

A Discursive Analysis of Women's Femininities within the Context of Tunisian Tourism

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Abstract

Tourism has been hailed as a vehicle for gender equality and women's empowerment and yet the relationship between these is far from simple. As tourism is created in already gendered societies, the ability of the industry to empower is shaped by existing gender norms and discourses. Therefore utilising a postcolonial feminist frame, the primary focus of this thesis is to critically explore both the discursive role of tourism and its influence in (re)constructing feminine identities in Tunisia.

Informed by the works of Michel Foucault, and postcolonial feminism a critical discourse analysis is performed to identify discourses on femininity within the (re)presentations of Tunisian women in the Tunisian National Tourism Office's brochures and website. Critical discourse analysis often risks disempowering the communities it seeks to analyse and as such fifteen semi-structured, in-depth interviews were carried out with Tunisian women involved in the Tunisian tourism industry. The interviews were shaped by a terrorist attack targeting tourists that had happened just two weeks before.

Interestingly both the promotional materials and the interviews display two particular discourses on femininity, the modern and uncovered daughter of Bourguiba, and the southern veiled Other. Of these discourses, it is the daughter of Bourguiba who is privileged and the southern veiled Other who is excluded. These discourses have been fomented since independence from France in 1956 and the rule of President Habib Bourguiba, but they still have a very material impact on the lives of Tunisian women today as evidenced in the interviews.

This thesis contributes to both tourism and postcolonial studies in its problematisation of the connotation of Othering as essentially negative. When discourses of the Other shaping (re)presentations refrain from the construction of a monolithic categorisation, they can be more inclusive than discourses of similarity, which exclude all Others. This is linked to host self (re)presentation being intimately entwined within a system of both local and global politics, when cross-cultural (re)presentations are removed from at least some of these. The use of photo elicitation is developed to gain an understanding of how those (re)presented view those (re)presentations, but also to overcome linguistic and cultural barriers.

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1 Introduction

The 1990s became a turning point in the global agenda on gender equality, the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing led to the widest international agreements on women's empowerment with the aim of achieving gender equality. The Beijing conference secured a place for women's rights in the minds of television viewers around the world with approximately 4000 media representatives in attendance (Mohanty, 2003; UN Women, 2016). Notably, during the same decade, tourism scholars began to establish gender and tourism as a key area for systematic investigation (Kinnaird, Kothari & Hall, 1994; Swain, 1995), an area which has continued to attract scholarship. In 1995, I was nine years old and oblivious to the Beijing conference and for the most part to international tourism. It was not until much later that I developed a sense for the academic study of tourism, and not until I began this thesis that I became a self-identifying feminist.

In many ways, this thesis charts my journey through a study on gender and tourism in Tunisia, where I had previously lived for six months over the summer of 2012. Whilst in Tunisia I experienced both liberation and repression, liberation in the coastal tourist destinations, but repression in the industrial city of Sfax, which is where I resided at that time. I saw both Tunisian women and men negotiate social norms, which were to me restrictive, and I wanted to know more about how gender was constructed and governed. As I explored the postcolonial feminist literature my assumptions were challenged and I struggled with ethnocentrism and cultural relativism, my field work was shaped by a sense of shame that I developed at that time – shame relating to my cultural context and beliefs concerning religious practices. This sense of shame was so strong that it shaped the questions that I asked, never asking about veiling practices, as I believed this to be a Western preoccupation.

A complex relationship between tourism and gender politics in Tunisia emerges throughout the second half of the thesis, challenging traditional connotations of Othering as negative, and exploring how discourses of similarity can restrict the discursive possibilities for diverse and inclusive femininities. This chapter provides a background to the study by firstly, briefly considering the extant research on gender and tourism, highlighting a gap in knowledge on gender discourse and tourism, and providing a rationale for the study of gender, tourism and Tunisia. The aim of the

research and the research questions are introduced, before the contribution to knowledge is explored. The final section of this chapter situates the reader by providing a description of the thesis structure.

Introducing Gender and Tourism

Focus on gender and tourism has perhaps been encouraged by the publication of the United Nations World Tourism Organisation's (UNWTO) Global Report on Women and Tourism (UNWTO & UN Women, 2011). The report suggested that tourism could specifically aid the attainment of the third Millennium Development Goal (MDG 3): the promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women (see for example: Ferguson, 2011; Tucker and Boonabaana, 2012). Subsequent to 2015 the UNWTO further stressed its commitment 'to enhancing the positive impact of tourism development on women's lives, and, in so doing, contributing to the achievement of the fifth Sustainable Development Goal – "achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls"'(UNWTO, 2016).

Empowerment is transformation, according to Naila Kabeer (2005: 15) disempowerment – or the lack of ability to make one's own decisions - is a prerequisite of empowerment, but empowerment is also 'rooted in how people view themselves-their sense of self-worth. This in turn is critically bound up with how they are seen by those around them and by their society'. The UNWTO focusses on one type of empowerment: economic empowerment, which is evident in initiatives such as the dedication of World Tourism Day in 2007 to the theme of 'tourism opens doors for women', and organising Forums on Women in Tourism at international tourism fairs. Tourism is thought to be a vehicle for women's economic empowerment due to a variety of work and entrepreneurial opportunities that require low skills or low capital investment (UNWTO & UN Women, 2011). Yet, as argued in chapter two, due to both structural and cultural factors, women's economic empowerment may not be a possibility in many contexts (Ateljevic, 2008; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000). Economic independence is a prerequisite of economic empowerment, and with many women unable to control their own salary empowerment is dependent on societal norms and the structure of the industry (Brown, 1998; Chant, 1997).

It cannot be denied that tourism can increase employment opportunities for women due to low entry barriers and flexible working hours (Chant, 1997; Gentry, 2007; UNWTO

& UN Women, 2011), and the International Labour Organisation estimates that women's participation in hotels, catering and tourism stands at approximately 55.5% (Baum, 2013). Yet, women's participation in tourism has been critiqued for exploiting existing 'gender inequalities that provide a large global supply of highly flexibilised and low-paid female workers' (Ferguson, 2011:237), suggesting that 'the very structure of international tourism needs patriarchy to survive' (Enloe, 2000: 41). A review of the literature presented in chapter two demonstrates that the consequences and access to tourism employment may perpetuate the construction of existing gendered identities and roles, and intensify discrimination. For Kabeer (2005), empowerment is not only economic but intimately entwined with opinion and identity, which is discursive.

The very nature of tourism is gendered, as tourism is constructed out of already gendered societies and yet gender is and has remained marginal within tourism research (Figueroa-Domecq, Pritchard, Segovia-Pérez, Morgan, & Villacé-Molinero, 2015; Small, Harris & Wilson, 2017). However, of the extant body of research on gender and tourism, two themes are particularly dominant: sex tourism and women's employment. Critical approaches to the study of gender and tourism are said to constitute just 26% of the top five Australian ranked tourism journal articles on gender and tourism (Small, Harris & Wilson, 2017). The existing scholarship has yet to permeate policy and transform tourism practices which influence gendered host societies (Ferguson & Alarcon, 2015), with that in mind a critical approach to the study of gender in tourism is necessary if scholarship is to attempt to tackle and transform existing inequalities.

Issues such as the influence and/or construction of gender discourse within different tourism contexts have received less attention (Ateljevic, 2008; Ferguson, 2011; Pritchard and Morgan, 2000). Identifying discourses that constitute gendered identities can be a first step in discursively undoing positions of subordination (Riach, Rumens & Tyler, 2016), potentially leading to empowerment. After all, in order to discursively undo gender, it seems appropriate to know what is being discursively done. The identification of gendered discourses can aid tourism researchers in assessments of the potential for tourism to transform existing gender norms shaping both 'hosts' and 'guests'. This research aims to address a gap in knowledge highlighted at the beginning of the new millennium by Pritchard and Morgan (2000: 134), who emphasise that tourism research needs to address the ways in which the gendered host is represented and "critically investigate how those who are represented (...) view such imagery and whether this has any implications for their perceptions of and relationships with

tourists". Yet, as the literature review (chapter two) evidences this area of tourism research remains significantly unaddressed (Jordan & Aitchison, 2008; Rozier-Rich & Santos, 2008).

Promotional materials produced by stakeholders such as national tourism organisations are an important source of both pre-trip and on-trip tourist information about the destination. While the use of gendered marketing, which often sexualises women (Bandyopadhyay & Nascimento, 2010; Conradie, 2013; Sirakaya & Sönmez, 2000; Pritchard, 2001; Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b), has been habitually shown to negatively influence attitudes towards women (Borgerson & Schroeder, 2002; Chhabra, Andereck, Yamanoi, & Plunkett, 2011; Lichrou, O'Malley, & Patterson, 2014, 2014), the opportunity for the reshaping of gender norms remains significantly under-researched within the context of tourism (Jordan & Aitchison, 2008). Overall, within place branding studies, local people (female or male) have been a neglected (Lichrou, et al., 2014).

Tunisia has been consistently promoted as a tourism destination to a European audience, and over the last six decades during the autocratic regimes of both Presidents Bourguiba and Ben Ali, women's rights have been unceasingly utilised as a vehicle for development (Ateljevic, 2008). Surprisingly, even though Tunisia has utilised tourism and women's rights as vehicles for development, little academic research has centred on Tunisia, gender and tourism. The dearth of research on gender and tourism in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) is evidenced by the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) and UN Women's (2011) call for research. This dearth of research may be partly due to the paucity of readily available and reliable secondary data (Baum, 2013; Sönmez, 2001).

