

THE REAL WORLD:
FRAMES OF AUTHENTICITY IN
FEATURES ARTICLES OF LEISURE TRAVEL MAGAZINES

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by
AIMEE WACHTEL
Dr. Amanda Hinnant, Thesis Supervisor

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

THE REAL WORLD: FRAMES OF AUTHENTICITY IN
FEATURE ARTICLES OF LEISURE TRAVEL MAGAZINES

presented by Aimee Wachtel,

a candidate for the degree of master of arts,

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

Professor Amanda Hinnant

Professor Stephanie Craft

Professor Timothy Vos

Professor Soren Larsen

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INTRODUCTION

Authenticity is a concept grappled with every day in many forms. In daily life, it is second nature to question an object's origin, an individual's intent, or (especially in this era of "reality" television) an event's genesis. Philosophically, it is also common to seek a sense of personal authenticity—often expressed as a desire to be "true to oneself." In yet another sense, culturally speaking, the idea becomes even more complex. What does it mean for one culture or place to be more "authentic" than another? Regardless of its form, however, scholars agree that the concept of authenticity has only become more complicated with time—that modernity has slowly twisted the relationship between not only objects and their origins, but also between individuals and that authentic state of being (Lindholm, 2008). There are of course, as a result, many social phenomena that could be considered manifestations of this "authenticity crisis." Most relevant for this study, however, is the specific suggestion that tourism, or the modern desire to travel, is one such manifestation—a pursuit driven by the need to find or reinforce a sense of authenticity that has been otherwise obscured by modernity (MacCannell, 1973, 1976).

Some scholars describe this pursuit specifically as an attempt to experience an authentic way of life preserved within developing worlds and primitive cultures (MacCannell, 1973, 1976). Other scholars, however, consider there to be a greater variation in the level and nature of the authenticity sought by tourists—some who

might be less concerned with authenticity in the philosophical sense or who might perceive authenticity as being accessible through vehicles other than primitive cultures (Cohen, 1979, 1988; Silver, 1993; Fürsich, 2002). Regardless, there is significant research to suggest that when authenticity *is* perceived as being located within a specific vehicle—such as a culture or destination—this can lead to a process of discursive control which effectively ensures that the vehicle in question adapt or continue to reflect that perceived state of authenticity (Chang & Holt, 1991; Hall, 1994; Silver, 1993). Furthermore, this process has been shown to have particularly negative implications when applied to destinations or cultures that can be considered less-developed—as the potential then emerges for a power relationship which prevents further development in the toured destination as it suits the needs of those seeking authenticity.

A complex question arises, then, of how this concept of authenticity is actually constructed by tourism and travel industries—and more specifically, whether it is being positioned within the developing or non-Western world, where there exists the potential for such power relationships. One influential window into this process is travel journalism, which, as a mass media, has the potential to project and thereby influence the social construction of dominant frames for understanding authenticity (Berger & Luchmann, 1967; Goffman, 1974; Entman, 1993). Travel journalism, of course, can take many forms—travel sections of newspapers, broadcast travel programs, films, or long-form literature, to name a few. That said,

this study took direction from the proposition by David Abrahamson (2007) that the magazine format, more so than any other, assumes, “a unique and powerful role both as a product of its social and cultural moment and as a catalyst for change” — through a lack of journalistic distance and through editorial content that is specifically designed to encourage action in the reader. Accordingly, this study analyzed the framing of the concept of authenticity within the three longest-standing leisure travel magazines: *Travel + Leisure* (1971-), *National Geographic Traveler* (1984-), and *Condé Nast Traveler* (1987-). In order to conduct this research, however, it was important to first explore the established theories relating to social construction of reality, media framing, authenticity and destination representation in tourism and travel literature.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Construction of Reality

Counter to the widely accepted theory of limited media effects, which gained momentum alongside the decline of paranoia about totalitarian propaganda during the 1960s, contemporary mass media theory is once again making room for the argument that media *can* strongly influence culture (Baran & Davis, 2003). One cultural analysis theory explaining this phenomenon is that of the social construction of reality, which recognizes reality as an ongoing social construction and allows for a much more active audience. As Baran and Davis (2003) explain: “Audience members don’t just passively take in and store bits of information in mental filing cabinets, they actively process the information, reshape it, and store only what serves culturally defined needs”(p. 291). Although this manner of information processing sounds constant and time-consuming, early sociology-based discussions of social construction of reality by Alfred Shutz (1967, 1970) showed that this process is streamlined by individuals’ development of “stocks of social knowledge” that can be called upon to expedite the process of ordering and reacting to the outside world. In other words, individuals are constantly re-evaluating their understanding of reality as they move through life, encountering other individuals or objects in the external world and responding to those interactions—a process of construction that becomes routine as past evaluations are stored and stacked upon one another to form a base of evaluation for future encounters. Later research by

Berger and Luchmann (1966), still in the realm of sociology, elaborated on this idea by clarifying the difference between the construction of objective and subjective meanings, or signs, in this interpersonal process (Baron & Davis, 2003). They suggested that, collectively, “people use these signs to construct a reality that allows a culture to function” through typification schemes, or, “collections of meanings we have assigned to some phenomenon, that come from our social stock of knowledge to pattern our interaction with our environments”(p. 294).

This theory is relevant for any study of media representations in its relation to media effects. Simply put, “Media have become the primary means by which many of us experience or learn about the world around us” (Baron & Davis, 2003, p. 280); and furthermore, because individuals collectively form understandings of reality through interaction, media have the potential to influence not only individual, but cultural understandings of the world.

The Active Audience, or the “Audience Effect” on Content

Beyond the active role implied by the process of social construction—of constantly processing, reshaping and storing information—when it comes to media, there is strong evidence that the audience also plays an active role in affecting content. Gatekeeping theory, first applied to media processes by White (1950), broadly suggests that media editors serve as a “gate” between all that could possibly be communicated and the selected information that is actually provided to the

audience for consumption. The focus, then, has traditionally been on the ways in which this gives media providers control over their audiences.

Other examinations of the gatekeeping process, however, call attention to external influences on the gatekeepers themselves, one of which, perhaps ironically, is the audience itself (Pool & Shulman, 1959; Napoli, 2003; Allen, 2005; Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). Pool and Shulman (1959) explain: "...the audience also affects the communicator. The messages sent are in part determined by expectations of audience reactions. The audience...thus play more than a passive role in communication" (p. 145) In their study, perhaps one of the earliest examples of this concept of "audience effects," Pool and Shulman (1959) showed that newsmen took their audience into account when delivering their news—specifically by distorting "bad news" that they perceived as being distasteful to their audience.

Later studies explored this concept further by looking at the relationship between the audience and the bottom line. Allen (2005) traced this phenomenon to the rise of audience research by news consultants, explaining that, by considering news media as they would any other corporation, "They made clear that a news organization's first concern is dissuading viewers from changing channels..." (p. 379). In this sense, "Gatekeepers learned to select topics most appealing to viewers."(Allen, 2005, p. 365). Additionally, Napoli (2003) explored the important relationship between *advertisers* and the media—a relationship that facilitated the audience's effect on media content. In other words, because advertising dollars fuel

journalistic media, the media must be able to sell its audiences to advertisers—motivating them, then, to adapt their content to attract certain identifiable and marketable audiences (Napoli, 2003). As Napoli (2003) points out, “Consumer magazines operate at a roughly 50-50 split between the sale of audiences and the sale of content,” which suggests that they particularly would exhibit the tendency to adapt their content to a perceived audience (p. 17).

Framing and the Media

One particularly effective way of analyzing how content might contain a specific message or be directed towards a specific audience is through framing theory, a key analytical tool for use in cultural communication research. Goffman (1974) laid the foundation for framing theory with an account of how expectations are used to make sense of daily situations. Similar to Shutz’s (1967, 1970) “stocks of knowledge” idea, Goffman suggested that, informed by prior experience and knowledge, individuals organize their thoughts and experiences within frames—or “schemata of interpretation”—which then enable them to more easily “locate, perceive, identify and label” the world around them. In terms of communication research, Entman (1993) addressed the concept of how individuals draw on these pre-existing frames when communicating with others, and more specifically, when communicating through original works such as media. He explains that:

Communicators make conscious or unconscious framing judgments in deciding what to say, guided by frames (often called schemata) that organize their belief systems. The text contains frames, which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock

phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

Furthermore, Entman (1993) explains that an evaluation of content through frame analysis will reveal the messages tucked away in that content. In simpler terms, by analyzing the particular “way” an author chooses to describe an issue, Entman proposed that information can be gleaned about the overall message the author (intentionally or not) is communicating to the reader. It is for this reason that, unlike many prior discussions of framing and selection, Entman’s focus was on those perceptions of reality that are left out of the frame. He paid special attention to the potentially problematic way that “frames select and call attention to particular aspects of the reality described...[and] simultaneously direct attention away from other aspects” (1993, p. 54).

A “frame” then, could be defined as a particular way of discussing an issue, or organizing a discourse, that the author (or other communicator) has chosen in favor of alternate ways of discussing the same issue (Altheide, 1996). Altheide (1996), however, also makes the distinction between these broad frames that function as a boundary (by excluding alternate ways of understanding an issue) and “miniframes,” which essentially operate as textual themes. In this sense, a frame can contain many miniframes (or themes), but would limit which of these are used. It then follows that textual themes could function as the primary indicators of larger textual frames. Furthermore, Entman (1991) suggested that frames could be

detected through recurring “keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols and visual images” that contribute to the construction of those textual themes (p. 7). Other scholars have agreed, suggesting that analysis of themes, rhetorical devices, and accompanying headlines and visuals can be pivotal in identifying media frames—and thereby in considering their potential influence on perceptions of content (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Parenti, 1993).

Place framing

Particularly relevant to discussions of travel magazines, which primarily deal in representations of destinations, is a specialized theory of framing known as “place-framing.” Broadly speaking, this is the idea that when frames are used to describe a geographic place, they function as discursive mechanisms that have the potential to affect the reality of that place. In other words, the process goes beyond “place-framing” to become “place-making” (Martin, 2003). This is because, as Martin (2000) explains, places have an inherently social constitution— they “evolve through several complex and intertwined elements, including...the language of representation” (Martin, 2000, p. 381). Furthermore, because the process of framing is largely discursive in nature, Martin (2000) describes the pivotal role that media play in this process: “The dynamics of media portrayals constitute more than a series of representations of a place. Rather, they form part of the overall development of a place identity and place meaning” (Martin, 2000, p. 400). Of course, the process is not unidirectional, and as Martin points out in a later study

(2003), the process of place-framing can be re-claimed by those cultures who typically find themselves represented by others—and in this sense, can become a tool for self-realization.

More commonly, however, the process works in the opposite direction and operates as “...an example of the ways that social structures and institutions maintain certain forms of power” (Martin, 2000, p. 381). Myers, Klak and Koehl (1996) found this exact process at work in their study of the varying news coverage of two very similar conflicts in Rwanda and Bosnia. In their study, it became apparent that the depictions of Rwanda had been distorted to reflect, “...a timeless and placeless realm of ‘tribal’ conflict, the repository of deep-seated US fears of African ‘others’,” while Bosnia was depicted as being “more civilized” (pp. 21-22). They succinctly explain the significance of their findings by saying, “Such differentiation...contributes to negative impressions of Africa and Africans in the West” and, as such, “implicates the news media as a central player in the social construction...of people and places” (Myers et al., 1996, pp. 21-22).

Like social construction of reality, framing theory has particular relevance as a theory of media effects, specifically in the idea that media messages can influence the way an audience constructs their notions of reality or the “outside world.” As said by Entman (1991), media frames have the potential to “encourage those perceiving and thinking about events to develop particular understandings of them” (p. 7). Furthermore, Sharp (1993) made the argument that the understanding place-

frames can be greatly enriched by studying *popular* sources of information—such as magazines—which, unlike the texts of geopolitical elites, might play a larger role in the creation and reflection of wider cultural values. In this sense, assuming that frames have the potential to influence not only perceptions of place, but the place itself, it is important to understand how popular media outlets such as travel magazines frame issues or concepts relating to destinations—such as that of authenticity.

Rousseau and Origins of the Concept of Authenticity

The concept of authenticity has complex origins and can take many forms. As fittingly said by Trilling (1974) “the word ‘authenticity’ comes so readily to the tongue these days and in so many connections that it may very well resist...efforts of definition”(p. 11). Nevertheless, in its most basic sense, authenticity can be defined as the state of being, “sincere, essential, natural, original and real” (Lindholm, 2008, p. 1). This definition of the term is derived from the context of museums, through the discussion of whether or not objects are what they seem or claim to be (Sharpley, 1994; Trilling, 1974). But authenticity can also be considered in a philosophical sense, in relation to the history of ideas. Lindholm (2008) argues that this philosophical concept of authenticity first emerged during the sixteenth century following the breakdown of the feudal system and the beginning of the modern era, a time characterized by movement out of the countryside and into urban environments (p. 3). This development provided individuals with more social

mobility but also contributed to feelings of alienation and meaninglessness, as identity was no longer defined through pre-determined occupations and the workplace became a space of standardized roles (Lindholm, 2008, pp. 3-6). Additionally, without predetermined occupation and social status, a new potential arose for guile and deceit, as individuals acquired the potential to hide their origins and pretend to be “better than they actually were” (Lindholm, 2008, p. 3). In this sense, there are two distinct but overlapping modes of considering authenticity: authenticity of origin and authenticity of self. The former can be considered in the “museum” sense and the latter in a more philosophical sense relating to one’s state of being.

This latter understanding of authenticity continued to be developed, in part by Jean Jacques Rousseau’s *Confessions* (published posthumously in 1781) in which he emphasized a state of being true to one’s essential nature, without regards for moral standards of society (Lindholm, 2008). At this time, there was also an increase in European exploration of the globe, and as a result, an increase in cross-cultural encounters—both of which contributed to a general sense of cultural anxiety about whether the Western experience was “absolute and true” (Lindholm, 2008, p. 5). Some, including Rousseau, then came to the opposite conclusion—that non-Western cultures were, in fact, the lost source of that authentic existence. Rousseau went even one step further in his claim that it was specifically the *Western*

experience that suppressed what was “absolute and true” in human nature (Lindholm, 2008).

In *A discourse upon the origin and the foundation of the inequality of mankind* (1910), Rousseau argued that modern civil society is bound to repress the authentic human “state of nature,” and pointed to primitive cultures as the last exemplars of that authentic state of being. This argument stemmed from his assertion that human evolution was a *descent* from the primitive state in which the only motivation is self-love or self-preservation, to a corrupted state embodied by the civilized man who is motivated instead by personal vanity or an estimation of self-worth in relation to others (Rousseau, 1910; Lindholm 2008). He said revealingly that, “Nature behaves towards all animals left to her care with a predilection, that seems to prove how jealous she is of that prerogative,” suggesting his own belief that authenticity is found in a “natural” state (Rousseau, 1910). In describing man’s process of corruption by the modern, civil “state of society,” he first pointed to a weakened physical state—a “loss of strength and agility” caused by reliance on machines and an increase in “sources of sickness.” Then, he focused on the corruption of man’s moral character—a tendency resulting from the formation of society to judge oneself in relation to others—which he described as a “universal desire of reputation, of honours, of preference” and “an universal competition, rivalry, or rather enmity among men.”

More interestingly, however, Rousseau (1910) drew a distinction between an absolute “state of nature,” in which men are concerned only with self-preservation, and the “happiest and most durable” state in which his contemporaries found primitive cultures. He described these contemporary primitives as having formed small societies in which they could “enjoy with each other all the pleasure of an independent intercourse,” but as not yet having reached a point where individuals are *reliant* on one another to the extent that equality vanishes—or “the moment it appeared an advantage for one man to possess the quantity of provisions required by two”(Rousseau, 1910). Rousseau (1910) dramatically idealized this state of contemporary primitive by saying,

The more we reflect on this state, the more convinced we shall be, that it was the least subject of any to revolutions, the best for man, and that nothing could have drawn him out of it but some fatal accident, which, for the public good, should never have happened. The example of the savages, most of whom have been found in this condition, seems to confirm that mankind was formed ever to remain in it, that this condition is the real youth of the world, and that all ulterior improvements have been so many steps, in appearance towards the perfection of individuals, but in fact towards the decrepitness of the species.

It is this sort of conception, of a specific culture or way of life as the lost source of authentic existence, that is most relevant to contemporary discussions of travel and tourism—namely because many scholars see this concept as the very motivation driving contemporary travel: a pursuit of authenticity.

Authenticity in Tourism

The foundation for the discussion of authenticity's relation to tourism was largely developed by the work of Dean MacCannell (1973, 1976) and Erik Cohen (1979, 1988). Schools of thought, however, divided the two researchers: MacCannell suggested that authenticity should be defined in terms of the objective authenticity of the setting, while Cohen suggested that the definition of authenticity was dependent on the tourist's subjective construct of an "authentic experience" (Pearce & Moscardo, 1986).

