigrad, A. (2014, August 25). Travel + Leisure Taps Nathan Lump as Editor in Chief. *Women's Wear Daily*. Retrieved from <http://wwd.com/globe-news/fashion-memopad/travel-leisure-taps-nathan-lump-as-editor-in-chief-7847927/>
- Sterling, C. *Encyclopedia Of Journalism* [e-book]. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Inc., 2009. Available from: eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost), Ipswich, MA. Accessed April 25, 2015.
- Time Inc. (2014, August 25). *Time Inc. Names Nathan Lump Editor of Travel + Leisure*. Retrieved from <http://www.timeinc.com/about/news/press-release/time-inc-names-nathan-lump-editor-of-travel-leisure/>
- Time Inc. (n.d.). *Travel + Leisure*. Retrieved from <http://www.timeinc.com/brands/travel-leisure/>
- Trachtenberg, A. (1980). *Classic Essays on Photography*. New Haven: Leete's Island Books.
- United States Department of Commerce (2013). *U.S. Citizen Travel to International Regions* [Data file]. Retrieved from <http://travel.trade.gov/view/m-2013-O-001/index.html>
- United States Department of Commerce (2014). *U.S. Citizen Travel to International Regions* [Data file]. Retrieved from <http://travel.trade.gov/view/m-2014-O-001/index.html>
- Wachtel, A. (2010). *The Real World: Frames of Authenticity in Feature Articles of Leisure Travel Magazines*. (Unpublished Masters' thesis). University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.