Studies on tourism and gender in a MENA context are essential due to the almost unique gendered circumstances; the overwhelming resilience of a sexual division of labour, a 'patriarchal gender contract', and low labour force participation among women (Ateljevic, 2008). Gender encompasses both women and men, and whilst acknowledging that in order to achieve gender equality, gender and feminist studies must include men and masculinities, within the tourism industry it is women who are primarily disadvantaged (Pritchard, 2014). Over 50% of the global workforce is female, and yet there is severe horizontal and vertical segregation within the industries which

support tourism (Baum, 2013). From a developmental perspective, the Millennium Development Goals highlight the importance of gender equality, which is yet to be achieved in any region, poverty is feminised and women are often the victims of gender-based violence or femicide (Pritchard, 2014).

Gender and Discourse

Within the emergence of systematic studies of gender and tourism in the 1990s, the journal *Annals of Tourism Research* published a special issue on tourism and gender. The special issue introduced a definition of gender which would become widely used as a starting point for future research. Margaret Swain (1995) argued that gender could be conceptualised in terms of culturally and socially constructed identities that can relate to both men and women. A social constructionist approach to gender is advocated in Kotthof and Wodak (1997), as they focus on the social institutions which (re)produce gender identities and inequalities. Gender identity is something that is assigned to biological sex categories and, as such, is mediated by culture rather than an intrinsic property of individuals. Furthermore, gender identities are achieved through interaction; they are the outcomes of gender performances (Butler, 1988; Goffman, 1979). These performances of gendered identities are practised over time; they are repetitions of dominant social norms of what gender is (Kendall & Tannen, 2015). Socially held ideas of what gender is are typically tethered to two gender categories (masculine/feminine) which are often organised in a hierarchical binary formation (Butler, 1988; Holmes & Marra, 2010).

Meanings assigned to femininity and masculinity are found in (re)presentations of gender, which might belong in the pages of a magazine, on television or even be performed by others. These (re)presentations have a textual quality and they convey and create meaning. Stuart Hall (1997) suggests that meaning cannot exist without being represented, and it is in the representation that meaning is imbued with power. (Re)presentations are never a true reflection of reality, but a discursive construction of meaning. The systematic organisation of social life depends on discourse, discourses shape what can and cannot be (re)presented. When discourses are formed, knowledge about a particular topic is produced (Hall, 1996).

A key process in producing discourses on social identities is the practice of Othering, whereby specific subjects are identified as being different to what is constituted as 'normal'. As such, Othering favours the powerful, and in the context of gender, a feminine identity is constructed as Other and thus in opposition and inferior to the

masculine (De Beauvoir, 1949). The construction of the Other is part of the process of constructing the self, in the context of nationality, the West is constructed as the superior to the inferior rest (Hall, 1996; Said, 1979). Othering (re)creates discourses on identity which might be resisted or challenged, but also performed unproblematically. Othering has been considered an integral element of the Host/Guest relationship within tourism, which pits the non-Western host as inferior to the Western guest (Caton & Santos, 2008; Dicks, 2004; Duffy, Kline, Mowatt, & Chancellor, 2015; Hall & Tucker, 2004). The tourism industry draws on discourses that can have an Othering effect in terms of gender and culture and thus is an important site for empirical research for scholars seeking to problematize and combat gender inequality.

Acknowledging that both linguistic text and pictorial image (re)create discourse (Hall, 1997), the data collected for the thesis consists of a website and brochures produced by the Tunisian National Tourism Office (TNTO), and interviews carried out with Tunisian women. In addition to linguistic text and still pictorial images, the website included moving images. The multimodal nature of the data collected constrained the choice of data analysis techniques, for example, linguistic approaches to discourse analysis were found insufficient for the analysis of moving and pictorial images. A critical discourse analysis (CDA), informed by culture studies and Michel Foucault, was determined the most applicable to a range of multimodal data. CDA is an eclectic school of thought, which encompasses scholars who focus on the power issues inherent in discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2009), and scholars who share the value of striving for equality in society. In an attempt to lift the lived experience of women's femininities, the interviews were semi-structured to elicit rich, in-depth qualitative data.

Aim and Research Questions

In order to address the gap in knowledge highlighted above this research strives to meet one overall aim: to critically explore both the discursive role of tourism and its influence in (re)constructing feminine identities in Tunisia. Yet, derived from both the literature review and to meet this aim two sets of research questions have been developed:

- 1) How are Tunisian women discursively (re)presented by Tunisian promotional materials targeting a UK audience?

The Tunisian National Tourism Office utilises both brochures and a website to promote Tunisia to a UK audience. However, as discussed in chapter four, whereas websites can be updated instantaneously, the brochures were produced over a decade ago and were re-ordered in 2016. Differences and similarities between the (re)presentations in the website and brochures may allow longitudinal insights into the (Re)presentation of Tunisian women. This has informed the sub question:

1a) How do the (re)presentations of Tunisian women in printed brochures and websites differ?

2) How do Tunisian women engage with discourses on femininities (re)constructed by Tunisian promotional materials?

2a) How do Tunisian women interpret the (re)presentation of Tunisian women in Tunisian promotional materials?

2b) How do Tunisian women discursively construct Tunisian femininities?

Contribution to knowledge

This thesis contributes to the body of gender and tourism literature by providing in-depth empirical insights into the politicised nature of the gendered (re)presentation of Tunisian women by TNTO (see chapter six). The influence of tourism on gender is context specific, as discussed in chapter two, and little research has systematically analysed tourism and gender in Tunisia or the interactions between religion, gender and tourism. The study findings contradict previous studies on the (re)presentation of Muslim women in tourism promotion (see chapter three), which have described a dominant exoticisation of Muslim women Others. In Tunisia, it is the modern ‘daughter of Bourguiba’ who is privileged in the papers of both the brochures and website of the governmental body charged with tourism. The identifiably Muslim woman lacks almost any (re)presentation, but when she is (re)presented she is Othered – she is the binary opposite to the modern ‘daughter of Bourguiba’.

The concept of Othering, previously conceptualised as negative, is also problematised by the findings presented in chapter six, which shows how (re)presentations that draw on discourses of the exotic Other may be more inclusive than those which attempt a discursive strategy of showing similarity. The (re)presentations promoted by the Tunisian state discursively construct a Southern Muslim Other, which could be a strategy to develop a discourse of modernity and similarity to a Western audience, as without the Other there can be no self (Said, 1997). However, the Tunisian government creates an inferior Other (as discussed from chapters six to eight), this Other is not exotic but merely ‘backwards’. It is therefore surprising that the government website links to an external video on Youtube, which develops a far more inclusive strategy, (re)presenting the Southern Other not as ‘backward’, but as exotic and different.

The thesis, although not generalisable, also partly addresses the dearth of knowledge on how those (re)presented within tourism publicity materials view those (re)presentations (see chapter seven). By utilising photo elicitation, participants could engage with

governmental (re)presentations and express their feelings towards them. Interestingly many participants were unsure of the nationality of the models pictured in the pages of the brochure, suggesting that they did not necessarily identify with the femininity (re)presented. Considering these aspects, the current project not only contributes to gender and tourism scholarship but also to postcolonial studies and theories of 'othering'. These contributions are explored in more detail in the conclusion.

Thesis Structure

This section outlines the structure of the thesis chapter by chapter.

2. Tourism and Gender

This chapter presents a review of the growing body of literature on gender and tourism, the chapter explicitly focusses on tourism and 'host' women, it explores the ability of the industry to economically empower women and argues for a theoretical focus on discourse. The chapter investigates the practice of (re)presentation in tourism, and the circle of representation is diagrammatically (re)presented to highlight how actors within the industry can (re)create host identities, and the ability of these discourses to become part of the performative identities played by hosts. Studies on the (re)presentation of women in promotional materials are presented finding that tourist women are often objectified and sexualised in promotional materials. The chapter finds that the study of the (re)presentation of women in tourism has often followed a deductive approach, focussing on tourist women, but less is known about 'host' women.

3. Tourism: power, politics and self-fulfilling properties

Exploring the power of the tourism this chapter identifies the ability of the tourism industry to create self-fulfilling prophecies, which are grounded in the discursive workings of the industry. The chapter also analyses studies on the (re)presentation of Muslim hosts, finding that Muslim women might be appropriated in tourism promotional materials, which tend to use the veil as a signifier of the exotic Other, and backwardness. A conceptual framework utilising literature from postcolonial theory and feminism, culture studies, media studies and tourism studies is generated consisting of the concepts of Othering, essentialism, epistemic closure and violence, discourse and agency.

4. Methodology and Research Approach

This chapter explores the philosophy of research, situating the thesis within the

paradigm critical-constructionism. A qualitative research design is explored before presenting the data collection and data sets. CDA is introduced as a useful approach for the study of discourse in multimodal data before multiple methods (content analysis, critical discourse analysis, and word frequency) are introduced for the specific analysis of data in this thesis. After the methods of data analysis, postcolonial feminism has directly influenced the ethical considerations of both the process of interviewing and my role in (re)presenting the participants' voices. The critical approach of the study demands a consideration of my own position in relation to the stages of research and interpretation of results, this reflexive activity (examined at the end of the chapter) is complex as I explore both my own positionality and that of Eliana my interpreter.

5. Tunisia

As gender is a social construct mediated by culture, it is also context specific. Postcolonial feminists have argued for the reconsideration of the monolithic woman category and critical discourse analysts like Fairclough (1995) utilise both spatial and temporal contexts to aid the analysis of discourses. Therefore this chapter explores and presents a brief history of Tunisia, specifically focussing on tourism and women's rights. The chapter highlights how women, who have been assigned the role of guardians of tradition within society, have had their embodied religious practices constrained by authoritarian rule. The chapter serves a second purpose, by describing the terrorist attacks of 2015 alongside historical movements to privilege modernity, it serves to further contextualise the interviews and promotional materials later analysed.