MacCannell (1973, 1976) argued that modern tourism is motivated by an attempt to escape alienation—a "quest" for a more authentic and complete reality characterized by "the pristine, the primitive, the natural"—the very same authentic "state of nature" described by Rousseau. His argument was also predicated on the assumption that an objective state of authenticity did, in fact, exist for tourists to discover or experience, but that it was obscured by the tourism industry. He borrowed an earlier theater metaphor from Goffman (1959) to say that tourists seek "the backstage" and are perennially frustrated by unfulfilling and inauthentic "frontstage" environments—what MacCannell called "staged authenticity" (MacCannell, 1973). In other words, tourists are looking for that pass into other, more authentic cultures, where they can finally experience "life as it is really lived" (MacCannell, 1973, p. 594), but are effectively caught in a web of manufactured tourism laid out in front of them. Here, MacCannell is suggesting that the

philosophical pursuit of “authenticity of self” is first dependent on the existence of authenticity in the museum sense—through interaction with “real” cultures.

Cohen (1979, 1988), however, rejected MacCannell’s conception of tourists as being in pursuit of an objective authenticity rooted in the past, suggesting instead that there are variations in the kinds of “authenticity” that tourists, in fact seek within their travel experiences. More directly, “The question here is *not* whether the individual does or does not “really” have an authentic experience...but rather what endows his experience with authenticity in his own view”(Cohen, 1979, p. 378). He also suggested that, unlike MacCannell’s hapless victims of “staged” illusions, tourists are generally able to perceive both authenticity and in-authenticity, the distinction being that some tourists are satisfied, even purposely seek, less-authentic experiences (1979, 1988). In this sense, Cohen, is suggesting that authenticity in the museum sense is irrelevant to the pursuit of authenticity in the philosophical sense, as a state of being.

Cohen (1979) further developed this hierarchy of tourist experiences by outlining five categories of tourists: recreational, diversionary, experiential, experimental and existential. The first two categories suggest a tourist experience that is similar to any other entertainment and that assumes little auspice of interest in authentic experience of other cultures (Cohen, 1979). What’s more, he explains that diversionary tourists often enjoy products that are completely *inauthentic*, as long as they have other positive attributes such as being “funny, cute, or lovely”

(Cohen, 1988, p. 379). The last three of Cohen's (1979) categories are more reminiscent of McCannell's (1976) tourist-seeking meaning in an authentic experience of another culture—with the latter two being characterized by a greater willingness of the subject to abandon attachment to their own culture and immerse in the culture of destination. In these last three examples, a higher level of authenticity is presumably accessed as the individuals release their understanding of the toured destination as a place of “the other” and embrace the culture in a more permanent sense. In the later research he paints a fuller picture of the individuals that might fall into these last three categories, as those individuals who feel the greatest sense of alienation from modern life and who are “disposed to reflect upon their life situation”—namely intellectuals and members of the upper classes (Cohen, 1988, p. 376). It follows then, according to Cohen (1988), that “intellectuals and other more alienated individuals will engage on a more serious quest for authenticity than most rank-and-file members of society... [and] the greater their concern for authenticity, the stricter will be the criteria by which they perceive of it”(p. 376). The mass tourist then, according to Cohen, is both less concerned with seeking authenticity and less stringent in his categorization of authentic experiences.

Following in Cohen's footsteps, alternate hierarchies emerged in later research that also classify tourist experiences based on varying expectations of authenticity. Silver (1993) identifies three classes of the modern tourist: the mass

tourist, the alternative traveler, and the “chic” traveler. Silver’s (1993) mass tourist is similar to MacCannell’s in that he desires to have an authentic experience of the “primitive,” but differs in the distinction that he also wants to have modern amenities and accommodations at his disposal. In essence, this mass tourist does not want to fully immerse, but simply visit for a short period of time. On the other hand, Silver’s “alternative travelers” are completely unique in that their sense of authenticity is defined specifically in contrast to mass tourism. This class of traveler seeks an authenticity that “takes them off the beaten track,” to remote and unadvertised places that have yet to be commoditized by tourism (pp. 312-313). Finally, the “chic traveler,” also seeks a more authentic experience than that of the mass traveler but shies away from the griminess of the back-road, back-packing methods “alternative traveler”—instead choosing to find authenticity in a practice of travel that is “culturally sensitive” and “ecologically responsible”(p. 315). This is arguably an elite class of traveler whose experience of authenticity is characterized by a mixture of perceived authenticity of culture, luxury and exclusivity of access (Silver, 1993).

Finally, for Fürsich (2002), another hierarchy emerges of the “untourist” and the “post-tourist.” Similar to Silver’s (1993) “alternative traveler,” the “untourist[s]” define the authenticity of their experience, in part, as a direct contrast to mass tourism—they avoid mass tourist locations and “try to experience the “real” culture,” often by downgrading their standards of class and comfort (Fürsich, 2002, p. 211).

Fürsich's (2002) post-tourist is truly post-modern in the sense that he or she claims to recognize the futility of seeking an authentic experience through tourism, and engage in a self-referential "mocking" of tourism while continuing to engage in traditional tourist experiences.

From the literature on tourist experiences of authenticity, then, several possibilities emerged for the framing of authenticity within travel magazines: as accessible through an experience of the primitive or less-modern (MacCannell, 1973, 1976; Rousseau, 1910); as accessible through immersion in other cultures (Cohen, 1979, 1988), as located in a less-modern experience, with the caveat that there be still be Westernized amenities for the traveler (Silver, 1993) as a rejection of mass tourism (Fürsich, 2002; Silver, 1993) as located in a travel experience that is ecologically and culturally sensitive (Silver, 1993) and as a futile pursuit that is nonetheless engaged in from a position of self-referential mocking (Fürsich, 2002). Further insight, however, into potential framing of authenticity, as well as the effects of certain frames, was also gained from reviewing existing research on representations of destinations in travel journalism.

Authenticity in Travel Journalism: Discursive Power Relationships

Prior research on travel journalism and tourism literature has shown that the discourse surrounding destinations broadly emphasizes a romanticized state "being of the past," and, specifically for non-Western destinations, emphasizes a primitive state or a "lack of modernity." Furthermore, this process of framing

destinations in terms of a primitive or pre-modern state has been shown by scholars to have a dangerous potential for perpetuating traditional power relationships between the developed and developing world through the process of discursive colonialism (Clifford, 1986; Chang & Holt, 1991; Lutz & Collins, 1993; Hall, 1994; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998).

Colonialism and the non-Western other

In one sense, when authenticity is positioned in cultures that have yet to fully modernize, this leads to the idealization of a more primitive state. Furthermore, to the extent that less-modern, or primitive cultures have traditionally been thought of as located outside of the Western world, the concept of the non-Western other becomes highly relevant. This concept developed out of the age of colonialism in which “encounters with newly colonized peoples...required the Anglo-American imagination to develop some way of accounting for cultural differences” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 18). Problematically, the justifications manufactured in the West to explain apparent cultural differences were largely based on assumptions of unilateral development. Within this framework, societies were limited to movement along a unidirectional scale of progress from the undesirable primitive state (least developed) to the desirable modern state (most developed). In this way, the study of difference was directed not only toward identity formation, but also toward the “creation of hierarchy” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 18). At the root of much of the colonialism that characterized the nineteenth century was this assumption

that, by representing the furthest form of development, Western societies were at the top of that hierarchy, and naturally in a position dominant to that of more “primitive” societies—that were “assumed to be lagging behind in mental or moral development” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 18).

Discursive colonialism

Another form of Western colonialism, and one perhaps more relevant to this study, was one that took place in the halls of museums and on the pages of anthropological magazines. Clifford (1986) refers to this discursive colonialism when he says, “‘Cultures’ do not hold still for their portraits. Attempts to make them do so always involve simplifications and exclusion, selection of a temporal focus, the construction of a particular self-other relationship, and the imposition or negotiation of a power relationship” (p. 10). In other words, in painting a portrait of another culture, a certain amount of dominance is exerted (intentionally or not) over that culture. Traditionally, this simple process of collection and display allowed Western society to take cultures out of their own context, appropriate them, and mold them into manifestations of specific Western desires such as “possession,” or the image of a “stable and complete ‘humanity’” – essentially resulting in the ordering of the exotic and the foreign into something comfortable (Lutz and Collins, 1993, p. 23).

Media scholars are in a unique position to discuss this so-called discursive colonialism that travel and tourism discourse still perpetuate. Early on,

anthropological magazines, particularly *National Geographic Magazine*, were in an especially prime position to present “primitive” peoples for Western perusal” and do so in a way that emphasized differences and created a hierarchy that would help readers understand their relationship with non-Western cultures (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 18). Lutz and Collins’ (1993) analyzed the patterns of representation associated with images of the non-Western other in *National Geographic* and identified four dominant themes: they were portrayed as “exotic” through ritual and indigenous dress; they were “idealized” through images that dominantly showed them smiling, nonviolent, neither poor nor rich, neither young nor old, and engaged in productive activity; they were “naturalized” through images that lacked historical context, characterized them as “people of nature” and limited them to an existence in one of two worlds (either touched or untouched by the Western hand of progress); and, finally, they were “sexualized” through images displaying nudity (1993, pp. 89-115).

This process of idealizing the primitive becomes especially problematic in the context of a pursuit of authenticity that emphasizes a lack of development or modernization. As Silver (1993) points out, when travelers seek authenticity in the primitive, tourism discourse adapts to avoid reference to any modernization, and the end result is often an extreme idealization of the “primitive” that refuses to address, for example, the fact that, “most native peoples live amidst wretched poverty”(p. 304).

The straightjacket of the past

Beyond idealization, this positioning of authenticity in primitive cultures also encourages tourism discourse to frame any hint of development in these destinations or cultures through a negative lens—for example: through a lens of overcrowded cities, urban sprawl or pollution (Chang & Holt, 1991). Chang and Holt (1991) explain that, for tourists, “If development exists...then tradition must suffer; if tradition suffers, then the only attraction for Western attention no longer exists” (p. 110). As a result today’s tourist is seeking authenticity exclusively in “pre-modern ‘times’ and places” or in “pristine, natural landscapes”(Morgan & Pritchard, 1998, p. 8). Vividly, Chang and Holt (1991) equate this demand for the traditional to, “forcing a culture into the straightjacket of a defined ‘past’”(p. 116). Presumably, when great value is placed on qualities such as timelessness and connection to nature, the tourist discourse will reflect an expectation that these qualities be evident in tourist experiences, thereby encouraging the perpetuation of that very state of being in the toured culture. This results, then, in what is essentially a discursive mechanism used to bind cultures in a less-developed state as it serves the needs of the modern world.

Xiao and Mair (2006) observed this same phenomenon in their research where they documented “a recurring perception of the changing versus the unchanged” in representations of China in newspaper travel articles. Their research showed that in reference to “culture, history, infrastructure, and/or physical

environment,” the discourse reflected an exotic and mystical image (Xiao & Mair, 2006). In reference to current events and China’s modern-day interaction on the global chessboard, however, the discourse suggested they might “scare off tourists” (Xiao & Mair, 2006).

Interestingly, despite the evidence that the pursuit of authenticity encourages a binding emphasis on a lack of development, a paradox also arises in travel and tourism discourse: that tourists seek an authentic experience of the primitive in so far as their accommodations and amenities remain comfortable by modern standards. In other words, some aspects of modernity are still highly valued, even expected, in tourist experiences—specifically modern accommodations and Western standards of cleanliness (Chang & Holt, 1991). Chang & Holt describe the hypocrisy of these tourists who—bearing a striking similarity to Silver’s (1993) “mass” or “chic” travelers—“expect to step back through a gateway to the past [only] when they leave their hotel” at which point they wholly expect, “the exotic, the unusual, the unknown, [and] the different...”(1991, p. 115).

From this, an understanding emerges that discourse surrounding authenticity is bound to wrestle, on one side, with the desire for “modern” (or specifically Western) conditions in which to experience the authentic other, and on the other side, a mind frame that resents, and possibly prevents, the authentic other from trying to move towards those very same “modern” conditions.

Commoditization

Hall (1994), however, posited that this desire to “freeze” cultures in time does little to actually perpetuate dependency or restrict development, but is instead relevant in terms of what he and other scholars refer to as the commoditization of culture. Hall basically reiterates Chang and Holt’s (1991) idea that tourism can redefine social realities when he says, “creat[ing] images of a place... also create expectations on the part of the visitor, which in turn may lead the destination to adapt to such expectations. Destinations may therefore become caught in a tourist gaze from which they cannot readily escape...” (1994, p. 178). Nevertheless, Hall goes on to define the nature of that “adaptation” that occurs at the behest of the visitor, as a process which is truly closer to the “transformation of traditional, cultural activities into public commodities for the tourist marketplace—thereby destroying the authenticity and power associated with that cultural ritual for the literal native” (1994, p. 158). In other words, the destructive power of the demand for authenticity lies not in the potential to halt the development of primitive cultures, but in the potential to actually strip the authenticity from those cultures—as traditions and rituals are gradually performed solely for the purposes of the tourism and have no authentic meaning for the culture itself. Ironically, then, as Hall (1994) points out, a secondary result of this commoditization process, beyond that of manifested neo-colonialism, is that the very destinations pressured to remain authentic, become less so as they begin to manufacture “authentic” experiences to

sustain tourist traffic while their society continues to modernize and develop “backstage.”

Extension to Western destinations and the “internal orient”

In addition to the above research on the representation of non-Western or primitive destinations, there has been research to suggest that travel discourse positions authenticity in modern, Western destinations—through an emphasis on traditionalism and a state of “being in the past.” In a frame analysis of feature articles on Portugal, Santos (2004) found that there were two consistent but contradictory frames used to describe the country: “the unchanging host and culture” and “modern Portugal.” On one hand, Santos (2004) found that these media narratives promoted “romanticized concepts of cultural patterns and ways of being that [held] and confine[d] tourists and natives to notions of who they ought to be...”(p. 135). However, the findings also showed that modernity could be framed in a positive way, as long as it was an urban setting in question (Santos, 2004). Essentially, it would be depicted negatively were a quiet village to reflect development and modernization, but all the glorious trappings of modernity would be allowed to glitter and excite a modern traveler in an urban setting that has already fully modernized. This seems to suggest that travel magazines may position authenticity in Western destinations as well, but that this process would be limited to non-urban destinations that exhibit qualities of a less-modernized world.

Another way that authenticity could potentially be positioned within the West (or developed world) is through the idea of the “internal orient”—by which the other is located within the boundaries of the same political state as those doing the “othering.” Jansson (2003) explains: “The internal orientalist discourse represents a subordinate section of the state in a particular (unflattering) way so as to produce a national (i.e., state-scale) identity with desirable characteristics” (p. 297). Jansson’s (2003) study showed that within the United States, the South functions as the internal other against which a national identity can be formed. Other studies, however, have found that the existence of an internal orient does not necessarily require that the other in question be characterized negatively—quite the opposite, the internal other is idealized, even functioning in some cases as a site of authenticity for the dominant culture (Gladney, 1994; Schein, 1997).

In a study of the Chinese internal other, Gladney (1994) found that the discourse of the Chinese majority is similar to that of “the representation of colonized peoples by colonial regimes”(p. 98) and that the constructed picture of the minority was in many ways that of an idealized primitive. Gladney’s (1994) observations about the Chinese internal other are very similar to the descriptions of Lutz and Collin’s (1993) non-Western other—exotic, natural, colorful, “primitive,” and erotic—and also reflect a process of commoditization similar to that described by Hall (1994)— “the representing, packaging, and selling of their images, artworks, and “costumes” (p. 97). In a similar study by Schein (1997), she presents the issue

in terms of an urban majority and a rural exotic other—a “fascination of more cosmopolitan Chinese with “exotic” minority cultures” within China (p. 70). In this framework, there is a “Chinese elite that engages in domestic othering” of what are often rural minorities (Schein, 1997, p. 73). Most importantly, Schein (1997) also argues that this internal other serves as a vehicle for the reclamation of a lost authenticity, or what he calls “the hope for recovery of a self weakened and threatened at the center”(p. 73). In Schein’s (1997) example, the Chinese majority hopes to regain a sense of self that was stripped during the Cultural Revolution, through renewed appreciation of these “exotic” minorities—the internal others.

It seems possible, then, that this concept of the internal orient might be evident in the discourse of American travel discourse, as well—where micro-cultures such as a rural minority could similarly serve as a vehicle for reclamation of a lost authenticity. So, from existing research on representations of destinations in travel journalism, there emerged the potential for authenticity to simply be framed as accessible through destinations (or cultures) that are specifically non-urban, that have a strong sense of history and tradition, or that are simply less modernized—even those within the magazine’s own country of origin (Santos, 2003; Chang & Holt, 1991; Jansson, 2003). That said, taking into account the fact that there had been (to the author’s knowledge) no prior analysis of travel magazine content with the express purpose of studying emergent frames of authenticity, it also seemed

possible that were yet many additional ways in which the pursuit of authenticity could be presented to the reader.

Research Questions

In light of the potential impact of media framing on the social construction of reality, it is important to understand how cultural ideas are framed and presented for consumption through journalism. This is particularly the case with a concept such as authenticity that can take on a variety of potential frames—some of which, as shown, have potentially negative implications for the destination, including commoditization of culture or impeded development. Considering these social and cultural implications that could accompany specific frames, it becomes essential to determine which frames are most evident in actual travel discourse, such as the editorial content of travel magazines. Accordingly, this research addressed the following questions:

Primary research question: How is authenticity framed within feature articles of travel magazines?

Research question 1a: Is there a difference in how authenticity is framed in articles on non-Western and Western destinations?

Research question 1b: Is there a difference in how authenticity is framed across the three publications studied?

RESEARCH METHODS

Broadly, this study assumed the form of a qualitative, textual frame analysis that drew from several different methods—namely that of textual analysis (Hall, 1975; Van Dijk, 1991), constant comparison (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), and ethnographic content analysis (Altheide, 1996).