6. (Re)presenting Tunisian Femininities

This chapter presents the findings of the content analysis and critical discourse analysis of the promotional materials produced by the TNTO. The chapter finds that Tunisian women are rarely depicted in relations with tourists, in fact, Tunisia is predominantly presented as a space free of any people. Yet where Tunisian women are (re)presented, two competing discourses on femininity emerge, a 'modern' femininity and a 'veiled, Southern Other'. The exploration of moving images linked on the website, highlight how discursive strategies in tourism promotional materials differ across cultures, and the connotation of Othering as a negative practice is problematised.

7. Daughters of Bourguiba

Elements taken from the interview transcripts are (re)presented and discussed in this chapter. Interestingly, the two dominant discourses on femininity are (re)created by the

participants in their interviews. A privileging of the unveiled 'modern' women is apparent, and yet rather than evidence of the circle of tourism (re)presentation (see figure 2.3), it is argued that these discourses have remained in circulation since the rise of Habib Bourguiba in the 1950s. This chapter elucidates the political nature of the (re)presentation of women in Tunisia's tourism industry.

8. Conclusion

The conclusion to this thesis begins by discussing the analyses presented in chapters six and seven in relation to the research questions. The limitations and contribution of this study are explored before introducing areas for future research. One of the contributions of this thesis is the notion that host self (re)presentations are intimately entwined within a system of both local and global politics, but cross-cultural (re)presentations are removed from at least some of these. The externally produced Spanish video linked in the website Discover Tunisia, for example, appears to have been produced largely outside the local Tunisian political sphere evidenced by a very different discursive strategy (as explored in chapter six). In the case of Tunisia, this is very evident from the video produced by Spanish producers when compared to TNTOs own (re)presentations. This could be an area for further research or an aspect to be included in much needed future studies concerning gendered (re)presentations within tourism. The chapter closes by providing a final summary of the thesis.

2 Tourism and Gender

As previously stated, the study of gender, as a pertinent issue within tourism, started to receive academic interest and systematic investigation in the 1990s (Swain, 1995; Figueroa-domecq, et al., 2015). The first conference on gender and tourism took place in 1995 in Indonesia (Wall, 1996). In the same year, the journal *Annals of Tourism Research* dedicated an entire issue to the topic, which further directed attention to the topic of gender within tourism research. Margaret Swain (1995) introduced the issue by highlighting that gender relates to both men and women and can be conceptualised as identities that are constructed culturally and socially, a process she clarifies in the new millennium as intended to be ‘unequivocally dynamic’ (Swain, 2002: 3). Swain (1995) iterates that tourism both influences and is influenced by gender relations, an assumption which builds on the framework introduced by Kinnaird, et al., (1994) and Kinnaird & Hall (1996), and which has been widely accepted as the theoretical foundation in further works (see for example Pritchard & Morgan, 2000; Scheyvens, 2002, 2008; Ferguson, 2009, 2011). However, whilst becoming a foundation for further research, this early work has also been critiqued for lacking in definitions, feminist theory and comprehension of gender as identity (Swain, 1995).

This chapter aims to provide an overview of scholarship focussing on tourism and host women, which has been critiqued for centring on the sensationalist aspect of sex tourism or the economic relationships found within the industry (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000; Pritchard, 2001; Scheyvens, 2002, 2008; Ferguson, 2011; Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012; Figueroa-Domecq et al., 2015). The term host is utilised as a way to (re)present local populations found in the destination and has its roots in the seminal anthropological work of Valene Smith (1989) *Hosts and Guests*. The terms hosts and guests are contested and have been critiqued for creating binary opposites when it is suggested that both roles are in fact far more fluid than first thought (Sherlock, 2001).

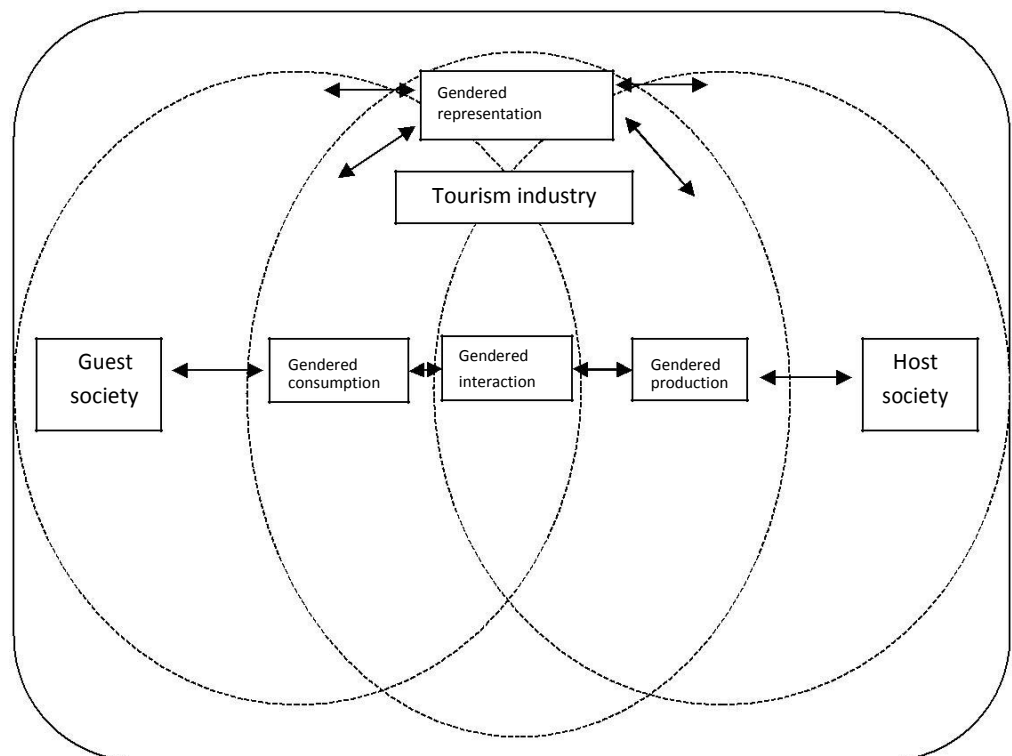
I use the term hosts purposefully to signify the vast social, economic, cultural, and mobility differences between Tunisians and their guests. In 2015 the main tourist source markets (Germany, France, Italy, and the UK) for Tunisia were all ranked in the top 30 for human development, whereas Tunisia was ranked 97 with a gross national income per capita of less than a third of the average for those markets (UNDP, 2016). Germans can travel to 176 countries without needing a visa, Italians to 174, the French and British to 173, but Tunisians are restrained to 63 (Henley & Partners, 2017). The use of terms hosts and guests may invoke the contested notion of strategic essentialism, not as a ‘union ticket for essentialism’ (Darius, Jonsson, & Spivak, 1993: 35), but to identify

and (re)present the marginal - in this case Tunisian host women. A visual representation of the links between gender and tourism is developed, before moving on to describe the components of the relationship between tourism, gender and the host society. Finally, the chapter outlines the rationale for the study of gendered representations within tourism, especially within Islamic contexts.

Tourism and Gender: Dynamic links

The framework introduced by Kinnaird, et al., (1994) and Kinnaird & Hall (1996) allowed for a fundamental understanding of the relationship between gender and tourism. The framework can be summarised as “ (1) tourism development processes and tourism-related activities are constructed out of gendered societies; (2) gender relations both inform, and are informed by, the practices of all societies; and (3) power relations surrounding tourism development processes represent an extension of the politics of gender relations.” (Kinnaird et al., 1994: 24). The framework demands researchers consider gender as an element of analysis in all areas of tourism; divisions of labour, the social construction of sites, ‘heritage’ and the cultural Other, and ‘host/guest’ experiences, as well as highlighting the importance of contextualisation. A diagrammatic representation of this framework could be constructive to future research and is presented below (see figure 2.1).

Figure 2-1 The Relationship Between Tourism and Gender



Source: Author’s representation based on Kinnaird et al., (1994)

Figure 2.1 shows the three interrelated spheres of the host society, guest society and the tourism industry with the activities of consumption, production, interaction and marketing highlighted. Interrelated spheres acknowledge that not all persons from the guest society will travel to the host society, but the impact of representation and travel experiences may well permeate further than just those who travel. Moreover, not all who belong to the host society are directly involved in tourism, but they may find themselves affected by the industry (economically, or through interaction, or representation). Double headed arrows depict the bilateral and multilateral influencing relationships between activities. The diagram elucidates a clear need for proper contextualisation of analyses, as described by Kinnaird et al. (1994), Kinnaird & Hall (1996), Sinclair (1997), Meethan (2001), Scheyvens (2002, 2008), Gentry (2007), Schellhorn (2010) and Ferguson (2009, 2011) among others. The need for contextualisation is founded on the fact that outcomes of the highlighted interactions and concepts are complex and constructed out of and informed by already gendered societies.

Figure 2.1 facilitates the identification of the ways in which tourism may be influenced by and simultaneously influence gender roles and relations in the 'host' country. The industry (re)presents gendered societies in order to meet and create tourist desires; the gendered tourist with his/her image of the gendered host interacts with the host in the host's local environment, the tourism workforce in the destination is created out of the gendered host and tourist society. Hence, this research is built on the premise that gender is a dynamic cultural construct, which influences and is both influenced by tourism (Kinnaird, et al., 1994; Kinnaird & Hall, 1996; Swain, 1995; Swain, 2002). Furthermore, contextualisation is essential when undertaking research on tourism and gender, as the tourism product is created in destinations with existing gender norms, to be challenged, perpetuated or sustained by the industry (Swain, 1995). Within the tourism and gender literature, the topics of both tourism employment (found within gendered production) and sex tourism (found both within gendered production and consumption) have received significant attention (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000; Figueroa-Domecq, et al., 2015), but other areas such as gendered interaction and 'host' marketing/(re)presentation, and their respective outcomes may have been overlooked.

The narrow focus of the extant literature has been evidenced by a critical literature review commemorating 20 years of gender research within tourism studies, which

highlights gender as a marginal area of research alongside concepts of ‘little traction’ such as postcolonialism (Figueroa-Domecq et al., 2015: 90). As this research project focuses on the gendered influences of tourism within a host society, the following section is concerned specifically with the ‘host’ experience regarding gendered tourism production, in order to show the limitations of tourism employment and its conversion to empowerment or transformation concerning social contracts.

Women and Tourism Employment

Tourism employment both informs and is informed by gender relations (Swain, 1995; Sinclair, 1997), yet is also undoubtedly difficult to quantify due to direct and indirect, as well as formal and informal work positions (Gentry, 2007). However, in a report produced by the International Labour Organisation, the global women’s labour participation in hotels, catering and tourism is estimated at 55.5% (Baum, 2013). The report advocates the study of tourism employment and women as a necessary approach to meet productivity demands as well as consumer demands. The study of tourism employment (from a gender perspective) can also generate insights into multiple understandings of tourism production and social relations which characterise the contemporary, global capitalist world (Veijola, 2009). As tourism is not only an explicit example of the displacement of the consumption/production binary, which characterises much of contemporary society (Sharpe & Spivak, 2003), but also relies on the existence of gender inequalities to provide a cheap supply of labour ‘willing’ to perform women’s work (Enloe, 2000; Ferguson, 2011). Yet, this access to a large supply of women workers owes itself to the needs of economic growth (Veijola, 2009; Duffy, et al., 2015); in other words, many women might find themselves relegated to the home if the economic regime did not demand an increase in labour. Therefore, 55.5% of the global workforce being women (Baum, 2013) does not in itself suggest a shift in gender ideologies.

The focus on tourism employment is important as it may be linked to economic empowerment due to low entry barriers (UNWTO & UN Women, 2011). Of the extant literature on gender and tourism employment, several themes are notable: gendered division of labour or horizontal gender segregation - “the uneven distribution of men and women into different functional areas” (Campos-Soria, Marchante-Mera & Roperogarcía, 2011: 92) and vertical gender segregation - “inequalities in gender distribution within different levels of responsibility (Campos-Soria, et al., 2011: 92), gender discrimination, gender antagonism and economic empowerment related to psychological

and social empowerment. These themes are frequently connected to the ability of tourism employment to reflect or challenge existing gender norms. Yet, research is often from a positivist perspective (see for example: Campos-Soria, et al., 2011; Muñoz-Bullón, 2009; Pinar, McCuddy, Birkan, & Kozak, 2011; Skalpe, 2007; Thrane, 2008) which has been criticised for undermining the subjective nature of experience and pluralities which coexist within tourism (Aitchison, 2001). As such, there has been a notable call for qualitative research which “explores complex, and sometimes subtle, gender dynamics, as well as structural barriers” (Ng & Pine, 2003: 100 and also Figueroa-Domecq et al., 2015).

Tourism jobs often differ to more traditional forms of work as they involve simultaneous acts of production and consumption built on physical relationships, which may involve flirting and can be counterproductive to the personal lives and romantic relationships of women (Veijola, 2009). In a compendium explicitly focussing on *gender, work and tourism*, Sinclair (1997) identifies links between intercultural interaction, the commodification of culture, tourist purchasing power and the (re)construction of gender ideologies, which may influence the supply and demand of labour; suggesting that within dynamic contexts gender ideologies and divisions of labour may be dependent on tourism. Interestingly, Duffy et al. (2015: 81) view the mimicry of tourist behaviours, alongside the consumption ‘and demand for the sexualised, exotic ‘Other’’, and tourism employment as simultaneously influencing gender ideology. The influence of tourism on gender is contextually dependent (Duffy et al., 2015), but the type and scale of tourism activities may also be a deciding factor in the nature of influence (Wall & Norris, 2003). In Northern Cyprus, Scott (1997) suggests that the control of the tourism industry remains largely in male hands, perpetuating existing gender ideologies. She found this to be stronger in family run businesses, which lack the ability to offer a wider variety of jobs, as found in mass tourism establishments. Conversely, Long & Kindon (1997) found small-scale development in Bali to increase the social status of women, but also highlight a lack of transference to the political sphere.

In Belize, Gentry (2007) compares alternative and mass tourism finding that tourism employment is an extension of gender segregated employment in general, a conclusion reflected in a later study in the Dominican Republic (Duffy, et al., 2015), but that alternative rural tourism has the ability to offer women with little or no education the option of becoming gainfully employed. In Belize the alternative tourism sector allows women to use stereotypes to their advantage, but interestingly the foreign-owned

alternative tourism sector is depicted as a negative influence when compared with the Belizean-owned small-scale tourism businesses or even the foreign-owned mass tourism industry. These examples highlight how tourism interacts with diverse cultures to arrive at different outcomes, furthering the argument for contextualisation and integrated analyses.

An important factor when contextualising the research may be religion, and gender norms or identities formed on a religious basis, which has largely been overlooked by gender and tourism research. Long & Kindon (1997) describe how traditional gender ideologies in Bali are created out of a religious context, which situates women as secondary to men, finding that this ideology persists within tourism employment regardless of type and scale. In contrast, Tucker (2007) found that tourism employment did influence gender ideology based on Islam and traditional culture in Goreme, Turkey. Including religion in her contextualisation of Mexico and the Philippines, Chant (1997) describes the relationship between social acceptance of sexual double standards and Spanish Catholicism, which involves the modelling of femininity on the Virgin Mary. In Vietnam, tourism was also said to do little in way of challenging Confucian gender ideologies (Tran & Walter, 2014). Whilst religion has received attention within contextualisation, few authors have truly analysed local policies concerning women or how these strategies are perceived by their target group, which has a direct implication for future policy formulation as discussed by Ng & Pine (2003). In order to analyse the influence of tourism from a gender perspective, it becomes clear that a contextualised description of the host society is necessary so as to understand traditional roles and agents when describing change.

In many cases of tourism and gender analysis, it has been found that tourism only serves to perpetuate existing gender roles and norms. In both Mexico and the Philippines tourism is seen to perpetuate existing gender norms that reproduce both horizontal and vertical gendered divisions of labour through the use of women's domestic abilities at the lower end of the occupational hierarchy (Chant, 1997). Long & Kindon (1997) offer explanation to persisting gender ideologies in Bali by suggesting that a lack of formal education may impede women from taking up more senior positions. Yet, legislation also serves to create further gender differences, such as the prohibition of women from night work in order to preserve sexual reproduction (Long & Kindon, 1997). In other contexts, this is linked to jealousy among male partners and not legislation (Duffy et al., 20015). However, even though tourism may perpetuate existing gender norms, small

positive changes are often observed. For example, when comparing tourism to industry, in Mexico or the Philippines, there is more scope within tourism for women to become economically empowered through business ownership (Chant, 1997).

Employment may be an integral part of the way in which tourism influences gender within host societies, but it is not to be studied in isolation. The relationship between women's employment in tourism and social or psychological empowerment has been highlighted by Chant (1997) in her description of Mexican tourism as a provider of jobs for women (regardless of quality), which the women themselves are said to equate with pride and power. A similar situation was described in Vietnam, where the 11 women hosting tourists proclaimed a greater level of self-confidence (Tran & Walter, 2014). Veijola's (2009) analysis of two women tourism workers' narratives offers a more psychological approach to explain an increase in pride or self-esteem through the idea that tourism work, which involves performed commoditised personalities, merges multiple work/home personalities due to its intensive nature. Furthermore, in Herefordshire, UK, women were not dissuaded by the poor quality of tourism jobs, nor did they accept these positions as they were their only option, but found those positions to be more enjoyable than other possible options (Phillimore, 2002). A similar phenomenon was found in the Dominican Republic, where interviewees suggested that positions perpetuating domestic roles were the best in the area (Duffy, et al., 2015).

Conversely, in the Philippines this employment is merely seen as an additional chore, related to the type of work: sex tourism, leading to a loss of self-worth at the hands of the male managers and customers (Chant, 1997). In Northern Cyprus, the idea of self-exploitation suggests that accommodation businesses owned by women only succeed in increasing women's labour intensity, an unrequited phenomenon among the women (Scott, 1997). Even when tourism employment is related to any change in gender ideology it often fails to challenge accepted domestic roles mirrored in tourism positions and frequently equates to a double day or workload (Duffy et al., 2015). An integral analysis highlighting the links between influencing factors and including the opinions and perceptions of the host are indispensable when describing the outcomes of gendered tourism employment.

Economic empowerment may challenge existing gender norms and social structures as even the salary from what may be described as a woman's job is valued by local women, who may otherwise be unemployed, as is the case among many Mexican women (Scheyvens, 2008). However, a salaried job only leads to economic

independence and therefore improved status when the person is in control of their own salary, an area of difficult measurement suggesting that a change in status is conjointly dependent on societal norms and the structure of the industry (Brown, 1998). Patriarchal control over the wage is a major barrier to the translation of tourism employment into empowerment demanding the consideration of the household as a 'primary source of gender subordination' (Chant, 1997:164) and therefore an apt starting point for changing gender norms.