On its broadest level, this research followed the guidelines of a textual analysis, which allows the researcher to take account the latent meanings and discursive strategies of all aspects of the analyzed content (Hall, 1975). Though textual analysis focuses on the text as evidence, it also takes the position that the text, “as part of the social milieu, is itself laden with social and political-economic signs,” which can therefore also be analyzed (Lester-Roushanzamir & Raman, 1999). Textual analysis was chosen in order to best address the research questions (above), which were intended to unearth the inherent meaning of the text as might relate to concepts of authenticity (Van Dijk, 1991). Because of the nature of editorial content in leisure travel magazines, it was not expected (as it would be in advertising, for example) that there would be an explicit rhetorical argument surrounding the concept. Instead, it was thought that the concept of authenticity would more likely be woven throughout the texts on an implicit level, much like the manner in which it functions as a socially implicit concept that has been absorbed over time in Western culture. By taking into account textual devices such as metaphor, allusions, or tone, this study was able to address, first, how this concept is

framed and secondly, how these frames inform the global meaning of these articles, which, however minutely, have the potential to influence a reader's understanding and perception of the destination in question.

Accordingly, this study adopted the methodological application for a textual analysis suggested by Hall (1975), of beginning with a "long initial soak" in the material and then proceeding to an "extremely close reading" of the text. For this second stage of "close reading," however, this research also drew from the more precise and media-specific method outlined by David Altheide (1996): ethnographic content analysis (also referred to as qualitative document analysis). Altheide's (1996) method, ECA, is largely based on Glaser and Strauss' (1967) constant comparative method, but is less directed towards theory development, and more toward the discovery of a text's meaning through a process of emergent data collection. An additional difference is Altheide's (1996) emphasis on the use of a protocol for data collection, as opposed to Glaser and Strauss' (1967) suggestion that "coding need consist only of noting categories on margins" (p. 106). This structure was helpful in providing consistency during the process of constant comparison, allowing for coded material to be more efficiently compared and analyzed across categories.

Examples in Prior Research

In terms of prior research, there has been one relevant study of travel literature content that utilized frame analysis to study cultural representation in

tourist discourse: Santos' (2003) study of media framing of Portugal. Similar to this study, his methods involved a first read-through in which preliminary textual "messages" were established. He then returned to his preliminary notes and, "...descriptions that contain[ed] similar messages were combined and appropriately labeled, and theme frequency was identified, revealing relationships and differences in framing" (p. 127). His study, however, unlike this one, only looked at travel sections of major U. S. newspapers and did not extend to leisure magazines. One other highly relevant study, Chang and Holt (1991), did not identify particular textual frames but applied the method of textual analysis to study contrasting representations of Taiwan in newspaper travel articles. Similar to this study, they looked at elements such as specific words and phrases chosen, sentence structure, descriptive imagery and author's tone (Chang & Holt, 1991). Others studied similar content but used alternative methods: Xiao and Mair (2006) used the method of inductive analysis to evaluate newspaper travel articles, Silver (1993) used visual analysis to evaluate the images used by travel agents to market the third world, and Lutz and Collins (1993) limited their analysis to published photographs and captions and utilized the quantitative method of content analysis. Lastly, one study used a relevant method but dealt with tourism discourse that was not print-media related: Fürsich (2002) performed a textual analysis of travel related television shows.

Specifics of Data Collection

Following both Hall's (1975) and Altheide's (1996) methods, this research began with a "long initial soak" in the material, during which the researcher established a preliminary set of emergent frames, followed by a "close reading," during which the researcher added, refined and collapsed the initial frame categories. More specifically, during this second stage of data collection, the researcher recorded relevant textual passages and made notes as to their relation to the preliminary frame categories, or to their containing of wholly original frame categories. Most importantly, however, as implied by the idea of "constant comparison," the researcher, throughout the process, compared the passage currently being coded to others of a similar coding category, making notes as to the evolving, or emerging, definition of that category (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Altheide, 1996). Then, when all of the texts had been "closely read" — and all relevant passages recorded and categorized — the researcher analyzed the data and further refined or collapsed frame categories as necessary (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Altheide, 1996).

Research Sample

This sample drew content specifically from the three longest-standing American leisure travel magazines: *Travel + Leisure* (1971-), *National Geographic Traveler* (1984-), and *Condé Nast Traveler* (1987-). These magazines were chosen because of their dominance in the industry and because of their potential to reflect

the concept of “authenticity” in a distinctive manner—as suggested by their respective audience demographics and promotional materials.

	<i>Travel + Leisure</i>	<i>National Geographic</i>	<i>Condé Nast</i>
Paid/Verified Circulation	963,707 ABC Publisher’s Statement 12/09 (Audit Bureau of Circulations, 2009)	726,192 ABC Publisher’s Statement 12/09 (Audit Bureau of Circulations, 2009)	818,492 ABC Publisher’s Statement 12/09 (Audit Bureau of Circulations, 2009)
Median Age	49 MRI Reader Profile, Spring 2009 (American Express Publishing, n.d.)	41.9 MRI Reader Profile, Spring 2009 (National Geographic Society, 2010)	49 MRI Doublebase 2009 (Condé Nast Publications, 2010)
Median Household Income	\$92,617 MRI Reader Profile, Spring 2009 (American Express Publishing, n.d.)	\$71,663 MRI Reader Profile, Spring 2009 (National Geographic Society, 2010)	\$110,037 MRI Doublebase 2009 (Condé Nast Publications, 2010)

Figure 1: Comparison of Audience Demographics by Magazine

Travel + Leisure

Travel + Leisure was the oldest of the three magazines looked at— potentially indicating that content might be slightly more conservative or traditional in its framing of authenticity by, for example, locating authenticity in less developed destinations or by exhibiting less concern for contemporary issues such as cultural sustainability. Additionally this magazine was chosen because it has the largest paid and verified circulation of any of the travel magazines studied (Audit Bureau of Circulations, 2009). Because *Travel + Leisure* circulates to a larger, and presumably broader audience, it was speculated that its content might cater to more of a “mass” audience, and thereby more of a “mass” traveler—which Cohen (1988) described as being both less discerning and generally less concerned with the pursuit of authenticity overall. In addition, it was thought that this might indicate a softened

take on tourism and tourist activities—in contrast to the other two magazines which were predicted to cater to travelers that specifically position themselves as “anti-tourists.” That said, however, much like *National Geographic Traveler* and *Condé Nast Traveler, Travel + Leisure’s* mission statement directly references the concept of authenticity: “With an eye for the authentic, the innovative, and the irresistible, *Travel + Leisure* propels its readers to travel now, travel smarter, and travel often”(American Express Publishing, n.d.). This statement would indicate the opposite, then—that the content again would indicate a concern with authenticity more indicative of Cohen’s (1988) experiential, experimental or existential tourists.

National Geographic Traveler

National Geographic Traveler was chosen because of its close association to *National Geographic Magazine*, which has been the subject of many studies—most notably Lutz and Collins (1993). Because of this relationship to its distinguished anthropological counterpart, it was speculated that the framing of authenticity in *National Geographic Traveler* might reflect a similar pattern of discursive colonialism of the non-Western other. That said, its mission statement, as well as other claims within its media kit, seemed to reflect a rejection of this controversial precedent, and instead, to emphasize cultural sensitivity. For example, the claim that, “we cover destinations rich in distinction and character, while actively supporting efforts to keep them that way...we believe that enhancing an authentic ‘sense of place’ benefits both travelers and the locations they explore,” or its claimed

“respect for each destination’s historical, cultural and natural heritage”(National Geographic Society, 2010). These statements suggested the opposite, that the concept might be framed in a manner less significant for non-Western destinations. Nevertheless, these statements also suggested that the textual framing might position destinations as a direct source of authenticity, and furthermore, frame change as a threat that authenticity—a direct reflection of Chang & Holt’s (1993) concern with the discursive “straight-jacket.”

Additionally, in terms of audience demographics, *National Geographic Traveler* has both the youngest readership and the lowest median household income of the three magazines selected (see figure 1), which opened a possibility for the content to cater slightly more to travelers who are less concerned with luxuries or amenities and more interested in a truly immersive experience—such as Silver’s (1993) alternative traveler or Fürsich’s (2002) “un-tourist” (National Geographic Society, 2010). Furthermore, despite having the lowest percentage of readers who are college graduates, *National Geographic Traveler* claims to have “an audience of geotourists” who are greatly concerned with social issues such as sustainable travel (National Geographic Society, 2010). This suggests that content might cater to travelers such as Silver’s (1993) culturally and ecologically sensitive “chic” traveler.

Condé Nast Traveler

Lastly, *Condé Nast Traveler* was chosen because of its arguable position as the most “elite” travel publication within the industry. It is the only travel magazine

that has received a National Magazine Award (which this publication has been awarded six times) and its readership boasts the highest median household income of the three magazines (Condé Nast Publications, 2010). Accordingly, this opened the possibility for *Condé Nast's* content to cater to a readership that places a higher emphasis on Western standards of luxury and amenity. This was further underscored by the magazine's mission statement which portrays its readers as, "the most frequent and affluent travelers in the world....discerning about travel as well as about culture, fashion and design...[and] on the forefront of spending on luxury items..."(Condé Nast Publications, 2010). This last statement also hinted at the idea of cultural sensitivity, such as seen in Silver's (1993) "chic" traveler (Condé Nast Publications, 2010). Furthermore, *Condé Nast Traveler's* mission statement speaks straight to an authentic notion of "Truth in Travel" and boasts that its writers "pay their own way and travel unannounced" which ensures "independence from the travel industry" (Condé Nast Publications, 2010). Because of this claim that their travel writers have the ability to write more freely about destinations, it was speculated that the framing of authenticity in this publication might be less indicative of a pattern of "idealization," —potentially highlighting negative aspects of destinations as well as just the idyllic or serene.

That said, without examples of prior comparative analysis that addresses issues of authenticity in leisure travel magazines, it was impossible to be assured of the prediction that there would be variation in content by magazine. It was just as

likely that they would, in fact, all carry consistent messages concerning authenticity, as it was that they would differ dramatically based on their mission statements, targeted demographic and distribution numbers.

Article criteria

In compiling the research sample, only articles classified specifically as feature articles by the contents page(s) of the magazine were collected. This parameter was a direct adoption from Santos' (2004) research, which explains that feature articles,

...offer greater detail, thus making them more appropriate to the study of the [magazine staff's] approach to the significance of further themes. Furthermore, they are considered more suitable in revealing the modes of sociocultural representation since they concentrate on a particular destination (p. 127).

An additional criterion was also that the article be clearly distinguishable as pertaining to either a Western or a non-Western destination. For clarification of this "non-Western" parameter, Lutz and Collins' (1993) definition of non-Western regions was slightly modified to include those areas outside of North America and Europe, with the specific exclusion of Greece and Turkey. Lutz & Collins' (1993) definition of "non-Western" was also expanded to include the indigenous cultures of Canada, Alaska and the Soviet Union. This study chose to consider those indigenous cultures as a part of their containing Western nation-state, opening up the possibility for them to be considered in terms of the notion of an "internal orient." Additionally, this study excluded articles that exclusively featured Antarctica, which

does not contain any nations or established cultures to speak of.

Due to the unfortunate fact that research institutions have yet to recognize the academic value of leisure travel magazines, this sample was largely dependent on the holdings of local public libraries at the time of the study—often an incomplete holding of the past two years worth of issues. Articles from missing issues could potentially have been accessed from the web, but it is the position of the researcher that these articles would not have retained key properties of a printed magazine feature that could potentially contribute to the construction of frames—particularly position and emphasis of accompanying photographs and display type. It would also have been difficult to ascertain which articles were specifically classified as features, as this categorization does not exist within the magazines' websites in the same way as it does in print. As a result, this research drew primarily from public library holdings of the publication years 2008 and 2009, supplemented by individual issues ordered from the publishers as necessary to complete the sample set.

Then, from this larger sample set, two numbered lists of potential feature articles were compiled for each of the three magazines—one list per magazine of articles on Western destinations, and one list per magazine of articles on non-Western destinations—for a total of six lists. A sample randomizer tool (randomizer.org) was then used to randomly select five feature articles from each of the six lists, yielding a total sample of 30 articles—including, then, 10 articles from

each magazine, 15 articles featuring non-Western destinations and 15 articles featuring Western destinations. This total sample of 30 feature articles then underwent the process of textual analysis discussed above. The findings of this textual analysis, in regards to this study's primary research question and two secondary research questions, will now be described in detail and analyzed below.

PRIMARY RESEARCH QUESTION: TEXTUAL FRAMES OF AUTHENTICITY

The primary question addressed by this research was: *how is authenticity framed within travel magazine feature articles?* Within the sample set of thirty articles, four dominant frames applying to the concept of authenticity were identified: authenticity as a quality of the destination, as a way of traveling or experiencing a destination, as a way of life, and as an issue of origin or intent. Furthermore, within each of these primary frames, several sub-frames were identified that narrow the application of their parent frames. For example: authenticity specifically as a rural way of life, or, an authentic experience specifically being one in which the traveler has a transformative experience. These primary frames, as well as their unique sub-frames, are explained in detail below and outlined in figure 2.

Authenticity as a Quality of the Destination

By far the most recurring, this frame was used in reference to the physical or environmental nature of the destination being featured—suggesting that specific characteristics of the destination made it particularly authentic. For example, in one article on the Emilia-Romagna region of Italy, it is the lack of tourism that lends the destination its authenticity: “Ferrara lies ignored by all but the most discerning travelers—chiefly Italians seeking some authentic piece of their own nation that has not been squeezed through a tourism machine” (Symmes, 2009, p. 163). In another instance, it is a destination’s elusiveness that renders it authentic: “In fact, the

haciendas are so *auténtico* that they lack advertising budgets. These haciendas don't find you; you have to find them" (Kulander, 2009, p. 78). Within this primary frame, five sub-frames were identified, again often interwoven in the same articles: an authentic destination being one that is not urban or lacks commercial development; that is unaffected by time or progress; that is still secret or not yet touristy; that contains sustainable tourism; or, finally, that is simple or humble.



Figure 2: Identified Frames of Authenticity and Corresponding Sub-frames

Not urban or developed

This was the most frequently identified sub-frame within this study, and also exhibited the most variation in use and application. Within this sub-frame,

destinations qualified as authentic specifically due to their lack of resemblance to urban environments. The most common way that this manifested was in reference to an absence of commercial development, or to a potential threat posed by *pending* development. In an article on central Vermont, for example, the author extols a local law, “which continues to restrict just about everything vulgar and unsightly man can impose—billboards, subdivisions, congested highways, wind turbines, cell towers, neon lights,” calling it “a revolutionary attempt to exert control over rampant development” (Mitchell, 2008, p. 148). In another instance, a Tennessee local is quoted as saying, “Everywhere you go, a Shoney’s or something has replaced a once unique landscape. But Lost Creek’s much as it was 200 years ago. It’s rare” (Conaway, 2008, p. 122). Abroad, in Barbados, the author pinpoints “real luxury”—a coastline “empty, unspoiled, open to the sea, and with not one fancy hotel” (Fonseca, 2009, pp. 54-55).

Another common way that this sub-frame manifested was in reference to emptiness, quiet and seclusion—qualities presumably lacking in a highly populated urban area. In the same article on Vermont, the author specifically notes that with a total population of 623, 908, this results in “10 acres per person” and that “the woods are so still, I can hear falling snow crystals” (Mitchell, 2008, p. 150). Similarly, in the Florida swamps, a local is quoted as saying, “I’ve been walking out here since 1986 and have never seen another person” (Conaway, 2008, p. 121). Or, of the English Cotswolds, the author remarks, “The only sounds are the bleating of lambs

and the gentle murmur of the English middle classes in conversation” (McClarence, 2009, p. 69).

One other context for this sub-frame was the description of abundant nature, wildlife, or natural resources—an “escape from urban life” (Stuckey, 2008, p. 98).

One example is the following description of Tasmania’s “hallucinatory” landscape:

“The endless gusting makes Tasmania’s air, soil, and surrounding waters some of the least contaminated on the planet...you can grow or harvest virtually anything....It’s crystalline waters abound in king crabs, crayfish, rock oysters, scallops, and abalone” (Metcalf, 2008, p. 156). Another author, referring to the African wilderness, says poignantly that, “all of this infuses me with the spiritual nourishment that seems absent from so much of our scurrying daily lives in the so-called civilized world’s great urban agglomerations. Out here I can breathe again, I can feel connected to the planet I normally barely touch” (Boynton, 2009, p. 123).

So, in summary, within this sub-frame, the specific characteristic of the destination that qualified it as authentic was its lack of resemblance to urban environments, which manifested in reference to an absence of commercial development, in reference to seclusion or quiet, and in reference to abundant nature.

Unaffected by time or progress

This sub-frame locates authenticity within destinations that exhibit a lack of progress—both in the sense of time and in the sense of modernization. In the first

sense, the sub-frame is used to suggest that a destination's authenticity lies in its resistance to the effects of time—or as one author describes it, remaining in a “timewarp” (Mitchell, 2008, p. 149). In one instance, a market is exactly as the author's grandmother had described it fifty years before (Barr, 2009); in another, the regional cuisine is described as “hardly changed in a thousand years” (Trebay, 2008, p. 134).