Tran and Walter's (2014) interpretive case study of ecotourism in northern Vietnam employed Longwe's empowerment framework to the Giao Xuan community-based ecotourism project, which showed women's participation in the project contributed towards changes in understandings and performance of gender roles, as well as more equitable divisions of labour. This study shows a change in the male position, as men began to take on the domestic roles more traditionally associated with women, which agrees with Veijola's (2009) suggestion that skills thought of as belonging to women are becoming increasingly required of men. However, as an example of the negative consequences of empowerment, gender antagonism was also highlighted as potentially intensified by the challenging of patriarchal gender roles (Tran & Walter, 2014). Resentment towards women partners earning a wage whilst the male partner is not, could also contribute to this situation of conflict (Duffy et al., 2015). Whilst the study attempts to uncover the relationship between these phenomena and wider societal changes (Tran & Walter, 2014), little focus and attention is paid to other influencing factors derived from tourism, such as tourist-host interaction or the shaping of those interactions through marketing, with only a mention that local women viewed interacting with other cultures and other members of society as a benefit of the project.

Even though social norms underpin the division of tourism labour, it cannot be denied that tourism can increase employment opportunities for women. Perhaps even more so in developing countries, due to low entry barriers and flexible working hours (Chant, 1997; Gentry, 2007; UNWTO & UN Women, 2011). Yet, the consequences and access to tourism employment may perpetuate the construction of existing gendered identities and roles, provide an environment of discrimination, and display wage inequality (see for example: Sinclair, 1997; Ng & Pine, 2003; or Kattara, 2005). Furthermore, Chant (1997) suggests that international tourism initiatives should consider the traditional status of women, wage and exploitation as well as facilitating subsidised child care, divorce, unmarried cohabitation and birth control in order to improve women's situations. She criticises governments for not attending to these issues within their development policies but holds tourism in high esteem for bringing women together and

suggests that women hold the answer to their own empowerment via a bottom-up approach.

The sustainability of any changes in the status of women as a consequence of tourism employment or economic independence has been questioned by Duffy et al. (2015), who highlight that both women and men in the Dominican Republic desired the return to more traditional divisions of labour when possible. Tourism has also been critiqued as an industry which involves unjust employment dependent upon the weakest in society and offering little emancipation (Figueroa-Domecq, et al., 2015). As highlighted by this section, and noted by Duffy et al. (2015), whilst tourism employment has been hailed as a vehicle for gender equality, there is a large body of evidence to the contrary. Tourism employment may perpetuate existing gender norms, roles and relations, but in some cases, it may socially and psychologically empower women. Yet, this is often cited as a result of host-guest interaction, gender is after all relational ‘it is constructed and reconstructed in relation to and interaction with other individuals within the contexts of society, culture, and history’ (Freysinger, Shaw, Henderson, & Bialeschki, 2013: 4). Tourist/host interactions are shaped by tourism discourse, which directs the tourist on how to behave, but these discourses are ultimately gendered. Yet, whilst discourse is an important arena for gender scholars, the influence of gendered tourism discourses on host societies remains unclear.

Tourism (re)presentations

Gendered tourism employment has received much academic attention, due to its potential to empower women through economic independence, but as highlighted in the previous section this may not be a possibility in many contexts due to both structural and cultural factors (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000; Ateljevic, 2008). Of the extant research on gender and tourism, only 31.6% is focussed on gendered hosts and of that 31.6% over half concentrate on entrepreneurship, residents, and sex tourism (Figueroa-Domecq, et al., 2015), even though the relationship between a wage and economic independence or improved status is far from unproblematic. Patriarchal control over the wage can be a major barrier to the translation of tourism employment to empowerment demanding the consideration of the household as a ‘primary source of gender subordination’ (Chant, 1997:164). Moreover, the employment of women within the tourism industry has often become an extension of existing domestic roles, and tourism, in general, has frequently been described as weak when faced with deep-rooted gender ideologies (Duffy et al., 2015). Yet, and as highlighted throughout the introduction,

gendered tourism (re)presentations may also influence gender relations and attitudes towards women (Borgerson & Schroeder, 2002; Chhabra, et al., 2011; Chhabra, & Johnston, 2014; Lichrou, et al., 2014).

Furthermore, Pritchard and Morgan (2000) emphasise that tourism research needs to address the ways in which the gendered host are (re)presented and how they view those (re)presentations. However, (re)presentations and their social influence are under-researched, which is further evidenced by the review of literature in this chapter. Moreover, (re)presentation of the developing world as a concept has often fused two rather separate ideas: “speaking for” as in political representation and “speaking about” (Spivak, 1988:70). Nevertheless, ‘representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. It does involve the use of language, of signs and images which stand for or represent things’ (Hall, 1997: 15). (Re)presentations are not true reflections, there will always be a difference between the object and its depiction as (re)presentations are “drawn up not by depicting the object as it is but by re-presenting it or constructing it in a new form and/or environment” (Salazar, 2008:172). The act of (re)presenting can be described as violent, in that (as considered in chapter three) a (re)presentation supports one meaning and eliminates alternatives (Jack & Westwood, 2009). (Re)presentations are important to tourism destinations and destination marketing organisations (DMOs) alike as they form the basis of a destination’s image and destination marketing.

(Re)presentations are never neutral, their power lies in their ability to form an image of the Other, that which is not the self. The Other is invariably perceived as lower down the hierarchy when compared with the self, the Other is ‘the self’s shadow’ (Spivak, 1988: 75), which if embodied may become entwined with identity or even institutionalised. Yet, ‘within this dichotomised relationship, one pole always tends to dominate (e.g., male over female, us over them, high over low)’ (Salazar, 2008: 172), which creates a structure resembling colonial dominance. Entwined with the colonial project, (re)presentation may necessitate various courses of action. For example, spaces necessitating colonisation may be represented as empty of value but ready to become civilised. Spaces to be colonised are shown as empty, or strategically (re)present local indigenous people as unorganised, maleficent, negligent, immoral or immature and in need of the colonisers ‘help’ (Kothari & Wilkinson, 2010). This is even more evident when considering how indigenous women have been (re)presented as very much in need of the coloniser to save them from their own men (Spivak, 1988).

The tourism industry is a dominant image maker and experience shaper as it emits a persistent flow of representation through mass media, advertising, and promotional brochures, which equate to tourist expectations when visiting a destination (Kinnaird et al., 1994). The industry (re)presents that which is different and attractive to the market in order to promote and sell a holiday product, and ultimately a place and its peoples who may not be appeased by their (re)presentation (Garrod, 2008). Moreover, both destinations in developed and those in lesser developed regions are formed by imbalanced relationships and encounters reflective of colonial times, marred by power: the tourist as the honoured observer and the host Other as the primal spectacle, who must often embody the expected stereotype for free (Caton & Santos, 2008; Dicks, 2004; Hall & Tucker, 2004). Destinations are not only marketed by intermediaries in the developed world, but also by those endemic to the destination, in order to be sold to tourists also primarily from the developed world (Echtner & Prasad, 2003). Drawing on the key aspects of tourism representation (see Figure 2.2), figure 2.3 depicts the circle of representation whereby tourism industry (re)presents the destination and the host (which may or may not be founded on truth) in order to meet the desires of the consumer, who travels to the destination with the image, where ultimately both meet the host.

Figure 2-2 Representation in Tourism Studies

<p>Key aspects of representations in tourism studies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Representations are the mechanism of tourism’s discourse (Geertz, 1975; Sternberg, 1997) · Representations are empirical and include certain types (Breitbart, 1997; Wolcott, 1995) · Representations are true descriptions and are functional (Brown, 1995; Hollinshead, 2000; Said, 1978) · Representations are things in themselves (Papson, 1981; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996) · Representations are visual and can take the form of photographs (Adler, 1989; Baudrillard, 1996) · Representations can also be collectively held myths or narratives of any form (Bhabha, 1994; Buck, 1993 or Hall, 1997) · Representations determine tourist (human) behaviour (Dann, 1996; Foucault, 1995) · Representations are also determined by tourists’ expectations (Fabian, 1983; Ryan, 2002) · Representations are fundamental to the constructed reality of tourism (Levinas, 1987; Rose, 1993; Urry, 1990)
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Source: Hunter (2008)

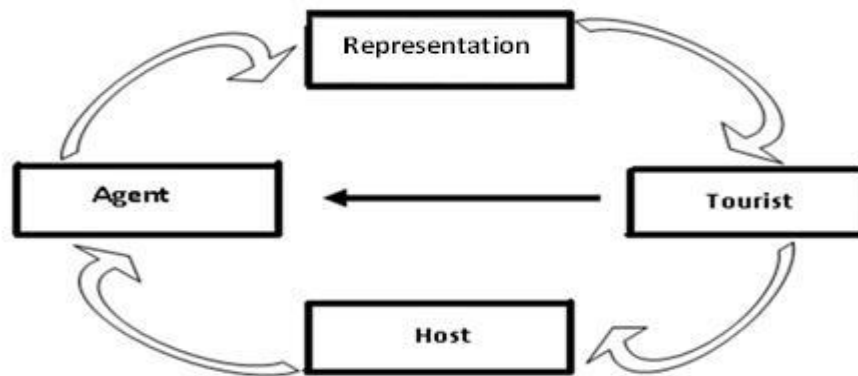
This circle of (re)presentation (figure 2.3) depicts the relationship involving the agent charged with the (re)presentation. For example: a DMO, travel agent, tour operator, media source or even the tourists and hosts themselves (Stepchenkova & Mills, 2010), who develops a projected, textual or pictorial based (re)presentation (Echtner & Ritchie, 2003) of the host (which may or may not be authentic) in order to satisfy the desires of the tourist. The tourist receives this (re)presentation and is also actively engaged in producing (re)presentations, not only due to their position as consumer, but also

increasingly through electronic word of mouse (Munar & Jacobsen, 2014), which may blur the lines between overt and covert induced images or commercial and noncommercial.

In this way, a set of discourses or frameworks embracing particular combinations of narratives, concepts and ideologies become so powerful within a particular culture, that, reinforced over time by media forms and advertising, the images generated of different gazes come to constitute a closed, self-perpetuating system of illustration or 'ways of seeing' particular people or places (Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b: 285).

Ultimately the tourist will travel to the destination, where the host becomes the object of expectations and may act to satisfy or negate their essentialised role.

Figure 2-3 the Circle of Tourism Representation



Source: author's conceptualisation (after Jenkins, 2003, and Hall, 1997)

The next section focusses on the origin of the representations drawing in part on the literature concerning destination images, which is an ambiguous concept lacking a consensual definition among scholars (Echtner & Ritchie, 2003). Destination image is a subjective and temporal mental image created to (re)present a destination in the mind, it is dependent on the proximity of the tourist and alternative options (Prebensen, 2007; Stepchenkova & Mills, 2010). Moreover, scholars largely agree that destination image has a minimum of two dimensions: rational or cognitive, which refers to the established mental picture of attributes and comparisons among alternatives; and emotional or affective, which is concerned with personal motives and sentiments towards a destination. Additionally, researchers may accept that destination image influences behaviour and include a behavioural or conative element (Prebensen, 2007; Zhang, Fu, Cai & Lu, 2014), usually from a consumption perspective.

Origin of (re)presentation

Image formation occurs via various agents, who might be grouped into two different

categories: Organic agents including general print, television, documentaries, travel guides, and books or word of mouth, and induced agents or DMOs, travel agents and those who have a direct interest in selling a destination (Stepchenkova & Mills, 2010). The messages emitted by all agents may be interpreted in very different ways, but there is often a strong congruence between media (re)presentations and the destination image held by tourists, overall organic agents are deemed more credible (Echtner & Ritchie, 2003). Tourists and residents have been conceptualised as the audience, but the digital era has allowed tourists and residents to also become agents through the use of virtual communities, discussion forums, and blogs (Stepchenkova & Mills, 2010).

The postulation that organic agents may have a more influential role in image formation than their induced counterparts is supported by the empirical work of Govers, Go & Kumar (2007), who surveyed tourists on pre-trip information sources. Focussing on seven separate destinations, the study suggests that induced images may not be central to image formation. However, the prominence of information sources varies from destination to destination and it must be noted that television is cited as the number one information source, but television also shows advertisements which may not be registered as induced images. Govers, Go and Kumar (2007) advise DMOs to be fully aware of news and other media coverage in order to capitalise on temporal positive or minimise those negative national images.

(Re)presentational practices change when the country being portrayed has a contentious relationship with the representing country (Johnson, 2010). This point is infinitely important in the question of Tunisia, as while lesser developed nations might be portrayed as backwards (Caton & Santos, 2008), (re)presentations of nations associated with Islam, intricately linked to post 9/11 media discourses, may draw on discourses of terrorism. According to Schneider and Sönmez (1999), those tourists who only access information via organic mass media sources are likely to develop a negative image of the Middle East dissuading against travel.

However, it has been argued that organic and induced images may converge as often induced image formation agents call upon organic images in order to create a place myth (Schellhorn & Perkins, 2004). A place-myth is created through collectivised place images, which are often based on commonly held stereotypes, and is not static but changes over time as new images arise (Shields, 1991). Moreover, induced image formation agents have been encouraged to build images on true place identity in order to

increase consumer satisfaction (Govers, et al., 2007). This is due to existing and dominant stereotypes, perhaps derived from mass media (re)presentations, overriding other images. Prevalent stereotypes are described clearly in an image based study of New York and South Africa, where respondents were asked to comment on photos of unknown and known destinations. Once the destination was named respondents drew on their prevailing image, and South Africa became associated with violence and instability (Andsager & Drzewiecka, 2002). Negative stereotypes forming the foundation of destination images, and place-myths are particularly difficult to change.

Brochures and photographic (re)presentations

Travel brochures have been the focus of many studies due to their nature as sales medium (Jenkins, 2003; Schellhorn & Perkins, 2004) and it has been suggested that they may be a more credible source of information when compared to other mediums; especially if the tourist has requested the brochure (Molina & Esteban, 2006). An important element of the brochure is the photograph, which has ‘made the travel brochure, the travel guidebook and the postcard the medium of choice for the promotion of a destination’ (Hunter, 2008: 357). Photos have the ability to promote attitudes and values of dominant ideologies, they can privilege ethnic majorities while simultaneously disadvantaging the minorities who are pictured regardless of their participation (or non-participation) in the industry (Buzinde, Santos, & Smith, 2006).

The importance of photographs is not limited to the reliance of the industry on their use for destination promotion, still images can either privilege or disadvantage human subjects, but this ability is ultimately dependent on audience interpretation (Hall, 1997). Photographs ‘seemingly represent reality; it is the camera’s apparent objectivity which gives it a representational legitimacy and privileges the photographic image over written text’ (Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b: 288). The interpretation of a photograph is a similar process to that of live scenes, yet the reality is that a photograph may or may not be a ‘true’ depiction of an authentic scene (Goffman, 1979). Commercial images found in brochures, websites, guidebooks and postcards will often be posed or set up scenes using models, which are re-touched before publishing. Yet, the nature of interpretation and reception could increase the credibility of the photo over other elements such as text.

Hunter (2008), who after performing a content analysis of over 3750 photographic representations, found that there may be far more universal representations than

previously thought. Photographs are undoubtedly an important element in tourism (re)presentation, as evidenced by work on the ‘hermeneutic circle’ which suggests that tourists do in fact replicate photos previously seen (Jenkins, 2003; Caton & Santos, 2008; Garrod, 2008). This circle, a term depicting the power of photographs in directing the tourist gaze (Urry, 1990), describes how ‘tourists select for their personal photographs images already seen in art, travel brochures, postcards, films and television shows, creating a ‘hermeneutic circle’ where they recapture images of landscapes and iconic buildings they are already familiar with’ (Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b: 285).

Studies on the ‘hermeneutic circle’ evidence ideas of the ‘self-fulfilling prophecy’, which in itself highlights the control of the tourism industry over the tourist (Schellhorn & Perkins, 2004) (see chapter 3). The postulation that (re)presentations utilised by the tourist industry in general and brochures more specifically, are universal is supported by the work of Echtner and Prasad (2003), who performed a content analysis of travel brochures pertaining to lesser developed regions and devised three classifications for (re)presentations: Oriental, sea/sand, and frontier (see figure 2.4). Strikingly, only the Oriental and Frontier classifications (re)present the host as something to gaze upon. These (re)presentations are further contextualised by relating the classifications to their corresponding myths: Oriental-unchanged, sea/sand-the unrestrained, and frontier-the uncivilised. The Oriental depictions (re)present the host as ‘relics-unchanged and exotic remnants of another time’ (Echtner & Prasad, 2003: 669), comparable to colonial times and one which reinstates the binary opposites of modern Westerner, primitive Other. The unrestrained is used to highlight the imbalance of power (re)presented by the servility of the host, and the myth of the uncivilised is used to classify those depictions of untamed and primitive destinations. All three myths continue the colonial discourse.

Figure 2-4 Patterns of (re)presentation

Oriental	Sea/Sand		Frontier		
(re)presentation	China, Egypt, India, Turkey	Thailand	Cuba, Fiji, Jamaica	Costa Rica	Ecuador, Kenya, Namibia
Actors: Hosts	More males, in peasant dress, indistinct/stoic expressions	Oriental plus: females, smiles	More females, in uniform/costume, smiling	Frontier	More males, in tribal dress, mixed stoic, smiling
Actions: Hosts	No interaction: objects to gaze upon	Oriental but some serve, entertain	Interaction: serve, entertain, welcome	Frontier	No interaction: objects to gaze upon

Source: adapted from Echtner & Prasad (2003)

In an attempt to geographically diversify the study of tourism (re)presentations, Buzinde, et al., (2006) studied ethnic portrayals within Canadian promotional materials. Utilising content analysis the authors examined 3,223 Canadian tourism images finding that the ethnic majority are more frequently (re)presented, but that the presence of minority groups was representative of the overall population. Yet, whilst images of ethnic minorities may have been representative in number, the power continuum is reflective of Echtner & Prasad's (2003) work on lesser developed countries, in that the ethnic majority are portrayed as tourists and the minority as local entertainers, excluding ethnic minorities from the role of tourist. Interestingly, Hunter (2008) finds that people in general, and the host more specifically, are reluctantly portrayed in photographs used by the industry, which instead prefers to (re)present places as 'groomed', bare and awaiting the tourists' arrival.

Online (re)presentations

In recent years there has been a dramatic shift of at least some of the control concerning marketing activities from organisations and corporations to the end-user (Munar, 2011). The post-television age sees viral marketing mainstreaming and the advertising world increasing the expenditure on the internet, a medium of dialogue (Perez-Latre, 2009). It has been suggested that for generation Y, communication between family, friends and social networks is the most important influence in forming destination images, due to their need for social acceptance. Moreover, they are more likely to engage in online reviewing than previous generations (Leask, Fyall & Barron, 2013). The sharing of experiences and emotions, in ways improbable or impossible years earlier, substantiates the area as a priority for scholarly examination. Additionally, this medium allows scholars the opportunity to investigate destination image via tourist volunteered information known as tourist created content (TCC) a type of user generated content (UGC) (Munar, 2011). Information in the form of TCC can consist of text, photos, moving images or audio and may include cognitive and affective evaluations at all stages of the travel process (Munar & Jacobsen, 2014).