In the second sense, the indicator of authenticity is that the destination lacks evidence of modernization, or, specifically, modern technology. One author describes driving in a car as an anachronism because the landscape, “with no other cars in sight, appears pre-Industrial Age” (Capmeil, 2009, p. 113). In an article on coastal Brazil, another author remarks, “Transoco is as remarkable for what it lacks (stoplights, well-functioning ATM's) as it is for what it has (that stunning beach)” (Lindberg, 2009, p. 99).

In one final variation of this sub-theme, authenticity is located within destinations that, regardless of modernization, have simply retained a sense of age or history—such as Budapest, “the storied Hungarian capital with its 2,000-year-old history” (Stuckey, 2008, 98), the English Cotswolds, which “lay England's history out before you” (McClarence, 2009, p. 66), or Damascus, “the oldest city in the world, inhabited continuously for more than three millennia” (August, 2009, p. 196).

Overall, within this sub-frame, the specific characteristic of the destination that qualified it as authentic was its resistance to forces of time and progress, which

manifested in reference to a sense of being frozen in time, in reference to a lack of modernization, and in reference to a sense of age or history.

Not touristy

This commonly reoccurring sub-frame very simply locates authenticity within destinations that are not “touristy,” or in other words, that aren’t characterized by the presence of tourists or an established tourism infrastructure. For example, an author describes a city in Italy saying, “...although there are some conspicuous tourist attractions here, like a pair of brick towers from the Middle Ages, the city is more “real” than Venice or Florence, oriented toward regular people...” (Symmes, 2009, 212), and an author in India finds himself specifically drawn to cities that are “touristically untrammled” (Trebay, 2008, p. 134). Or, in another instance, an author compares her destination to the tourist magnets along the Côte d’Azur, saying, “Cassis, a former fishing village, remains a low-key, glitz-free Provençal getaway that’s a favorite of French insiders” (Cohane, 2009, p. 74).

Additionally, this sub-frame was extended to include references to destinations that are simply “undiscovered” or “secret”—with the assumption that this implies a lack of tourism. An example would be the following description of New Zealand’s wine country: “I imagined this is how it was in Napa in the thirties—an intimate winemaking community that the world hadn’t yet discovered” (Capmeil, 2009, p. 111). Or one author’s assertion that, “These forgotten coves and narrow trails off the beaten path remain Cornwall’s greatest asset” (Cohane, 2009, p. 132).

In review, within this sub-frame, the specific characteristic of the destination that qualified it as authentic was its lack of tourists or an established tourism infrastructure, which also manifested in reference to destinations being simply “undiscovered” or “secret.”

Sustainably touristy

In this sub-frame, an authentic destination is one that contains a tourism infrastructure that specifically benefits the destination and qualifies as “sustainable”—or in other words, which doesn’t damage the authenticity of the destination. The first manifestation of this idea was in the notion of the destination actually *needing* the support of a tourism industry to maintain its authenticity. One example of this was in a discussion of a dilapidated temple in India where the author remarks, “Of course, were Tamil Nadu to enjoy the revenues generated by tourists who flock to Agra...it would simplify his job of keeping up the temples...” (Trebay, 2008, p. 164). Or, another example would be an author’s description in an article on Ecuador of, “...haciendas that have maintained their vitality and traditions in part by opening their doors to tourists like me” (Kulander, 2009, p. 78).

In another variation on the same sub-theme, the tourism infrastructure is characterized as authentic specifically because of its sustainably small amount of impact on the destination. The most dramatic example is from an article on African safari tourism in which the author compares the detrimental model of “low-cost,

high-volume tourism” to the sustainable model of “high-end, low-volume tourism,” which can help “to conserve and expand natural habitats” (Boynton, 2009, p. 124).

Taken as a whole, within this sub-frame, the specific characteristic of the destination that qualified it as authentic was its “sustainable” tourism infrastructure, which manifested in specific reference to the destination needing the support of a tourism industry, or in reference the tourism infrastructure having a sustainably small amount of impact on the destination.

Simplicity

This last sub-frame is perhaps the most straightforward, referring to the idea that a destination is authentic if it is simple, or lacking ostentation. This was seen in the article on coastal Brazil where the author remarks, “Transoco is curiously glamour-resistant” (Lindberg, 2009, p. 151). It was also seen in an article on Alaska, where the author describes modest accommodations as “never done up in excess luxury” and as “key to the Alaska experience” (Wise, 2009, p. 122). Even in urban San Francisco, an author describes the accommodations saying, “Authentic isn’t always so imposing. San Francisco abounds with cozy properties exuding romantic charm” (Nelson, 2008, p. 91). So, again, within this sub-frame, the specific characteristic of the destination that qualified it as authentic was its being simple, humble, or lacking evidence of excess luxury or ostentation.

Authenticity as a Way of Traveling or Experiencing a Destination

The second most common, this frame was used in reference to specific ways of traveling, or ways of experiencing a destination—suggesting, for example, that a certain approach is required, or that certain processes need to be triggered in order for an experience to be authentic. For example, in the article on Guatemala, the author explains what authentic travel is all about: “Travel is always about taking a risk...it’s about curiosity leading you to places you don’t know, just to have that knowledge of what lies beyond, a knowledge you keep for the rest of your life” (Hoffman, 2008, p. 136). In another instance, the author begins his article by explaining that, “To know a place well, you have to walk the ground, talk to the locals, soak up the history and lore that give a destination its distinction” (Conaway, 2008, p. 86). Within this primary frame, five interwoven sub-frames were identified: not being a tourist; seeking comfortable adventure; “going deep,” or immersing; having a local experience; and finally, having a personally transformative experience.

Not being a tourist

In this first sub-frame, an authentic experience is characterized by avoidance of tourism or an effort on the part of the traveler to not be a tourist. Most commonly this was seen in negative descriptions of hapless “tourists” and anecdotes that demonstrated the authors’ *savvy* avoidance of such traits. For example: one local’s description of the “clueless tourists” who “try and pose their children next to

alligators” (Conaway, 2008, p. 120); or, another author’s patronizing account of his friend’s slip-up: “Being relatively new to temple scams my friend gamely forked over the cash. Then it was my turn. The priest rewound his spiel...[and] ignoring his scandalized look when I did so, I handed him a more customary 100 rupee note...” (Trebay, 2009, p. 130).

This sub-frame was also visible in instances where the traveler (or author) specifically mentioned some sort of connection to the destination that could potentially legitimize them as a “local” by proxy. For example: an author’s assertion that they’ve “been crossing the Vermont state line since the early 1970s” (Mitchell, 2008, p. 146), or another author’s mention of having “started traveling through Egypt while still in [her] mother’s belly” (Alhadeff, 2008, p. 214). In another article, the author explains that he “inherited a love” for Provence from his father and grandmother saying, “I felt a connection to this place, and to Aix, that went beyond my own immediate experience. I had come to find Aix, and found it was already in me...I was once more in my own place, an invader of what was already mine” (Barr, 2009, pp. 150, 160).

So, in review, within this sub-frame, the specific approach that qualified the traveler’s way of experiencing the destination as authentic was their lack of resemblance to the common tourist, which manifested in negative descriptions of other tourists (positioned in opposition to the author in question) and in reference to the primary traveler’s “local” connection to the destination.

Seeking comfortable adventure

In this sub-frame, an authentic experience was characterized by an active attempt to have an adventure—taking risks, tackling the unknown, “roughing it”—but this often came with the caveat that the traveler not need to sacrifice modern amenities or comforts to do so. References to danger or risk were common—such as the sign on the ski slopes in Vermont reading, “SKI IF YOU CAN” (Mitchell, 2008, p. 172) or the idea of “Alaska’s well-known potential for lethality” (Wise, 2009, p. 122)—and many instances of this sub-frame were found in descriptions of a difficult but fulfilling journey. In Argentina, the author describes the journey ahead: “It’s deep in the wilderness, three hours northwest over a path of mud and rocks barely wide enough for a vehicle. But we had to see it, we agreed” (Schoenfeld, 2009, p. 146). Similarly, in Guatemala, the author’s friend and guide—who prefers “to sleep in a jungle, reveling in mud and damp and adventure”—describes their upcoming journey saying, “Ours will be no off-the-shelf tour...we will travel through the keyhole,’ on a winding, four-wheel-drive journey” (Hoffman, 2008, p. 133).

Unlike this Guatemalan guide, however, most instances of this sub-frame did not suggest that “reveling in the mud” was necessary for an authentic experience. Quite the contrary, a common manifestation of this sub-frame was in the idea that you can still have an authentic adventure while taking advantage of modern amenities—such as a camping tent “mounted on a wooden deck, with a queen size

bed and down comforters” (“50 Reasons,” 2008, p. 38). In Peru, for example, one author poses the very same question at the beginning of his journey—“...each day’s trek ends not in a chilly tent but in a cozy lodge...I do wonder, though, if the flashy part of the tour will dilute that sense of wonder and authenticity”—but he later decides, “The cozy inns along the way did nothing to diminish our adventure” (Wallace, 2009, pp. 73, 77). In another article, the author wonders at first, “Is it possible to access real adventure from a cruise ship?” but later answers, “...there is no doubt where this explorer stands on the pivotal question: Would you rather be chewing on an authentic hunk of taro root tonight and sleeping on a straw mat under a mosquito net in the name of realism, or would you like to eat your Tasmanian oysters and kingfish...on the upper deck under the stars” (Huth, 2008, p. 118)?¹

Again, in summary, within this sub-frame, the specific approach that qualified the traveler’s way of experiencing the destination as authentic was one of adventure, which manifested in reference to descriptions of dangerous but fulfilling experiences of adventure and discovery, but more often in reference to the way that these adventurous experiences could remain authentic even when supplemented by modern comforts and amenities.

¹ Personally, this researcher couldn’t agree more.

“Going deep”

This sub-frame located authenticity within an experience where the traveler was not simply a viewer, but an active participant who completely immersed himself—mentally and physically—in the destination. One example is an author’s recommendation for a “real” San Francisco experience: “hit the streets...stroll Golden Gate Park...push through Chinatown’s Stockton Street. Look, taste, smell, and strain your ears to catch the low, sad moan of the foghorns. When you do, you’ll know that’s San Francisco. That’s for real”(Nelson, 2008, p. 82). In another instance, the author actively participates in a local ritual and describes his experience of being “subsumed within the absolutely foreign and mysterious”: “I’m not religious, but I’m in the moment, and somehow it all makes sense...I feel the power of faith, even if it’s not my own”(Hoffman, 2008, p. 136).

This sub-frame also appears within the idea that, in order to really understand a destination, you have to experience the good *and* the bad—the ugliness as well as the beauty. One author confronts this problem while enjoying the beauty of a nature preserve: “But if every silver lining has a cloud, here it’s the shabbily clothed children who are begging who I encounter when I return my horse at the bottom of the mountain. There is much poverty in the region, and to survive many locals have turned to illegal logging to make ends meet”(Bellows, 2009, p. 87). Another extols the benefits of an open mind towards less-auspicious transportation in Italy: “...regional trains, slower and covered with graffiti, but nonetheless reliable

and cheap, and filled with the real life of Italy: students, immigrants, even dogs...”
(Symmes, 2009, p. 211).

Within this sub-frame, taken as a whole, the specific approach that qualified the traveler’s way of experiencing the destination as authentic was one of mental and physical immersion in the destination or culture, which also occasionally manifested in reference to the idea that this immersion should specifically include an encounter with the ugly or unpleasant aspects of that destination (to avoid a surface-level experience).

Local experience

As implied by the name, this sub-frame is characterized by an emphasis on the authenticity of having an experience that is as similar as possible to that of a local. In some cases, the travelers in question attempted to achieve this experience independently—such as the couple in Italy who rent a home in “an obscure village” with the intent “to go local in every sense: language, cooking, daily life”(Symmes, 2009, p. 159). In other cases, it was suggested that a traveler enlist a local guide to show them around. In many of the articles, the author mentions being “joined by a knowledgeable local”(Conaway, 2008, p. 86), but in one case, this was the entire premise of the article—with a headline reading “[authentic] San Francisco” and a subhead reading “Let our experts show you how to navigate the city like a native” (Nelson, 2008, p. 81). In the same article, a local expert’s restaurant suggestions are described as “time-tested and based upon what real San Franciscans actually eat” (p.

85). So again, within this sub-frame, the specific approach that qualified the traveler's way of experiencing the destination as authentic was one which was as local as possible, and which manifested in reference to the traveler simply attempting to mimic the locals or in reference to the traveler hiring a local guide to show them the ropes.

Transformative experience

This last sub-frame characterizes an authentic experience as one through which the traveler undergoes some sort of internal transformation, or is internally affected by the destination. The most common way this manifested was in the notion of a traveler's "internal rhythm" adjusting—such as the author who, while in New Zealand, "steadily felt [himself] re-gearing, perhaps moving no slower physically but at a more stately internal rpm" (Capmeil, 2009, p. 131), or the author in Brazil who describes a similar experience: "Our crew fell into an easy routine...Transoco's languorous rhythms nudge travelers to adjust their goals accordingly" (p. 151).

This sub-frame also manifested in the idea of a destination "burrowing deep" into the traveler's consciousness (Metcalf, 2008, p. 160). In the same article on New Zealand mentioned above, the author describes this process vividly, "You can certainly take it home with you, in a bottle or a box, but the truest savor of the land, you discover, can become a part of you as well. If you're patient—if you let it—it filters in"(Capmeil, 2009, p. 131).

Another way that this sub-frame appears is in the idea of learning to see from a new perspective. This was seen in the article on the Alaskan “state of mind” where the author writes, “Something unexpected had happened to us over the course of our journey: we’d been exposed to a new perspective, the Alaskan view of reality” (Wise, 2009, p. 127). Or, in the article on Provence, where the author is traveling with his father and grandmother and attempting to “see the city through their eyes...to have a visceral sense of a past that lives on embedded in the present” (Barr, 2009, p. 150).

Lastly, this sub-frame is present in the idea of a travel experience, most often the experience of nature—as being soothing or healing for the traveler’s spirit or soul. In Maine, a local guide talks about the “restorative power” of stepping out into nature, “People need to get outside, away from electronics. Looking out at this beautiful lake, you think how different this is from a television screen. Both are visual images, but this one you’re involved in. You’re taken out of yourself for a short time, and there’s great restorative power in that” (Conaway, 2008, p. 120). In another instance, an author traveling in Mexico quotes a local woman describing a natural setting: “It’s a mystical place...It’s healing for the spirit to come here” (Bellows, 2009, p. 85).

Subsequently, within this sub-frame, the specific approach that qualified the traveler’s way of experiencing the destination as authentic was one characterized by an internal transformation, which manifested in several ways: in reference to an

adjustment to the traveler's internal rhythm, in reference to the destination leaving an impact on the traveler's consciousness, in reference the idea of learning to see from a new perspective, and in reference to nature soothing or healing the travelers' spirit or soul.

Authenticity as a Way of Life

This frame was used primarily in reference to local inhabitants of the destination being featured, to suggest that theirs was a particularly authentic way of life. For example, in one article, the author suggests that a local's rural way of life is "the real thing": "Cumper moved to Tasmania to be the real thing: he lives on a 12-acre homestead with his young family, and, a former vegetarian, does his own slaughtering. Local producers provide him with everything from heirloom quince to water buffalo" (Metcalf, 2008, p. 158). In fewer cases, the frame was applied to the traveler himself (or herself)—to suggest that their routine way of life at home is somehow less authentic. Here, the author is suggesting that his own way of life obscures "the truth": "If you don't learn to treat the natural world with respect, you will be in real danger. Living in our houses and riding cars and planes in the Lower 48, we don't often glimpse that truth. Here, you see it all the time" (Wise, 2009, p. 127). Within this primary frame, four sub-frames were also identified, often co-existing and interwoven in the same articles: authenticity as a rural way of life; as a casual or relaxed way of life; as a way of life that emphasizes history and tradition; and lastly, as a way of life that emphasizes family or community.

Rural way of life

As insinuated by the name, this frame is used to suggest that an authentic way of life is one that incorporates aspects of a rural, and particularly agrarian, lifestyle—often portrayed in specific contrast to urban life. Although similar to the sub-frame of a destination that is specifically non-urban (discussed in the “quality of the destination” section), this sub-frame refers less to physical qualities of the destination—such as commercial development or overpopulation—and more so to the characteristics of the locals’ lives that are particularly rural, and often particularly agrarian. This sub-frame was most evident in descriptions of people locally sourcing or personally producing their own food, such as a couple in Italy who are excited because “We gathered fallen apples from our yard and fed the baby apple-mush that had traveled only a few yards in its life” and because they had eaten a meal with “ingredients [that] were cooked and served a few yards from where they were born” (Symmes, 2009, pp. 159, 162). This same frame is also indicated by a rejection of mass-produced, or industrialized food: “Corporate farming was taking over Australia,” says Annie. She and Robert were determined to stem the industrial tide and return the farm to its small-scale roots...” (Metcalf, 2008, p. 159).

Lastly, this sub-frame is characterized by descriptions of people working with their hands and not relying on modern technology, such as a husband and wife in northern Maine who are described as using “wilderness gear and methods 10,000 years old” and as “hauling supplies in a hand-made toboggan in winter” (Conaway,

2008, pp. 88, 120). Another example is a local man in the English Cotswolds who says, “You should build out of what comes to hand” and whose drystone walls the author admiringly describes: “without mortar, their often mossy stones slotted carefully together” (McClarence, 2009, p. 69).

So, within this sub-frame, the specific characteristic of the locals’ way of life that qualified it as authentic was its being particularly rural or agrarian, which manifested in reference to people locally sourcing or personally producing their own food, in reference to a specific rejection of mass-produced, or industrialized food, and in reference to people working with their hands without relying on modern technology.

Casual way of life

A similar sub-theme that was also often associated with rural life (though not exclusively) is that of the casual, or slow-paced, lifestyle. “[E]veryone seems resolved to a slower pace in the Green Mountains,” one author writes of rural Vermont (Mitchell, 2008, p. 148). Or, another author writes of the region of Provence: “the pleasures of the south of France have diminished not one bit: the colorful farmers’ market, the streetside cafés, the long and lazy outdoor lunches” (Barr, 2009, p. 144). In a description of rural India, the pace of life is even directly attributed to the agrarian nature of the region: “Here the pace of life is largely dictated by agrarian rhythms unaltered for centuries” (Trebay, 2008, p. 134).

Not surprisingly, this sub-theme was also often presented in the context of a preferred alternative to urban life. For example, the author of an article on New Zealand posits, “In our regular life, of course, waiting is the great bane, what we desperately avoid, what drives our desire to move faster and faster. But in this land, I think, waiting may be its own pleasure”(Capmeil, 2009, p. 106). Similarly, driving into the Argentinean countryside, an author remarks, “It was only a day’s drive from Mendoza to Salta, but it felt like we were leaving a mechanized, industrious South America and entering the slow-paced land of the Andean altiplano”(Schoenfeld, 2009, p. 124).

Lastly, in addition to the *pace* of life, this sub-theme can also refer to a lack of concern for social norms typically associated with modern or urban life—such as appearances, money, or luxury. For example, the locals and visitors in a coastal town in Brazil are described as having, “everyone’s-a-fisherman fashion”(Lindberg, 2009, p. 93). Or, on a trip into rural Vermont, the author remarks that “No one in the cafeteria objects to brown-bag lunches” and that “no one cares what I’m wearing”(Mitchell, 2008, p. 172).

Again, in review of this sub-frame, the specific characteristic of the locals’ way of life that qualified it as authentic was that of its being particularly casual or slow-paced, and which also manifested in reference to a lack of concern for prim and proper rules of conduct associated with formal society.

Emphasizing history and tradition

This sub-frame locates authenticity within old, or traditional, ways of life as well as within cultures that simply seem to have a sense of history. One manifestation of this is the idea that an individual or culture be tied to a place through time—for example, the idea that generations of family have lived there, or the individual in question, “was raised here on land purchased by his grandfather”(Hoffman, 2008, p. 133). In a description of rural Tennessee, the local people are similarly described: “...the fires had been kept going on the hearth for generations...Some of those families had been in Big Valley since colonial days”(Conaway, 2008, p. 92). Or, in another instance, a local is quoted as saying, “Well, I can trace my family back to 1620 in Dumbleton, four miles from here”(McClarence, 2009, p. 69).

More commonly, however, this sub-frame takes shape in descriptions of traditional life, such as in Guatemala—“that rare place where locals still dress in traditional clothing” (Hoffman, 2008, p. 133), in rural India, “where cultural tradition remains strong, and people are less susceptible to that error of judgment that mistakes complexity for luxury” (Trebay, 2008, p. 164), or in China, where the Uyghur people “scrupulously observe their traditional ways” and the author describes a “Uyghur girl weaving silk fabric in a traditional workshop” (“My China,” 2008, p. 66). Again, this sub-frame is often evident in conjunction with negative descriptions of modern forces which pose a particular threat to traditional life—

such as one author's lament that "the forces of globalization are affecting the traditional way of life for my people...the disappearing nomadic peoples in the Wu Zhu Mu Qin grasslands" ("My China," 2008, p. 71). Another author goes as far as to remark, "We are lucky...We're a generation that can still see traditional life. In a few generations, it will be gone"(Hoffman, 2008, p. 136).

In summary, within this sub-frame, the specific characteristic of the locals' way of life that qualified it as authentic was its retained sense of history or tradition—which manifested in reference to being tied to a place through time or generations, and in reference to traditional ways of life under threat from modern forces.

Emphasizing family or community

This last sub-frame describes the authentic way of life as one that involves a strong sense of family and community. It was often evident, again, in rural or "small-town" environments, described as having "a warm sense of community, of the fabric of everyday country life" (McClarence, 2009, p. 71) and where the "Town Crier blackboard announces community suppers and sing-alongs" (Mitchell, 2008, p. 171) or a "mom, pop, and son...ran the supermarket"(Barr, 2009, p. 146). It was also seen as another manifestation of "traditional" life, such as one author's experience of the scenic haciendas in Ecuador: "Here life is tranquil: everyone is a friend or family. Sitting quietly in our saddles, I share his contentment in an age-old way of life still held in safekeeping by these remote mountains" (Kulander, 2009, p.

81). In the same article, the guest rooms of the hacienda “are named after family members, who keep an eye on you from the historic portraits hanging on the whitewashed walls” (p. 83). Additionally, outside of rural environments, an echo of this same idea was seen in an emphasis on the advantages of urban neighborhoods. For example, one author describes dining at neighborhood restaurants in San Francisco as “the real-deal dining experience” (Nelson, 2008, p. 85). His suggestion: the Swan Oyster Depot that has been “family-owned for 96 years” (p. 85).

So, then, within this sub-frame, the specific characteristic of the locals’ way of life that qualified it as authentic was its strong sense of family and community, which was most evident in rural environments but which also manifested in reference to urban neighborhoods which provide a similar feeling of “community.”

Authenticity as an Issue of Origin or Intent

Although the least common, this frame was also used in the sense closest to the colloquial definition of authenticity, or what historically could be considered as the “museum sense”—referring to the genuineness or trustworthiness of an object, action, or event. For example, in an article on China, an author compares the “real” version of a thing to its tourist version: “Tourists don’t see the real monks, only students dressed up to look like monks” (“My China,” 2008, p. 70). In another instance, in an article on remote haciendas in Ecuador, the author sets up the authenticity of an object in specific opposition to that of its commercialized counterparts, “Generic hotel rooms put me in an existential funk. A room suffused

with character and authenticity has the opposite effect: a sense of belonging” (Kulander, 2009, p. 83).

For this frame, three interwoven sub-frames were identified: being hand-made or specifically *not* being mass-produced; not being “staged,” or occurring organically; and finally, being genuine in intent and appearance.

Hand-made and not mass-produced

This sub-frame specifically characterizes an object as authentic by way of its not having originated in a commercial (or “mass-produced”) context. For example, in a story on snowy Vermont, the author compares hand-made snowshoes to the commercial equivalent: “Barnes straps on an old pair of sinew-and-ash bentwood snowshoes that are easily three times bigger than my dinky aluminum Tubbs. “These don’t trap snow or slush the way the new ones can”” (Mitchell, 2008, p. 150). Similarly, in the article on Provence, the author describes being turned off by the “hyperbanal corporate furniture” of a hotel (Barr, 2009, p. 160).

This sub-frame also manifests in specific reference to the sustainability of an object’s origins, such as in this description the “sustainable design” of lakeside cabins in Wisconsin: “Cedar decks incorporate recycled wood, fireplaces are made from local stone, and Arts and Crafts-style rugs keep things cozy” (“50 Reasons,” 2008, p. 46).

So, in summary, within this sub-frame, the specific characteristic of the object or event that qualified it as authentic in a museum sense was its being hand-made

and *not* mass-produced, and which also manifested in reference to an object's sustainable origins.

Not "staged" for tourists

This sub-frame refers to the authenticity of actions or events—specifically locating authenticity in things that happen organically and are not “staged” for consumption by tourists. This was seen most often in reference to things that were once authentic, but that had been turned into a commodity—now solely existing for the benefit of tourists—such as this description in an article on China: “We are seeing more and more tourism’ ...nowadays camels are mostly used to haul city folk...on adventure travel outings. ‘Many herders are making their living entertaining tourists...” (“My China,” 2008, p. 69). Or, in another instance, an author is grateful that this process has yet to affect his destination, “...Chipping Campden, still recognizably a real town with real old ladies sitting outside alms houses reading in the morning sun”(McClarence, 2009, p. 71).

Another variation of this sub-theme referred to the authenticity of the actual journalistic methods of producing the article—indicating specifically that nothing had been “staged” for the benefit of the discourse. One example is a photographer’s specific mention of the organic nature of the scene he had captured on camera, “...this marvelous landscape. I was lucky that a Zhuang girl in a traditional red costume and bamboo hat happened to be working in the paddy that day” (“My China,” 2008, p. 73).

In review, within this sub-frame, the specific characteristic of an action or event that qualified it as authentic in a museum sense was its not being “staged” for tourists, and which also manifested in reference to the journalistic methods used to produce the article’s contents.

Genuine

This sub-theme refers specifically to the authenticity of appearances and intentions—decraying actions carried out with a false pretense, or things that appear to be something that they are not. For example, in an article on Tasmania, a local vendor questions the authenticity of a competitor’s business by saying, “We’re the real McCoy... in contrast with some other outfits that sneak in outside fruit” (Metcalf, 2008, p. 154). In another variation of the sub-frame, the authenticity of a resort is called into question because of its mistaken attempt to assume lavish, European qualities that didn’t befit it: “Beach resorts are more fun when they’re casual...Kapalua was strangely out of touch with its tropical surroundings” (“50 Reasons,” 2008, p. 32). In one other example, a destination’s reputation is called into question, but eventually, for this author, “Cornwall’s moniker as the English Riviera begins to feel authentic”(Cohane, 2009, p. 132).

On the whole, within this sub-frame, the specific characteristic of a person or thing that qualified it as authentic in a museum sense was its not having false pretense or misleading appearance.

Discussion and Significance of Findings

Considering the four identified textual frames, and the sixteen corresponding sub-frames, in relation to past literature on authenticity, there are many significant similarities and differences that warrant discussion. Following the order of the literature review, this discussion will first detail how the frames identified by this research, in many ways, correspond with historical ideas presented by Lindholm (2008), but not those of Rousseau (1910). This discussion will then also cover the fact that the identified frames strongly reflect the division between MacCannell (1973, 1976) and Cohen (1979, 1988) on the issue of subjective versus objective authenticity. Additionally, the following discussion will touch on how the identified frames correspond with the hierarchies of tourism experience outlined by Cohen (1979), Silver (1993) and Fürsich (2002) while also introducing new categories entirely. And lastly, this discussion will demonstrate how the identified frames largely conform to manifestations of the pursuit of authenticity within travel journalism as identified by Santos (2004) and Chang and Holt (1991).

Furthermore, it will be shown that these dominant textual frames are consistent with many of the concerns voiced in the literature concerning discursive mechanisms of power and control—namely idealization of the destination (Silver, 1993), the “straight-jacket” effect (Chang & Holt, 1991) and Commoditization (Hall, 1994).

Origins of the concept of authenticity

Several of the identified frames were indicative of aspects of the historical development of the concept of authenticity itself. The sub-frames of authenticity as a rural way of life, the non-urban destination, and genuineness of appearance and intentions all corresponded to Lindholm's (2008) discussion of the concept of authenticity being rooted in the decline of the feudal system and corresponding shift from rural to urban life. He describes the ways this historical event triggered an identity crisis for workers who began to assume more standardized roles in society, and triggered a lack of trust in appearances as individuals gained the ability to hide their true origins. The first two sub-frames of authenticity mentioned above, of authenticity as a rural way of life or a non-urban destination, exhibit a strong aversion to urban life and, furthermore, express a longing for the lost ways of rural life—echoing that historical authenticity crisis caused by the first periods of movement from the country to urban environments. Similarly, the sub-frame of “genuineness”—the idea of someone or something being without false pretenses, or not being misrepresented by appearance—echoes that historical period in which authenticity of origin was just beginning to be called into question.

Historically speaking, however, this research did *not* find evidence of a frame of authenticity that exactly resembled Rousseau's (1910) concept of the authentic primitive—of idyllic savages that had yet to be corrupted by the formation of civil society. Of the sampled articles, only one featured a truly “primitive” culture:

“Voyage of the Dim Dims,” a cruise to Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands where the natives “talked cannibalism,” exhibited “uninhibited sexuality” and live in houses built from “woven coconut fronds”(Huth, 2008). But beyond a few descriptions of the idyllic setting, the author did not frame this as a particularly authentic way of life. Quite the opposite, the dominant textual frame in this article was one emphasizing comfortable adventure—in which the author lamented the islands’ lack of tourist infrastructure and expressed gratitude that he could return to his cruise ship every night instead of “sleeping on a straw mat” (Huth, 2008, p. 118). The primitive cultures in this article were described more as a curiosity than a lost source of authenticity. Overall, this trend may be indicative of a larger cultural shift (at least discursively) away from the imperialism of Rousseau’s time.

Nevertheless, there was one potential correlation to Rousseau’s concept of the primitive, which emerged within the sub-frame that characterized authentic destinations as unaffected by time or progress. This sub-frame, without literally referring to primitive cultures, did echo a notion of idealized primitive life similar to Rousseau’s. In the article on the Brazilian coastal town of Transoco, for example, the author raves that until just recently, the destination was “almost as primitive as it gets”—“Electricity that came only in 1982, the first public school a few years later...barter, not cash, was the preferred means of exchange” (Lindberg, 2009, pp. 94, 99). The photographs accompanying the article, however, reveal the true

nature of the destination—luxurious accommodations in a beachfront community that while casual, is hardly “primitive.”

In opposition to Rousseau’s and, in some ways MacCannell’s (1973, 1976) notion that travelers might seek authenticity within primitive, the identified frames suggest that, while tourists *are* seeking an “older way of life,” they aren’t seeking it in the “primitive,” but in the “rural” way of life—which can be characterized as simpler and easier without being so outdated as to be “backwards,” “curious,” or most importantly, uncomfortable for the traveler.

Objective versus subjective authenticity

Many of the sub-frames, such as that of authenticity being located in a rural way of life, do reflect another one of MacCannell’s (1973, 1976) conceptions of authenticity—as an objective thing that exists and can be accessed by the traveler. In fact, most of the frames, with the exception only of those concerning authenticity as a way of experiencing or traveling, refer to some supposedly objective nature of the destination or culture that is “authentic.” Furthermore, there were many specific references to MacCannell’s notion of travelers avoiding “staged authenticity”—those events occurring solely for the benefit of tourists and obscuring access to the truly authentic. For example, in the article on the cruise through the primitive Pacific Islands mentioned above, the author describes one of the scheduled shore excursions as feeling “too staged” and opts, instead, to go fishing with an islander (Huth, 2008, p. 227). This idea was also echoed by a

rejection of tourism in a broader sense, suggested by the frames of authenticity as a destination that isn't "touristy" or the authentic experience as one in which the traveler avoids being a "tourist." The implied message in these frames is, presumably, that touristy things are cheap facsimiles or that tourists don't adequately immerse themselves to *really* experience the culture or destination. Either way, this reflects the notion that an object authenticity exists for the traveler to access, if they can avoid "staged" tourist diversions.

In this way, Cohen's (1979, 1988) conception of authenticity as being subjective—or dependent on the individual experience of the traveler—was less reflected than MacCannell's by the frames identified in this research. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, despite the individual instances of framing dominantly portraying authenticity as an objective pursuit, there was a very large variety in the nature and context of these instances of supposedly "objective" authenticity. This suggests that the larger picture of tourism discourse is one presenting a pursuit of authenticity that is, in fact, quite subjective in nature. Therefore, considering both this larger subjective picture and the individual objective instances, the identified frames can safely be described as reflecting the division between MacCannell (1973, 1976) and Cohen (1979, 1988) on the issue of whether travelers are pursuing a subjective or objective authenticity.

Phenomenology of the tourist experience of authenticity

In many instances, the sub-frames of the pursuit of authenticity identified within this research correspond to specific levels within the hierarchies of tourist experience outlined by Cohen (1979), Silver (1993) and Fürsich (2002). In relation to Cohen's five categories of tourist experience—recreational, diversionary, experiential, experimental and existential—the sub-frames found in this research indicate that, at least within the discourse in these travel magazines, tourists seek authenticity through an experience that more closely resembles the last three categories—which, as mentioned before, are characterized by a willingness to immerse in the toured culture. This was seen, perhaps obviously, in the sub-frame which characterized an authentic experience as one in which the traveler “went deep,” going beyond the role of a viewer and becoming an active participant who mentally and physically immersed in the destination. Interestingly, several of the articles, which lacked any reference to the pursuit of authenticity (and, as such, were less relevant to the frame discussion above)—such as “Dublin without a Pint,” in which the author describes running a marathon in Dublin (Cahill, 2008) or “Isn't it Romantic,” an article exploring the Parisians' zealous pursuit of leisure (Nehring, 2009)—could be a manifestation of Cohen's recreational or diversionary tourist experiences—in which the traveler shows little interest in authenticity and is motivated by less existentially goals such as entertainment or diversion.

Similarly, all three of Silver's (1993) classes of authenticity-seeking travelers—the mass tourist, the alternative traveler and the chic traveler—were represented within the sub-frames identified by this research. His definition of the mass traveler as one who still desired an authentic experience, but who was unwilling to sacrifice modern amenities or standards of comfort, is perfectly in line with the sub-frame of “comfortable adventure”—such as the idea of a “luxury-rafting experience” in Idaho where, “Guests cast in hidden eddies, while guides carry the heavy gear...portable plumbing for hot showers all around” (“50 Reasons,” 2008, p. 38). Similarly, Silver's alternative traveler—looking for an authenticity that takes them off the beaten path, and who defines himself in opposition to “tourists”—is represented in sub-frames such as “going deep” to find authenticity or in “not being a tourist.” Lastly, the “chic traveler”—who views authentic travel as that which is “culturally sensitive” and “ecologically responsible”—is perfectly aligned with the sub-frame of the authentic destination as sustainably touristy—or one which is *bolstered* by a sustainable tourism industry.