Whereas previously the tourist was perceived as an organic agent by the ability to offer up information via word of mouth, the advent of the internet has created a situation whereby tourist 'word-of-mouth' allows them greater access to a wider audience (Månsson, 2011). In fact, 16% of a Norwegian and Danish sample of tourists visiting Mallorca expressed their intent to review their holiday online (Munar & Jacobsen, 2014) and the internet has been cited as the most prominent image formation medium (Rozier-

Rich & Santos, 2011). In addition, the internet is thought to be a more credible information source, important in the initial stages of decision making but also after a holiday where tourists use the space to reflect upon their experiences (Munar, 2011). As noted by Mkono (2011: 255) 'post-visit narratives provided on these online platforms offer a window into tourists' subjective travel experiences around the world'. The reflective space provided by online sites offers a rich space for investigation and could allow the examination of the holistic modified tourist destination image as well as a key image formation agent. Another advantage of the internet is that it allows interaction with intermediaries, a move away from 'host' 'guest' binaries, and it is argued that the tourism website has become a lens to investigate information, experience and exposure (Holman, 2011).

Other mediums

Television programmes, guidebooks, postcards and travel writing have all been highlighted for their ability to contribute to Western discourse and ideology, which relegates the native to the subaltern position of Other (Caton & Santos, 2008). Yet, surprisingly many mediums, such as television commercials, remain under-researched areas (Pan, Tsai & Lee, 2011), even though they have been previously described as the most prominent information source of the pre-trip information sources (Govers, et al., 2007). However, the prominence of information sources remains a contested issue and Rozier-Rich and Santos (2011) reveals the top 11 information sources for a sample of 526 Charleston tourists were (in order): the Internet, previous experience, friends and family, word-of-mouth, guidebooks, travel brochures, visitor information centres, travel articles, magazines, newspapers, and travel agents. Therefore, it may be inferred that the dominance of one information source over another is temporal and context dependent. In order to take a holistic view of image and information sources concerning a destination, it may be important to review many mediums which would help in analysing the subjective destination image and its sources.

Cinematic films have been described as an important source for image creation due to their ability to attract a wide audience, disseminate a large amount of information and to be perceived as credible (Yan & Santos, 2009). Moreover, perhaps even those films portraying a destination in a negative manner may influence a target audience to travel (Hudson, Wang & Gil, 2011). Videos, in general, have been described as holding an enormous capacity to (re)present local and host cultures, but are in general an under-researched area (Yan & Santos, 2009). An additional creative source cited as an important vehicle for Othering is that of travel writing, a method of tourist-host

interaction which is said to (re)present the host in three ways: as a homogeneous group; historicised, traditional, national emblems; and as subaltern tourist servers (Galasiński & Jaworski, 2003). The notion of the travel press producing Other identities as a consumable product or their role in shaping consumer expectancy and desire is not a new phenomenon but has existed at least since the time of the Grand Tour over two centuries ago (Steward, 2005).

In fact, one study of *No Reservations*, a televised travelogue, shows how travel media can help to debunk myths concerning destinations by providing a counter discourse to the predominant mass media (Yoo & Buzinde, 2012). According to the study, the television programme does this by simultaneously drawing on dominant post 9/11 discourse and discourses of similarity as oppose to difference, which ultimately positively influences the destination image held by the research participants. Yet, it is not just the travel press and its journalists which have been critiqued from a historical and contemporary perspective for their (re)presentations of ‘others’, it is also the guidebook. In existence since at least the 19th century, the guidebook has continuously portrayed the world from a Western ethnocentric stance, arguably becoming a neo-colonial endurance in contemporary society (Mackenzie, 2005). While it must be acknowledged that most tourists will now use the internet as a primary source for pre-trip information (Rozier-Rich & Santos, 2011), the way in which the internet and the guide book are used and consumed vary immensely. The guide book remains important due to its nature as a tangible product which can be called upon throughout the duration of the holiday (Wong & Liu (2011).

The world’s largest publisher of guidebooks is *Lonely Planet* (Bender, Gidlow & Fisher, 2013) and the prominence of *Lonely Planet* in the contemporary world of travel and tourism has been noted by Tegelberg (2010), who postulates that the guide book has become a commercial instrument which engages the tourist in a discourse of limited perspective, devoid of any controversial issues:

The guidebook’s status as a promotional text is seen as a principal reason for the omission of differing political-economic, religious, ritualistic and mundane elements of Indian culture. Yet this silencing of alternative perspectives raises important questions about the epistemological implications of the wide dissemination and use of *Lonely Planet* guidebooks (Tegelberg, 2010: 494).

This argument is supported by Bender, et al., (2013) who highlight a dearth in negative stereotypes in guidebooks of differing languages concerning Switzerland. Yet, the

authors note that Switzerland may, in fact, be a special case and further cases should be studied to evaluate the use of positive and negative stereotypes. Moreover, a major finding of the content analysis of these guidebooks was the use of auto stereotypes, often utilised as inferior comparisons of the destination country. Tegelberg (2010) concludes by demanding that scholars consider the ways in which commercialised (re)presentation affects host populations. Whereas, Bender, et al., (2013) highlight the limitations of their study as a lack of insight concerning audience reception or knowledge of the actual influence of guidebooks on the tourist gaze. It is important to note that media theorists consider all mediums to be important due to their capacity at reaching a wide audience or their authoritative and directive ability (Jaworski, 2010).

Tourism and the (re)presentation of Women

The ability of the tourism industry to Other whole populations lies in its power to shape destination images and the tourist gaze, but a gendered lens is largely lacking from the positivist destination image literature. Destination image management policies pertaining to the host society are said to be a topic of high practical relevance (Stepchenkova & Mills, 2010), but as evidenced by numerous reviews, gender has been the sole focus of few articles (Pike, 2002; Prebensen, 2007; Stepchenkova & Mills, 2010). The importance of research in this area is highlighted by Aitchison (2001) who suggests that “attempts to theorise gender and tourism need to address the cultural construction of places and people as gendered sites and sights” describing tourism as “a powerful cultural arena and process that both shapes and is shaped by gendered (re)presentations of places, people, nations and cultures” (Aitchison, 2001:134). Yet, over a decade later, the topic of gendered hosts remains marginal, forming just 31.6% of gender and tourism papers, which show a preference towards more market or consumer oriented studies (Figueroa-Domecq et al., 2015).

Gendered (re)presentations used throughout promotional material designed by the tourism industry have primarily been studied focussing on women tourists or the sexualised women ‘hosts’. It has been noted that ‘discourses of sexuality and sensuality frequently frame the marketing of contemporary destinations, hotels and tourist resorts, often implying the promise of risk, novelty and excitement, sometimes in exoticised and occasionally eroticised language’ (Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b: 286). Focussing on women tourists, Pritchard (2001) utilised visual content analysis, and a scale to measure sexism in tourism (re)presentations, finding that touristic promotional material is heavily dependent on the sexualised (re)presentation of women tourists. The work

suggests that the method may be employed not only to quantify the gendered nature of promotional material but also as a complementary method in audience response analysis. In a similar vein, Sirakaya & Sönmez (2000) show that US state tourism promotional materials depicted women in stereotypical and traditional poses subordinating them to the males in the photographs. Interestingly, an in-depth discussion of the politics of (re)presentation was missing from this paper, with but a mention of the male domination of the advertising industry.

Sirakaya & Sönmez (2000), Pritchard (2001), and Chhabra & Johnston (2014) utilise a deductive approach, which may overlook some of the more subtle messages. A deductive approach involves applying theory to lived experience, which can influence the interpretation of the data or miss elements that are irrelevant to the particular theory (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2009). Moreover, these studies are based on Western samples (the UK and the US respectively) and focus images of the tourist, which does little to better the understanding of how women from other contexts are portrayed. It has been noted that there is, in general, a lack of people (re)presented in brochures, but when people are (re)presented, the local population might form almost half of all images (Schellhorn & Perkins, 2004). Additionally, and as noted in the above studies, there is a lack of knowledge concerning audience reception or impact.

In another study of brochures, Marshment (1997), discusses the ways in which Tour Operators utilise existing gender ideologies within the images portrayed in brochures. The 'host' is shown to only appear significantly in the more exotic, far-flung holidays. Marshment (1997) identifies gendered essentialisms within the brochures, as women, as opposed to men, are more frequently portrayed in traditional costumes. The author highlights the absence of historical context and the intensity of tradition, portrayed as unchanging, intrinsic, and natural. By depicting familiar stereotypes, the images (re)presenting the host are aimed at selling concurrent difference and similarity. The lack of gender relations in these images is also noted, suggesting that the images of locals are unauthentic. Brochures tend to separate tourist from the host, a primary attraction, and it is the solitary woman, who is used to promote the destination, portrayed as a submissive Other (Schellhorn & Perkins, 2004).

A range of images has been called upon, from television shows such as the Sopranos to Iceland's airline's promotional materials, to describe the formation of the stereotype of 'Iceland's women as international sexual commodities' (Alessio & Jóhannsdóttir, 2011:

43). This cliché used to depict the Other is said to be in line with the global tourism tendency to sell the sexualised women hosts and has led to court action against the airline in question. This study reveals how women are sexualised and objectified through tourism promotion and mainstream media which create a stereotype, but it does not address how this image may impact upon the host.