Finally, both Fürsich's (2002) un-tourist and post-tourist were represented within the discourse. The idea of the “un-tourist”—who defines himself in opposition to the idea of “tourism” and avoids “tourist” activities—corresponds with a number of textual frames that were identified—for example, authenticity as a quality of a destination that is not yet touristy, and the idea of the authentic experience being one in which the traveler avoids becoming a “tourist.” The idea of

the post-tourist, on the other hand—embodying a post-modern self-awareness of the futility of avoiding tourist tendencies—was not recurring, so did not qualify as an official frame or sub-frame, but did appear in one instance. In this article, the author mockingly references his own similarity to “foreigners who come to Kolkata seeking easy explanations or cheap profundity” (Trebay, 2009, p. 128).

Although the hierarchies outlined by Cohen (1979), Silver (1993) and Fürsich (2002) aligned with many of the sub-frames concerning the pursuit of authenticity through travel that have been outlined by this research, it seems that a few levels could be added. Most noticeably, the idea of a traveler seeking authenticity through a personally transformative experience was not represented in any of the three hierarchies mentioned above. Also missing was the idea of a traveling seeking authenticity through escape of urban or commercial environments (or through experience of rural life). Both of these sub-frames were frequently recurring and evident in a broad range of the sampled articles and could potentially supplement any future [hierarchy](#) of the tourist experience of authenticity.

Authenticity within travel and tourism literature

The sub-frames identified in this study also largely align with the manifestations of the pursuit of authenticity that Santos (2004) and Chang and Holt (1991) identified within other examples of travel journalism. In their textual analysis of tourism discourse on Taiwan, Chang [and](#) Holt’s (1991) findings were generally that the discourse reflected an emphasis on tradition and that the concept

of a “modern Taiwan” was portrayed in a negative fashion (with the exception of modern accommodations, which were portrayed positively). This is consistent with the travel magazine discourse examined in this study, which exhibited frames of authenticity being rooted in a way of life that emphasized history and tradition, of an authentic destination being one that is unaffected by time and progress (which, as a result, in many cases hasn’t yet modernized), and of an authentic experience being one in which the traveler seeks adventure but still expects modern amenities.

In his frame analysis of feature articles on Portugal, Santos (2004) found that there were two consistent but contradictory frames used to describe the country: “the unchanging host and culture” and “modern Portugal.” Several sub-frames of authenticity identified by this study shared similarities with his identified frame of “the unchanging host and culture”—primarily, again, of being rooted in a way of life that emphasized history and tradition and of an authentic destination being one that is unaffected by time and progress. In regards to his second textual frame—“modern Portugal”—this study found no evidence of a textual frame that located authenticity within the presence of modernity or modernization. There were several instances in which modernization was portrayed in a positive light—such as in an article on China where the author describes the rapid process of modernization saying, “We’re experiencing change on a scale never before seen. I have high hopes for China” (“My China,” 2008, p. 61)—but these positive mentions were not specifically used in relation to the concept of authenticity.

From this, it becomes clear that while these studies by Santos (2004) and Chang and Holt (1993) identified several textual frames which were similar to those identified by this study, their findings were also much narrower in scope—being limited primarily to an emphasis on tradition or a lack of modernization. This suggests that a broader study of *one media's* textual framing, as opposed to narrowing a study by geographic location, will reveal a more complete range of the textual frames that can apply to the pursuit of authenticity—extending far beyond the few sub-frames touched on above.

Further implications

Furthermore, it should be noted that many of the frames of authenticity identified by this study are consistent with the concerns from the literature concerning discursive mechanisms of power and control—namely idealization of the destination (Silver, 1993), the “straight-jacket” effect (Chang & Holt, 1991) and commoditization (Hall, 1994).

The identified sub-frames overwhelmingly exhibited a strong idealization of rural life and an idealization of destinations that lacked development and modernization, as well as exhibiting a strong emphasis on tradition, history and an “old way of life”—warranting concern in terms of their potential to be discursively damaging to the destinations in question. That said, there was also evidence of a sensitivity to this potential pitfall within the identified frames—the sub-frame of “going deep” which, in suggesting a traveler immerse in the destination, often

encompassed the idea that a traveler should have to confront the uncomfortable or “ugly” aspects of a destination as well. There was also one significant passage in an article on India in which the author expressed awareness of the shallowness of idealizing a destination’s lack of modernity: “Amid the tumult of first impressions, I didn’t quite see that a lot of what I found appealing was linked to a certain government-induced economic backwardness. India may already have been a nuclear power...[but] finding a bar of soap took work” (Trebay, 2008, pp. 130-134). Also relevant to this discussion of sensitivity were several passages in which awareness was expressed concerning the fact that the “idyllic rural life” touted in so many of these articles is often a way of life that is only accessible (or only “idyllic”) for the middle and upper classes (Metcalf, 2008; McClarence, 2009; Fonseca, 2009). Overall, however, the trend was still to idealize the primitiveness of these destinations in a way that could potentially obscure the economic or social downsides to a lack of development and, perhaps more importantly, contribute to a perpetuation or commoditization of that undeveloped state as it suits the need of the traveler.

RESEARCH QUESTION 1A: NON-WESTERN VS. WESTERN DESTINATIONS

A secondary question addressed by this research was: *Is there a difference in how authenticity is framed in articles on non-Western and Western destinations?* In brief, this study found that there were a number of differences in the framing of authenticity dependent on whether the featured destination was Western or non-Western. However, there were also many consistencies in framing that ignored such geopolitical boundaries. The similarities and differences within each primary frame will be discussed in detail and outlined in figure 3 below. However, because there was some overlap between the “way of life” and “quality of destination” frames—occurring because both applied to the destination (physical properties or local culture), as opposed to the traveler—they followed similar patterns of use and will be discussed concurrently to avoid repetition.

Way of Life and Quality of Destination

Concerning the primary frames of authenticity as a way of life or as a quality of the destination, most sub-frames were used in articles on both Western and non-Western destinations but exhibited some differences in use dependent on destination. A few sub-frames escaped this pattern, however, and either showed no variation according to destination or exhibited the alternate extreme and were dominantly associated with *either* a Western or Non-Western destination.

	NO VARIATION BY DESTINATION	VARIATION IN USE ONLY	VARIATION BY DESTINATION
WAY OF LIFE	CASUAL OR RELAXED	<p>RURAL: Manifests as a return to rural life or to singular aspects of rural life only within Western destinations</p> <p>EMPHASIZING HISTORY OR TRADITION: Manifests as a traditional way of life under threat from the modern world only within non-Western destinations</p> <p>EMPHASIZING FAMILY AND COMMUNITY: Manifests as communal ownership only within non-Western destinations</p>	
QUALITY OF DESTINATION	<p>NOT URBAN OR COMMERCIALIZED</p> <p>SECRET OR NOT YET "TOURISTY" DESTINATION</p>	<p>UNAFFECTED BY TIME OR PROGRESS: Non-Western destinations are described as literally not having reached the modern age whereas Western destinations abstractly "evoke" an earlier age</p>	<p>SUSTAINABLY "TOURISTY": non-Western only</p> <p>SIMPLE/HUMBLE: Western only</p>
WAY OF EXPERIENCING	<p>NOT BEING A TOURIST</p> <p>"GOING DEEP"</p>	<p>COMFORTABLE ADVENTURE: Within Western destinations, manifests only as relief from rugged wilderness; within non-Western destinations, manifests as a relief from primitive or foreign conditions</p> <p>TRANSFORMITIVE EXPERIENCE: Manifests as a temporary transformation only within non-Western destinations</p>	<p>LOCAL EXPERIENCE: Western only</p>
ORIGIN/INTENT	<p>NOT "STAGED"</p> <p>GENUINE</p>		<p>HAND-MADE/NOT MASS PRODUCED: Western only</p>

Figure 3: Variation in Framing Between Western and Non-Western Destinations

The framing of authenticity was most consistent across Western and Non-Western destinations within the sub-frames of a casual or slow-paced way of life and the secret or un-“touristy” destination. These sub-frames showed essentially no variation across Western and non-Western destinations. For example, the sub-frame of a casual or slow-paced way of life followed the same pattern in France, where the region of Provence makes one “slow down and exhale”(Barr, 2009, p. 159), as it did on the Nile River in Egypt, where the author describes being, “in a kind of daze, daydreaming, observing the rhythms of river life”(Alhadeff, 2008, p. 217). This was also the case with the sub-frame of an authentic destination being one that is secret or un-“touristy.” There was essentially no variation in use based on geographic location of the destination—Italy, Maine, France and New Zealand were all described as having retained authenticity by warding off tourism, as were their non-Western counterparts of India, Guatemala, and China (Capmeil, 2009; Cohane, 2009; Conaway, 2008; Hoffman, 2008; “My China,” 2008; Symmes, 2009; Trebay, 2008).

More common, however, were sub-frames of way of life or quality of destination that were still evident in both Western and non-Western destinations, but showed some variation in use dependent on the destination. The first of these were the sub-frames emphasizing the “rural”(including both the rural way of life and the non-urban destination), which did show an overwhelming emphasis, regardless of destination, on settings or lifestyles that were natural or lacking evidence of commercialization or development. This was even seen in environments

that are typically considered urban, such as Dublin, Ireland, where the author describes, “...a kind of pastoral paradise...ornamental gardens and paths shaded by graceful oak and beech and chestnut trees. I see deer behind fences, grazing livestock, and acres of grassland”(Cahill, 2008, p. 108). That said, there were slight variations in use within this sub-frame such as the pattern exclusive to Western destinations of framing authenticity specifically as a *return* to rural life, or as an embrace of *singular aspects* of rural life—such as eating locally grown food, contemporarily known as the “locavore” movement (McClarence, 2009; Metcalf, 2008; Mitchell, 2008; Nelson, 2008; Symmes, 2009).

Secondly, the sub-frame of authenticity being located in a way of life emphasizing history or tradition also varied in use dependent on destination. Across both non-Western and Western destinations, it was used to refer to events or practices that, for example, had been recurring “every year for the past 30”(Mitchell 2008, p. 150), or to a sense of cultural or family history seen, for example, in the hearth fires in Tennessee that had been “kept going...for generations”(Conaway, 2008, p. 82). In contrast, however, references to a potential threat posed by an encroaching modern world to traditional (and more authentic) ways of life were unique to non-Western destinations such as India, Guatemala or China (Hoffman, 2008; “My China,” 2008; Trebay, 2008). For example, within an article on China an author describes “an endangered culture” whose ancient matrilineal system is

giving way to modern influences and, as a result, “the number of couples...adopting the patrilineal system is growing” (“My China,” 2008, p. 61)

Thirdly, the sub-frame of authenticity being located within a destination unaffected by forces of time or modern progress also showed variation in use. Consistent across both destinations was the idea of an authentic destination being one steeped in history or showing strong evidence of age—such as in Damascus where the author describes, “Five-hundred-year-old vines as thick as trees [that] grow from my shaded courtyard” (August, 2009, p. 196) or in Maine, where “Some of the old cabins around the lake are more than 100 years old and have the original peeled logs...” (Conaway, 2008, p. 88). However, there was a slight variation between Western destinations—which were characterized as abstractly *evoking* an earlier age—and non-Western destinations—which tended to be described more literally as not having reached the modern age. For example, the mention in an article on New Zealand of a landscape *momentarily* seeming pre-industrial, as opposed to an article on Guatemala, where, “just a three-hour flight from Houston...is deep, old village life” and the author feels like he has gone “back a hundred years” (Hoffman, 2008, pp. 133, 136).

Lastly, the sub-frame of a way of life emphasizing family or community was used across both destinations in reference to preservation of the nuclear family, such as a market in Provence owned and operated by “mom, pop and son” (Barr, 2009), or to an intimate community or neighborhood atmosphere, which was seen

in descriptions of Vermont's "community suppers and sing-alongs" and of haciendas in Ecuador where, "everyone is friend or family" (Mitchell, 2008; Kulander, 2009). On the other hand, in contrast to this common sense of community—of interconnected, or "close-knit," people—the framing in non-Western destinations was unique in its occasional focus on *communal ownership* of resources, such as an author's mention in Peru of a "centuries-old tradition of communal land ownership"(Wallace, 2009).

Finally, a couple of the sub-frames concerning way of life or quality of destination exhibited not only a variation in use but were also dominantly associated with either non-Western or Western destinations. The first of these was the sub-frame of authenticity being located within destinations benefitting from sustainable tourism, which was solely used within non-Western destinations. Within Western destinations, each discussion of tourism fell into the sub-frame of authenticity being located within a destination that had not yet been discovered by tourists—in other words, where there was no tourism. It was only within non-Western destinations such as Africa, Peru or Ecuador that this alternate, more positive frame of tourism's effect on authenticity was exhibited (Boynton, 2009; Kulander, 2009; Wallace, 2009). Conversely, the sub-frame of authenticity being located within a simple or humble destination was almost exclusively used in conjunction with *Western* destinations—where, for example, lodgings were described as being, "not...very big, or particularly fancy, but it was idyllic"(Barr,

2009, p. 146) or “never done up with excess luxury”(Wise, 2009, p. 122). This use stood in contrast, as will be discussed below, to the sub-frame of “comfortable adventure,” which mostly associated with *non-Western* destinations and often referred to luxurious accommodations.

In summary, the significant variations in framing based on destination within the frame of authenticity as a quality of destination lay within one sub-frame exhibiting variation in use only, that of a destination unaffected by time and progress, and within two sub-frames that were exclusively associated with either a Western destination (that of the simple or humble destination) or with a non-Western destination (that of a “sustainably touristy” destination). Within the frame of authenticity as a way of life, the significant variations lay within three sub-frames that exhibited only variation in use: that of the rural way of life, a way of life emphasizing history or tradition, and a way of life emphasizing family and community.

Way of Experiencing

Concerning the frame of authenticity as a way of experiencing a destination, two of the sub-frames showed no variation dependent on the destination, two sub-frames were used in articles on both Western and non-Western destinations but exhibited some differences in use dependent on destination, and one sub-frame was uniquely associated with Western destinations.

The framing of authenticity as a way of experiencing was most consistent across Western and non-Western destinations within the sub-frames of not being a tourist and “going deep.” The first, not being a tourist, followed a pattern similar to the sub-frame of an authentic destination being one that lacks evidence of tourism—bridging both Western and non-Western destinations with little to no variation. Authors traveling in destinations from Vermont or France to India and Egypt all made an effort to distinguish themselves from tourists by mentioning, for example, family connections to the destination or the fact that they had been coming there for years (Alhadeff, 2008; Barr, 2009; Mitchell, 2008; Trebay, 2008; Trebay 2009;). In terms of the second sub-frame, of “going deep,” there was, again, little variation in use across Western and non-Western destinations—with both kinds of articles emphasizing the idea of immersion in the destination and getting beyond the role of a viewer. For example an article on classic American hikes in which the author says, “To know a place well, you have to walk the ground, talk to the locals, soak up the history...” (Conaway, 2008, p. 86) or an article detailing one author’s experience in Guatemala with a guide who, “doesn’t just show me around the place. He immerses me in the world he loves”(Hoffman, 2008, p. 130).

However, there were also sub-frames of that, although still evident in both articles on Western and non-Western destinations, did show some variation in use. The first of these was the sub-frame of an authentic experience being one of comfortable adventure, which across both destinations, painted a picture of

adventurous travel that also incorporated luxurious amenities and accommodations. That said, however, if this sub-frame was used in conjunction with Western destinations, the destinations in question were always completely wild—a wilderness situation in which the experience of camping was enhanced, for example, to include “hot showers” and “down comforters”(“50 Reasons,” 2008). In conjunction with non-Western destinations, on the other hand, this sub-frame was predominantly used to suggest that luxurious (and often Western-style) amenities could provide a soothing contrast to the local culture or environment—such as an author’s mention in India that he was “glad to be back to the air-conditioned hotel”(Trebay, 2008) or in the Solomon Islands where an author extols the benefits of returning to the luxury of his cruise ship each night (Huth, 2008). As mentioned above, this non-Western use of the sub-frame of comfortable adventure stands in direct contrast to the sub-frame of simple or humble Western destinations, where accommodations can be endearingly “dilapidated” or outdated—a concept never seen in non-Western destinations.

The second sub-frame that varied in use dependent on destination was that of a transformative experience, in which the traveler undergoes some sort of internal transformation—finding himself, adopting a new perspective or having his soul soothed. This sub-frame was seen across a broad range of destinations from France (Barr, 2009), Alaska (Wise, 2009), and New Zealand (Capmeil, 2009), to Brazil (Lindberg, 2009) and Guatemala (Hoffman, 2008). However, the non-

Western instances of this sub-frame tended to display less of a sense of *permanent* transformation than their Western counterparts. For example, in the article on Guatemala the author is participating in a local ritual and describes being in an “altered state” and feeling “the power of faith” but also describes the experience specifically as “being in the moment”—suggesting its temporary nature (Hoffman, 2008). On the other hand, in Tasmania an author describes how the place “burrows deep into your consciousness” (Metcalf, 2008, p. 160) and in New Zealand one author describes how, “the truest savor of the land, you discover, can become a part of you...If you’re patient—if you let it—it filters in”(Capmeil, 2009, p. 131).

Finally, one of the sub-frames concerning way of experience was used almost exclusively in conjunction with Western destinations. This sub-frame, of an authentically local experience, was used within articles on Western destinations to emphasize “doing what the locals do” or appreciating things that were particularly unique to that location—such as in San Francisco, where the author asks, “Where else do San Franciscans go?” (Nelson, 2008) or when another author refers to distinctive “Alaska moments”(Wise, 2009).

In review, the significant variations in framing based on destination within the frame of authenticity as a way of experience lay within two sub-frames exhibiting variation in use only, that of comfortable adventure and a transformative experience, and within one sub-frame which was exclusively associated with Western destinations, that of a local experience.

Origin or Intent

Concerning the frame of authenticity as an issue of origin or intent, two of the sub-frames showed no variation dependent on the destination and one sub-frame was dominantly associated with Western destinations.

Framing of authenticity showed little variation across destinations within the sub-frames of something not being staged or being genuine. Regarding the former, authenticity was framed in terms of the origin of an event that had specifically *not* been staged—across both Western destinations such as Alabama or England (“50 Reasons,” 2008; McClarence, 2009) and non-Western destinations such as the Solomon Islands and China (Huth, 2008; “My China,” 2008). For example, in China, a photographer is described as utilizing “zen-like patience” to gain access the *real* part of the Shaolin Temple, whereas “tourists don’t see the real monks, only students dressed up to look like monks” (“My China,” 2008, p. 70); or, in Alabama, where a small-town is praised for being “retro” but specifically not “in that faux-Mayberry sort of way” (referring to the staged set of *The Andy Griffith Show*, which took place in the fictional town of Mayberry, North Carolina)(“50 Reasons,” 2008). Similarly, the sub-frame of authenticity as an issue of genuineness showed consistent use across both Western and non-Western destinations—such as the mention in an article on England’s Cornwall coast that its “moniker as the English Riviera” was beginning “to feel authentic”(Cohane, 2009), or in Guatemala where the author thinks to himself, “all this seems veneer”(Hoffman, 2008).

The one difference between Western and non-Western destinations in terms of framing of authenticity as an issue of origin or intent was within the sub-frame of not being mass-produced (or being hand-made), which was almost entirely limited to use within articles on Western destinations. This idea—for example of a wall in England being more authentic because it was handmade, or handmade galoshes in Vermont being of a higher quality than the commercially produced variety—was seen in the aforementioned destinations as well as Oregon, Wisconsin, and France (“50 Reasons,” 2008; Barr, 2009; McClarence, 2009; Mitchell, 2008).

So, again, there was only one significant variation of framing based on destination within the frame of authenticity as an issue of origin or intent—within the sub-frame of things being hand-made or not mass-produced.

Discussion and Significance of Findings

These many variations in framing between non-Western and Western destinations, as well as some of the consistencies, warrant discussion in relation to past literature on authenticity within travel and tourism. Accordingly, this discussion will detail how the variations identified by this research are, in many ways, consistent with the concerns voiced in the literature concerning discursive mechanisms of power and control—including discursive colonialism of the non-Western other (Lutz & Collins, 1993), the “straight-jacket” effect (Chang & Holt, 1991; Santos, 2004), Commoditization (Hall, 1994) and the internal orient (Gladney, 1994; Schein, 1997).

Discursive colonialism of the non-Western other

The consistencies in framing across non-Western and Western destinations in many ways suggest that patterns of discursive colonialism of the non-Western other, such as Lutz and Collins (1993) identified within *National Geographic*, are not evident within contemporary leisure travel magazines. Firstly, none of the sub-frames identified within this research corresponded to Lutz and Collins' (1993) findings that the non-Western other is portrayed as "exotic" through ritual and indigenous dress, or "sexualized" through images displaying nudity. Secondly, although the identified sub-frames of a non-urban destination and a destination unaffected by time directly corresponded to Lutz and Collins (1993) finding of the non-Western other being "naturalized"—through images that characterized them as lacking historical context, "people of nature," or untouched by the Western hand of progress—these sub-frames were also found to apply equally to Western destinations.

Furthermore, although several of the identified sub-frames directly corresponded to Lutz and Collins' (1993) finding of the non-Western other being "idealized"—through images that dominantly showed them smiling, nonviolent, neither poor nor rich, neither young nor old, and engaged in productive activity—there was only limited evidence to suggest that this effect applied more so to non-Western destinations. First of all, the lack of variation between destinations within the sub-frame of a casual or relaxed way of life suggests that this specific form of

idealization is not limited to non-Western cultures. Additionally, the sub-frame of a simple or humble destination applied almost exclusively to Western destinations while the sub-frame of comfortable adventure applied more so to non-Western destinations, which actually suggests the opposite—that, in specific respect to the physical state of accommodations and the local environment, non-Western destinations might be *less* idealized than their Western counterparts.

That said, some variations in use across Western and non-Western destinations—specifically those identified within the sub-frames of a way of life emphasizing history or tradition and a destination unaffected by time or progress—do indicate a pattern of “idealization” specific to non-Western destinations. First, there is the fact that the sub-frame of a way of life emphasizing history or tradition only manifested as the idea of traditional ways of life under threat from the modern world within non-Western destinations. In this sense, “traditional” ways of life that could be considered primitive or indicative of a lack of development—such as there being “more bullock carts than automobiles” (Trebay, 2008), “traditional adobe homes” (Hoffman, 2008), or camels used for hauling (“My China,” 2008)—are idealized as an authentic ways of life *under threat* from modern advancements that could otherwise be beneficial. Second, there is the fact that within the sub-frame of a destination unaffected by time or progress, it was only non-Western destinations that were described as literally not having reached the modern age. Again, in this

sense, destinations that might be considered “primitive” or lacking development are idealized as being more authentic than their modern counterparts.

This mixed framing of non-Western destinations suggests that within contemporary leisure travel magazines, in contrast to Lutz and Collins (1993) findings, the only pattern in place which might be considered as emphasizing difference or creating a hierarchy between Western and non-Western destinations is that of idealization—and even then, there are several sub-frames which serve as contradictions to this trend.

Straight-jacket of the past

Beyond simply indicating potential idealization of non-Western destinations, these same variations in use—within the sub-frames of a way of life emphasizing history or tradition and a destination unaffected by time or progress—are also consistent in many ways with the concerns Chang and Holt (1991) expressed regarding a discursive “straight-jacket” of the past. Again, this idea of the “straight-jacket” is meant to refer to a discourse that, by placing a greater value on pre-modern ways of life, pristine natural landscapes, or less developed destinations, effectively encourages the perpetuation of that state and discourages development or modernization (Chang and Holt, 1991). So, again, although both Western and non-Western destinations were often framed in terms of pristine natural landscapes and a lack of development (through variations of the sub-frame of a non-urban destination), it was only within non-Western destinations that traditional ways of

life were described as being under threat from the modern world—a trend consistent with the Chang and Holt’s (1991) description of “straight-jacket” discourse which specifically places development in opposition to tradition. Additionally, it was primarily non-Western destinations that, in a variation of the sub-frame of a destination unaffected by time or progress, were described as literally not having reached the modern age. This pattern is particularly consistent with the idea of a discursive “straight-jacket of the past,” which places a greater value on authentic non-Western destinations that have yet to be spoiled by modern forces.

Furthermore the findings of this research concerning differences in framing of non-Western and Western destinations also corroborates the one exception Chang and Holt (1991) noticed to the “straight-jacket” effect: the paradox of tourists seeking an authentic experience of the un-modernized, non-Western world only in so far as their accommodations and amenities remain comfortable by modern standards. This was evident within the sub-frame of comfortable adventure which manifested as a relief from primitive and foreign conditions only within a non-Western context—such as one author’s description of the “brief sojourn” within his hotel, complete with “cold showers” and “cold beer,” that he doesn’t want to end (Trebay, 2008).

The findings of this research, then, in accordance with the findings of Chang and Holt (2001), reveal a conflicting discourse surrounding authenticity in non-

Western destinations that expresses a desire for “modern” (or Western) accommodations and amenities, but simultaneously discourages the general process of modernization in those same non-Western destinations.

Commoditization

While the implications of idealizing non-Western destinations or placing them in a “straight-jacket of the past” do include, as Hall (1994) pointed out, an indirect potential for commoditization of culture, there was little evidence within this research to suggest that textual framing in travel magazines directly encourages that process. Hall (1994) described the process of commoditization as a demand for authentically traditional life gradually resulting in cultural traditions and rituals being performed solely for the purposes of the tourism (while the real culture continues to modernize and develop “backstage”). However, despite the framing of non-Western destinations discussed above—which did indicate a demand for traditional life—other patterns in framing across non-Western and Western destinations suggest, in fact, an awareness on the part of the content producers of this process of commoditization and a specific avoidance of its effects.

Firstly, both Western and non-Western destinations exhibited the sub-frame of concern over whether or not things were “staged”—demonstrating a specific rejection of those things which were simply being performed for tourist consumption. And secondly, there was a consistent pattern across both destinations of framing authenticity in specific opposition to mass tourism—within sub-frames

such as the non-“touristy” destination, the non-“touristy” way of experience or “going deep.” Within these sub-frames, there is the implication that these “touristy” habits and places are undesirable in part because they are indicative of processes similar to that of commoditization—such as the comment made by the author in Italy that, “...although there are some conspicuous tourist attractions here...the city is more “real” than Venice or Florence, oriented toward regular people...” (Symmes, 2009, p. 212). Furthermore, the sub-frame of the sustainably “touristy” destination—which demonstrated a specific emphasis on tourism that helps to preserve or sustain local culture—was uniquely associated with non-Western destinations. This indicates that there was a particular awareness within non-Western destinations, specifically, of the potential for tourism to result in a commoditization of culture.

Consequently, while the patterns of framing identified by this research may ultimately contribute to commoditization of culture in non-Western destinations—through discursive processes such as idealization or “the straight-jacket” effect—the same frames also demonstrate an awareness of the process of commoditization and a rejection of its negative effects on cultural authenticity. It seems possible, then, that this pronounced rejection of “staged” culture might, in turn, actually counteract the problematic emphasis on traditional culture that is also evident in the textual framing. In other words, though the emphasis on tradition evident in the textual framing of these articles has the potential to contribute to the process of

commoditization, this concurrent trend of specifically rejecting commoditized culture may actually mitigate that potential consequence.

Western destinations and the internal other

Lastly, regarding implications for Western destinations specifically, the patterns of framing identified in this study largely align with the manifestations of the pursuit of authenticity Santos (2004) identified as applying to Western destinations—namely that non-urban Western destinations would also be associated with authenticity when exhibiting qualities of a less-modernized world, such as an emphasis on traditionalism and a state of “being in the past.” This was shown to be the case within the sub-frames locating authenticity in a way of life emphasizing history or tradition, in non-urban destinations, and in destinations unaffected by time or progress—all of which applied to both non-Western as well as Western destinations. More dramatically, however, this was also seen in the variations in framing which were exclusive to Western destinations—such as the suggestion that a return to rural ways of life would result in regained authenticity, that modern means of mass production result in less authentic products, or that authenticity rests within simple or humble environments. All of these variations suggest that within Western destinations, authenticity is located within destinations or ways of life that, much as Santos (2004) found, exhibit qualities of a less-modernized or less-developed world.

Furthermore, the patterns of framing within Western destinations that were identified in this study largely correspond with the concept of the internal other—by which a subsidiary culture within a larger geopolitical boundary is idealized and functions as a site of authenticity for the dominant culture (Gladney, 1994; Schein, 1997). Within Schein’s (1997) study, it was shown that this concept of the internal other specifically manifested as a relationship between the urban majority, that was seeking lost authenticity, and what then became the rural other. Considering the “Western world” as one geopolitical entity, it was this specific concept—of the internal “rural other”—that was also identified by this study within the framing of authenticity within Western destinations. Firstly, over two-thirds of the articles reviewed for this study took place within rural destinations. But, more importantly, a large number of the sub-frames either specifically located authenticity within the rural or at least within qualities that are typically associated with rural life—such as a sense of family or community, a relaxed way of life, simple or humble environs, a lack commercialized development or a sense of being unaffected by time.

From this, it does seem possible that framing of authenticity within Western destinations is contributing to the creation of an internal rural other, which could potentially be subject to patterns of discursive control similar to those associated with the pursuit of authenticity in non-Western destinations—such as idealization, commoditization and being bound in the past.

Further implications

As said before, it was felt that this research question would be important to address because of the historical trend within travel magazines to portray non-Western destinations in a manner that emphasizes difference and positions Western culture in a dominant sociopolitical position—a trend which encourages destructive processes of colonialism or imperialism within those “less-developed,” non-Western destinations. Overall, the findings of this study were that some differences in textual framing of authenticity between non-Western destinations and Western destinations *did* exhibit this trend—through sub-frames which suggested both a process of idealization and the “straight-jacket” effect. However, it was also found that some patterns of framing that have historically been associated with non-Western destinations, such as being “naturalized,” are equally used in association with Western destinations—lessening their potential for contribution that sociopolitical hierarchy. And, finally, as has already been said, there was strong evidence to suggest that the textual framing of authenticity might actually deter some processes that have particularly negative implications for non-Western destinations—most dramatically that of commoditization. These findings suggest that, when looking at the larger picture, much progress has been made since the early displays of discursive colonialism seen in *National Geographic*, but that there is still a danger that non-Western destinations may be more subject than their

Western counterparts to textual frames which contribute to processes of idealization and hindered development.

RESEARCH QUESTION 1B: COMPARING FRAMING ACROSS MAGAZINES

The other secondary question addressed by this research was: *Is there a difference in how authenticity is framed across the three publications studied?* The findings of this study were that there are several significant variations in the framing of authenticity across the three magazines—with many of the sub-frames being considerably more or less prevalent within one of the three titles. More interestingly, however, many of these variations in framing of authenticity vary from the predictions that could be drawn from these magazines’ media kits—particularly their mission statements and audience demographics.

	<i>Travel + Leisure</i>	<i>National Geographic</i>	<i>Condé Nast</i>
SUB-FRAMES MOST ASSOCIATED WITH THIS TITLE	Rural way of life Simple/humble destination Not being a tourist Comfortable adventure	Way of life emphasizing history and tradition Way of life emphasizing family or community “Going deep” experience	
SUB-FRAMES LEAST ASSOCIATED WITH THIS TITLE		Casual or relaxed way of life Local experience	Not being a tourist Comfortable adventure Transformative experience Hand-made or not mass-produced
SUB-FRAMES WITHOUT VARIATION	Non-urban/non-commercialized destination Destination unaffected by time Secret or non-touristy destination	Sustainably touristy destination Origin not being “staged” Origin or intention being genuine	

Figure 4: Variation in Use of Sub-frames by Magazine

Travel + Leisure

Out of the three magazines, the sub-frames of a rural way of life, a simple or humble destination, a non-tourist way of experience and an experience characterized by comfortable adventure were by far the most associated with *Travel + Leisure*. This title was also considerably less associated than the other titles with the sub-frame of an experience in which the traveler is described as “going deep.” These findings were primarily consistent with the audience and content descriptions within this title’s media kit, but inconsistent in a few ways as well.

Because *Travel + Leisure* was the oldest of the three magazines looked at, it was thought that its content might be slightly more conservative or traditional in its framing of authenticity by, for example, locating authenticity in less developed destinations or by exhibiting less concern for contemporary issues such as cultural sustainability. To this point, while it did exhibit the tendency to frame authenticity as located in destinations that were unaffected by time, specifically non-urban, and sustainably touristy, it did not do so any more or less extensively than the other two younger titles.

Also, because *Travel + Leisure* had the largest circulation, it was speculated that its content might cater to more of a “mass” audience (and thereby more of a “mass” traveler) as well as taking a more positive stance on tourists and touristy activities. This turned out to be, on one hand, contradicted by the fact that the sub-frame of “not being a tourist” was far more associated with this title than the

others—seen in such claims by the authors that they had been “crossing the Vermont state line since the early 1970’s”(Mitchell, 2008, p. 146), or that they had “started traveling through Egypt while still in my mother’s belly”(Alhadeff, 2008, p. 214). On the other hand, however, there were also several variations in framing unique to this title that do suggest content was being directed towards a readership of mass travelers. First of all, this title was most indicative of the sub-frame of comfortable adventure—suggesting a reliance on amenities and luxuries such as “portable plumbing for hot showers” while on a “luxury rafting” trip (“50 Reasons,” 2008, p. 38). And secondly, it was also the least suggestive of the idea of immersing or “going deep” in a destination. Both of these trends correlate with Cohen’s (1988) and Silver’s (1993) tourist hierarchies which described mass travelers as being less willing to immerse in the destination and having a heightened concern with a certain level of amenity.

Additionally, this title in particular placed an emphasis on locating authenticity within both a rural way of life and within simple or humble destinations. This was seen, for example, in an article on rural India where the author finds himself “moving away from so-called modernity” and toward places where “the pace of life is largely dictated by agrarian rhythms” and “people are less susceptible to that error of judgment that mistakes complexity for luxury...Simplicity is wealth”(Trebay, 2008, pp. 134, 164). Both of these sub-frames could be construed as appealing to a mass audience, as well, in terms of their

emphasis on the simple and rural—in other words, the opposite of what might appeal to an elite audience, such as lavishness, luxury, or a high-class way of life.

In summary, based on the variations in framing specific to *Travel + Leisure*, it does appear that, although directly contradicted by one sub-frame, this magazine's content could be still be directly edited to appeal to mass audience, which would correlate with its large circulation.

National Geographic Traveler

National Geographic Traveler, much more often than the other two titles, was the dominant platform for the frames of a way of life emphasizing history and tradition, a way of life emphasizing family or community and the experience of “going deep.” Conversely, this magazine rarely exhibited the frames of a casual or relaxed way of life and a local experience. These findings were largely consistent with the audience and content descriptions within this title's media kit, but were also in a few cases contradictory to the predictions of this research.

Because of its close association to *National Geographic Magazine*, it was speculated that the framing of authenticity within this title might reflect, more so than the others, a pattern of idealization similar to that identified by Lutz and Collins (1993). This was partly confirmed by the fact that this title was most evidential of the sub-frame emphasizing traditional ways of life—such as the references within an article on China to a “Uyghur girl weaving silk fabric in a traditional workshop” and to a Mongolian couple's attachment to “their land, their animals and their

ancestors” (“My China,” pp. 66, 71). This could also be confirmed by the sub-frame of a way of life emphasizing family or community, which was also dominantly associated with this title and which carries undertones of idealization of an older, and particularly rural, way of life—such as the following description in an article on rural England: “There’s a warm sense of community, of the fabric of everyday country life” (McClarence, p. 71). That said, however, another common sub-frame with undertones of idealization—that of the casual or slow-paced way of life—was noticeably absent from this particular magazine. Furthermore, despite the evidence in their claim to, “cover destinations rich in distinction and character, while actively supporting efforts to keep them that way... enhancing an authentic ‘sense of place’” (National Geographic Society, 2010), the variations in textual framing specific to this title did not notably indicate that this magazine, more so than the others, positioned change or development as a threat to authenticity. Again, just like *Travel + Leisure*, while *National Geographic Traveler* did exhibit the sub-frames of authenticity being located in destinations that were unaffected by time or not yet commercially developed, it did not do so any more dramatically than the other two titles.

Additionally, because *National Geographic Traveler* has both the youngest readership and the lowest median household income of the three magazines it was thought that the content might cater slightly more to travelers who are less concerned with luxuries or amenities and more interested in a truly immersive

experience. This was confirmed, for the most part, by the fact that this title was considerably more exhibitively of the sub-frame of “going deep” than the other two titles, emphasizing an authentic experience as one of immersion, such as the author who participates in “old Maya rituals” in Guatemala (Hoffman, 2008, p. 128).

Conversely, however, *National Geographic Traveler* was considerably less expressive than the other titles of the sub-frame of having a local experience, which would have been another indicator of the traveler who is actively seeking to go beyond the “recreational” or “diversionary” experience (Cohen, 1979).

Lastly, because *National Geographic Traveler* claimed within its media kit to have “an audience of geotourists” who are greatly concerned with sustainable travel, it was predicted that content might cater to travelers such as Silver’s (1993) culturally and ecologically sensitive “chic” traveler. However, while this title was indicative of the sub-frame of a sustainably touristy destination, it was not notably more or less so than the other two magazines.

So, overall, while there was some indication that this title exhibited a stronger pattern of idealization than the other two titles—which would be consistent with its context in relation to *National Geographic Magazine*—there was only slight evidence in the variations in framing specific to this magazine that its content is being edited to appeal to the specific audience advertised in its media kit (the young, adventurous “geotourist”).

Condé Nast Traveler

Finally *Condé Nast Traveler*, although not the most associated with any single frame, was substantially less associated than the other two titles with the sub-frames of a not being a tourist, comfortable adventure, transformative experience and things being hand-made or not mass-produced.

Because *Condé Nast Traveler* could easily be considered the most “elite” travel publication—by having a readership with the highest median household income of the three magazines and by describing its readers as, “the most frequent and affluent travelers in the world.... on the forefront of spending on luxury items...” (Condé Nast Publications, 2009)—it was thought that its content might cater to readers that place an emphasis on Western standards of luxury and amenity. This was largely contradicted by the fact that it was the least evidential of the three magazines of the sub-frame of comfortable adventure—which would potentially have emphasized an experience characterized by the presence of amenities. Furthermore, *Condé Nast Traveler* was notably less exhibitiv of the sub-frame of “not being a tourist,” which would have been another indicator of, for example, Silver’s (1993) “chic” traveler—an elite class of traveler whose experience of authenticity is characterized by a mixture of perceived authenticity of culture, luxury and exclusivity of access. The prediction that content would cater to an “elite” reader was, however, slightly confirmed by the fact that this title was the least

expressive of the sub-frame that located authenticity within hand-made objects—as this might be consistent with a preference for modern luxury.

Additionally, because *Condé Nast Traveler's* mission statement emphasizes the fact that its writers embody “independence from the travel industry,” and have the ability to write more freely about destinations, it was speculated that the framing of authenticity in this publication might be less indicative of a pattern of idealization—potentially highlighting negative aspects of destinations as well as just the idyllic or serene (Condé Nast Publications, 2009). Again, this was largely contradicted because this title was not any less suggestive than the other magazines of the sub-frames associated with idealization—such as those locating authenticity within rural or slow-paced ways of life, non-urban destinations, or destinations that are seemingly unaffected by time. The only potential signifier of this trend might be the fact that *Condé Nast Traveler* was notably less evidential of the sub-frame of having a transformative experience—in which the traveler undergoes some sort of internal transformation, or is internally affected by the destination. This sub-frame is exhibitiv of idealization (in the other two titles) in the sense that the destinations in question are characterized as having a soothing effect on the spirit or soul, or helping the traveler achieve a more desirable internal rhythm. This was rarely evident, on the other hand, in *Condé Nast Traveler*, which does suggest that this title was slightly less expressive of idealization than the other titles—at least in one sense.

Overall, the variations in framing of authenticity that were exclusive to this title suggest that the content is not specifically being edited to target the reader described in their media kit—the affluent and luxury-driven traveler. Similarly, their claim of “independence from the travel industry” was not particularly evident, at least in the case of this magazine’s unique patterns of framing authenticity.

Consistencies in Framing

Also interesting is that there were several sub-frames that were used consistently across the three magazines with little variation. These were destinations that are not urban or developed, destinations unaffected by time, destinations that are secret or not touristy, destinations that are sustainably touristy, a concern with things being “staged,” and a concern with things being genuine. This pattern suggests that, regardless of audience demographics or mission statements that are unique to each magazine, there might be a broader target audience for travel magazines as a whole. And, furthermore, it can be speculated that this common audience, generally speaking, wants to distance itself from traditional conceptions of tourism and a “touristy” way of travel, and is also seeking some sort of escape (however temporary) from modern urban existence.

In summary, although there was some evidence that variations in framing of authenticity across the three magazines might correlate with differences in their mission statements and audience demographics, this was hardly conclusive. There were many uses of sub-frames that seemed, in fact, counter to these magazines’

unique variations, as well as sub-frames that essentially showed no variation. This suggests that even if travel magazine content is generally being geared towards a perceived audience, and thereby to advertisers, the concept of authenticity is not being manipulated in the same manner.

CONCLUSION

If, as is suggested, modernity has disrupted the relationship between individuals and authenticity, and inspired a pursuit of that lost authenticity in experiences of foreign destinations and cultures, it seemed probable that this concept would be evident within the content of leisure travel magazines. In light of the many historical and theoretical understandings of the concept of authenticity, however, it was less clear *how* this concept of authenticity would manifest. Accordingly, this thesis attempted to answer the question of how the concept of authenticity is framed within leisure travel magazine feature articles. Briefly, it was found that there are four primary textual frames for the concept of authenticity: authenticity as a quality of the destination, as a way of traveling or experiencing a destination, as a way of life, and as an issue of origin or intent.

Furthermore, for each of these primary frames, several sub-frames were identified that narrowed the usage of each primary frame: within the primary frame of authenticity as a quality of the destination the five sub-frames identified were an authentic destination being one that is not urban or lacks commercial development, that is unaffected by time or progress, that is still secret or not yet touristy, that contains sustainable tourism, or, finally, that is simple or humble; within the primary frame of authenticity as a way of experiencing a destination the five sub-frames identified were not being a tourist, seeking comfortable adventure, “going deep,” or immersing, having a local experience, and finally, having a personally

transformative experience; within the primary frame of authenticity as a way of life the four sub-frames identified were authenticity as a rural way of life, as a casual or relaxed way of life, as a way of life that emphasizes history and tradition, and lastly, as a way of life that emphasizes family or community; and within the primary frame of authenticity as an issue of origin or intent the three sub-frames identified were being hand-made or specifically *not* being mass-produced, not being “staged,” or occurring organically, and finally, being genuine in intent and appearance.

These identified frames and sub-frames bore many important similarities and differences to past literature on authenticity. First, in opposition to Rousseau’s and, in some ways, MacCannell’s (1973, 1976) notion that travelers might seek authenticity within primitive cultures, the identified frames suggest that, while tourists *are* seeking an older way of life, they aren’t seeking it in the “primitive” as much as simply the “rural.” This may be because the “rural” way of life can be characterized as simpler and easier without being so outdated as to be “backwards,” “curious,” or most importantly, uncomfortable for the traveler. Magazines would likely have a hard time appealing to advertisers if they were advocating for a return to a way of life predating consumerism.

Secondly, while Cohen’s (1979, 1988) conception of authenticity as being subjective was less reflected within the individual sub-frames than MacCannell’s (1973, 1976) objective authenticity, the larger picture revealed a noticeable variation in the nature of this “objective” authenticity—suggesting a pursuit of

authenticity that is, in fact, quite subjective in nature. Overall, it does seem that Cohen (1979, 1988) was correct in his suggestion that there is a variation in the level and nature of the authenticity sought by tourists (and thereby depicted by these magazines). Furthermore, while the sub-frames of the pursuit of authenticity identified within this research generally corresponded to the hierarchies of tourist experience outlined by Cohen (1979), Silver (1993) and Fürsich (2002), it was noticed by this researcher that a few levels could be added. Most noticeably, the idea of a traveler seeking authenticity through a personally transformative experience and the idea of a traveler seeking authenticity through escape of urban or commercial environments (or through experience of rural life). Both of these sub-frames were frequently recurring and evident in a broad range of the sampled articles in this research but were missing from the aforementioned hierarchies.

Thirdly, although the sub-frames identified in this study align with the manifestations of the pursuit of authenticity that Santos (2004) and Chang and Holt (1991) identified within other examples of travel journalism—of an emphasis on tradition or a lack of modernization—this is but a narrow slice of the complete range of textual frames identified by this study. This suggests that a broader study of one media's textual framing, as opposed to narrowing a study by geographic location, will reveal a more complete range of the textual frames that can apply to the pursuit of authenticity. That said, those particular sub-frames—of authenticity being rooted in a way of life emphasizing history and tradition and of an authentic

destination being one that is unaffected by time and progress—also warrant the most concern in terms of their potential to be indicative of discursively damaging processes such as idealization of the destination (Silver, 1993), the “straight-jacket” effect (Chang & Holt, 1991) and commoditization (Hall, 1994). Although there was some evidence of a sensitivity to this potential pitfall, the overall trend was still to idealize the primitiveness of these destinations in a way that could potentially obscure the economic or social downsides to a lack of development and, perhaps more importantly, contribute to a perpetuation or commoditization of that undeveloped state as it suits the need of the traveler.

Furthermore, additional findings pertaining to research question 1a (comparing Western and non-Western destinations) suggest that these discursively damaging processes, although less so than in the past, are more associated with non-Western destinations than Western destinations. Firstly, some variations in use across Western and non-Western destinations—specifically those identified within the sub-frames of a way of life emphasizing history or tradition and a destination unaffected by time or progress—indicate a pattern of “idealization” specific to non-Western destinations and reminiscent of that Lutz and Collins (1993) identified within *National Geographic*.

Secondly, these same variations in use were found to be suggestive of the concerns Chang and Holt (1991) expressed regarding a discursive “straight-jacket” of the past—that encourages the perpetuation of a pre-modern state and

discourages development or modernization, except in regards to travel accommodations and amenities. This was evidenced by the fact that, concerning the sub-frames of a way of life emphasizing history or tradition and a destination unaffected by time or progress, it was only within non-Western destinations that traditional ways of life were described as being under threat from the modern world and it was primarily non-Western destinations that were described as literally not having reached the modern age. Additionally, the sub-frame of comfortable adventure only manifested as a relief from primitive and foreign conditions within non-Western destinations. Nevertheless, despite the framing of non-Western destinations discussed above, which did indicate a demand for traditional life, patterns in framing across non-Western destinations also suggested an awareness of Hall's (1994) process of commoditization and a specific avoidance of its effects. Consequently, while the patterns of framing identified by this research may ultimately contribute to commoditization of culture in non-Western destinations—through discursive processes such as idealization or “the straight-jacket” effect—the same frames might, in turn, actually counteract the problematic emphasis on traditional culture that is also evident in the textual framing.

Lastly, regarding implications for Western destinations specifically, the variations identified in this study suggest that framing of authenticity within Western destinations is contributing to the creation of an internal rural other, which could potentially be subject to patterns of discursive control similar to those

associated with the pursuit of authenticity in non-Western destinations—such as idealization, commoditization and being bound in the past. This was shown to be the case within the following framing variations exclusive to Western destinations: the suggestion that a return to rural ways of life would result in regained authenticity, that modern means of mass production result in less authentic products, or that authenticity rests within simple or humble environments.

Overall, the findings of this study were that some differences in textual framing of authenticity between non-Western destinations and Western destinations exhibited the historical trend within travel magazines to portray non-Western destinations in a manner that emphasizes difference and positions Western culture in a dominant sociopolitical position. It was also noted, however, that this trend does seem to have lessened since the early displays of discursive colonialism seen in *National Geographic* (Lutz & Collins, 1993).

In review, as proposed by Entman (1993), by analyzing the particular way an issue or concept is framed within a text, information can be gleaned about the overall message (intentional or not) that is being communicated to the reader. Additionally, by calling attention to particular aspects of a reality, frames also necessarily direct attention away from other aspects (Entman, 1993). Ultimately, the findings of this study are significant because this textual analysis showed authenticity to be framed as being largely located within specific destinations and ways of life that reflect fewer aspects of the modern, urban or commercially

developed world. In this sense, what's being left "out of the frame" is any additional context which might present a less idealized picture of this less modernized world—for example, traditional ways of life that are often, in many ways, inefficient or economically unsustainable for those who aren't already affluent. In many ways it can be considered a luxury to consider an authentic life as one in which you only eat meat that was raised down the road, don't use motorized transport, or don't use electronic currency. It seems hard to fathom that a rural family in India wouldn't prefer cheaper and more accessible commodities, or a more developed transportation infrastructure. In other words, this process of framing authenticity as a way or life or destination that is "rural" or less modernized seems to represent only the perspective of the traveler, and ignore the perspective of the toured cultures themselves (who might not view their own ways of life as being particularly "authentic" at all). Furthermore, the implication of this is that this particular pattern of framing will lead to a process of discursive control that encourages the cultures and destinations in question adapt or continue to reflect that perceived state of authenticity. In other words, this creates the possibility that these travel magazines are, discursively, impeding further development in the toured destination as it suits the needs of their audience—those seeking authenticity.

One of the limitations of this research is that textual analysis takes into account the perspective of only one reader. As such, there exists the possibility that the reviewed content could vary in interpretations—by researchers, and more

importantly, readers. In other words, there could be much to gain from extending this research to address the question of audience reception, which would provide more substance to the implications of social construction of place. Another limitation of this study is that, by focusing exclusively on the printed product, this excluded the voices and thoughts of the producers themselves, which could be extremely relevant depending on their pre-existing awareness of the idea of authenticity and its inherent pitfalls. Further research should certainly address these holes by extending the analysis beyond the product itself—from surveys, focus groups and interviews with readers, to observation and interviews with individuals producing the content. Further research in these areas would be integral to creating a full understanding of how these texts interact with readers to create or perpetuate social ideas surrounding authenticity.

Nevertheless, it is the feeling of this researcher that this study has made several significant contributions to the existing literature on authenticity within tourism discourse. Until this study, there had been no comprehensive attempt to identify frames of authenticity utilized within travel magazines. Although many of the identified frames and sub-frames correspond to pre-existing literature on the concept of authenticity within tourism discourse, this study was also able to identify what were essentially several new frames pertaining to the concept of authenticity. The detailed hierarchies of primary frames and corresponding sub-frames identified by this study should also provide for future researchers a steadier groundwork for

approaching a frame analysis of the concept of authenticity within travel journalism. Additionally, some new ideas broached by this research might open doors of possibility for future research—such as the implications of a shift in the social concept of authenticity from the “primitive” to the “rural,” and also from tourism of other cultures to *sustainable* tourism of other cultures. It would also be interesting to further explore the implications of framing certain *ways of traveling* as being more authentic than others and whether these patterns are potentially being manipulated to the benefit of advertisers and detriment of travelers. This is largely an unexplored area in journalism research and, as such, offers many possibilities for further development. It is the hope of this researcher, however, that these contributions have added one more significant facet of understanding to the discussion of how the concept of authenticity is utilized and could influence social perceptions through the vehicle of travel discourse.

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