In Peru, Henrici (2002) has shown that stereotypes may influence the behaviour of the host which is in line with other tourism thought (see the section: Tourism, Discourse and Power). It has been suggested that the host is aware of the external images of themselves as exotic Others used by the industry to sell the tourist experience and in turn act accordingly. The phenomenon is highlighted by the case of traditional hat wearing among the Quechua women, who wear a flower to signify that they are unmarried and at the age of reproduction. Yet, hat wearing is now performed by all in order to meet tourist demand (Henrici, 2002). The 'inauthentic' performance of gendered traditions as tourist spectacle, perhaps due to the exportation of Western perceptions of the local identity of women, evidences a gendered commoditisation of culture (Kinnaird et al., 1994).

Jing Li (2003) relates gender, identity construction and otherness, interaction and tourism to develop the concept of the staged self. In Xishuang Banna, China, the women involved in tourism are agentive in developing their own (re)presentations. But a situation of conflict between the staged self, the actual modern self and internal orientalism is identified. Orientalism (Said, 1978) accounts for how the West has Othered the Orient, a process which was both constituted by and constitutive of colonialism. This process was important not only in constructing the Other identity but also in constructing a self. Internal orientalism or self-orientalism is the acceptance of these discourses by the Other who then act to recreate them within their own societies (Yan & Santos, 2009).

In Xishuang Banna, women participating in tourism distance themselves from the traditional Other of their own ethnic group. This process of Othering creates two competing discourses on femininity. A further example of gendered hosts fulfilling tourist expectations is given by Flacke-Neudorfer (2007) whose ethnographic study of community-based tourism in Northern Laos suggests that tourism (re)presentations may limit women's access to the industry. These (re)presentations perpetuate gendered roles

in the area by creating demand among tourists for traditional roles as the foundation of the product. Whereas development away from community-based tourism economically empowers women, due to changing gender roles. This research suggests shifts in host gender roles may be related to (re)presentation, which can open or close spaces of negotiation dependent upon tourist desire created in part by those (re)presentations, an area which demands further attention.

However, the creation of tourist desires or demand are dependent upon the reception of gendered (re)presentations, which may be confused by cultural proximity; interestingly the French and Germans associate blonde women with Norway, but the Swedes and Norwegians (who are culturally closer) do not (Prebensen, 2007). Cultural proximity can also be related to familiarity and when the tourists are not familiar with the destination they may call upon prevalent stereotypes in forming an image (Andsager & Drzewiecka, 2002). The unfamiliar destination image formed by tourists may influence the overall place image and interaction with hosts by creating a competing image (based on stereotypes) to the (re)presentations produced by the tourism industry.

Henrici (2002), Li (2003) and Flacke-Neudorfer (2007) highlight that host gender roles may be sustained or transformed through tourism development, the authors suggest that this is dependent on interaction with tourists, which are shaped by (re)presentations. However, the research has not fully explored how women are (re)presented by the tourism industry, and although there are some studies explicitly focussing on the (re)presentation of women, they tend to focus on (re)presentations of tourist women (Chhabra & Johnston, 2014; Pritchard, 2001, Sirakaya & Sönmez, 2000). While destinations are often marketed as groomed spaces, it is the solitary host woman rather than the man who is (re)presented to sell a destination when it is deemed necessary. These (re)presentations have the power to shape gendered hosts and tourists, creating an area in need of further research.

Figure 2.5 highlights some of the key works concerning the (re)presentation of women within tourism, identifying the sexual objectification of tourist woman to be a recurring theme. The figure highlights a dominance of deductive content analytical techniques and pictorial data.

Figure 2-5 Key Studies on Touristic (re)presentations of Women

	Methodology	Main findings
Sirakaya & Sönmez (2000)	Utilising Goffman's (1979) framework, photographs from state tourism promotional materials are examined using frame analysis. The categories are pre-determined and the research is deductive.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Women are (re)presented in traditional stereotypical poses more than men in tourism promotional materials. · Women and men are depicted unrealistically regardless of advertiser intent.
Pritchard (2001)	Content analysis within a critical discourse framework. Classification of images in tourist brochures from sexist to non-sexist. Randomly taken from a stratified sample of brochures from 18 UK Tour operators.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Women utilised in a more sexual or decorative way than men. · Tourism brochures present traditional gender roles and relations. · Long-haul brochures rarely utilise people as the subject. · Both long-haul and short-haul brochures conform to patriarchal discourse.
Li (2003)	The author utilised fieldwork (ethnography) carried out between October 2001 and April 2002 in Xishuang Banna, Yunnan, China.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Women hold agency in (re)creating themselves as commoditised 'others'. · Tourism has equated to female employment and through these positions women employ strategies to meet the tourists' stereotypes. · Backstage these women modernise and in turn take part in 'othering' those women who do not partake in tourism.
Pritchard & Morgan (2005b)	Discourse analysis of a fashion shoot in Hong Kong published in Conde Nast Traveller in May 2003, inductive approach.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Fashion (re)presentations commodify stereotypes · (re)presentations work to hyper-feminise Asian and Eurasian women · The colonial imaginary is durable and reproduced in gendered, sexed and racialised iconographies of travel and fashion · (re)presentations are racialised and patriarchal, reflecting white, male notions of womanhood

Bandyopadhyay & Nascimento (2010)	Deconstruction techniques employed to analyse a variety of written secondary sources, including brochures. Interviews with 10 male American tourists.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Image is not an outcome of marketing alone, but historical, political and cultural processes. · Contemporary images are based on colonial images, creating tourist demand for the sexualised female. · Self-(re)presentation may be contrived by Western images in order to create demand.
Alessio & Jóhannsdóttir (2011)	Qualitative content analysis of various (re)presentations of Icelandic women provided by the tourism industry and mass media. Lack in a clear and robust methodology.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Iceland's women have been sexualised and displayed as open to foreigners. · The study does not address the impacts of this imagery. · The imagery may have implications for postcolonial scholars, as Iceland is a developed country.
Conradie (2013)	Content analysis within a critical discourse framework of the in-flight magazine 'Indwe' along race and gender lines.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Images of women more prevalent in 'Indwe' when compared with previous studies of Air New Zealand or Qantas. · Advertisements for airlines and airline services utilised only females and portrayed them in service roles. · Females are still the subject of sexual objectification.
Chhabra & Johnston (2014)	Utilising Goffman's (1979) framework, photographs from state tourism promotional materials are examined. The categories are pre-determined and the research is deductive.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Women are (re)presented in traditional stereotypical poses more than men in tourism promotional materials. · There is some movement towards more equitable non-verbal (re)presentation
Wang & Morais (2014)	Self-(re)presentation among Mosuo people in China is examined. Critical discourse analysis is employed to analyse a weblog and two autobiographical texts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Similarities and differences in gendered coping strategies are highlighted through self-(re)presentation. · The male accepts and reiterates the discourse which 'others' the Mosuo. · The female accepts the discourse but challenges the underlying epistemology. · The 'others' are agents in shaping their image.

A discourse analysis of a Hong Kong fashion shoot in Conde Nast traveller highlights that even though Conde Nast's readership is split equally between men and women, it is women who become 'the object of the camera's sexual and voyeuristic gaze' (Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b: 291). This study finds that:

both the tourism and the fashion industries borrow from the same heteropatriarchal, racial and colonial discourses, so that gendered and heavily sexualised representations of women are seen to exoticise and eroticise Asian tourism destinations in the hermeneutic circle of representation (Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b: 291).

While discourses may differ across contexts, they may share the merging of the feminine and exotic. Women are portrayed similarly, ultimately denying them individuality and creating a monolithic Other category, 'each woman represents the essence of her 'exotic' culture' (Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b: 292). These images and text perpetuate colonial ideas concerning Asian women, fashion discourse works alongside other discourses to create women as Other. These discourses are based on existing stereotypes: that of the submissive 'China doll' and that of the Asian woman as sexual but untrustworthy 'dragon lady'. Here it is acknowledged that:

dress is a socio-political, cultural and historical construction and the satin shoes and silk cheongsams worn here are constructive of the national communities of China, rather than simply reflecting them unproblematically (Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b: 295).

Interviews with both producers and consumers of the (re)presentations are noted as key to a deeper understanding of gendered tourism discourse (Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b). The concept of dress as constituting the nation as opposed to merely reflecting it may be important in cross-cultural studies, where dress is often used to signify difference. Whereas, Pritchard & Morgan (2005b) utilise an inductive discursive framework, Goffman's (1979) framework has been employed extensively to analyse how Western women are portrayed to other Western groups (Schroeder & Borgerson, 1998). It has also become a common tool for the analysis of gendered tourism (re)presentations (Sirakaya & Sönmez, 2000; Chhabra, Andereck, Yamanoic & Plunkett, 2011; Chhabra & Johnston, 2014).

The seminal framework has been acclaimed due to its ability to assess less obvious meanings and elements of gender portrayals as well as the way in which it allows the study of gender relations as depicted in photographic (re)presentations (Mager & Hegelson, 2011). This framework was designed in the West and provides an understanding of sexism from a Western perspective. The deductive way in which this

tool is often utilised may equate to the overlooking of context dependent subtleties found within (re)presentations. In fact, Goffman (1979) devised the six categories through inductive thematic coding and further researchers have utilised the authors' codes either faithfully or with minor amendments (Schroeder & Borgerson, 1998).

The framework considers advertising to influence the identity of women in several ways: by linking women with fashion, creating the body as identity and reinforcing the status of 'women as subordinate, non-intellectual, child-like and other' (Borgerson & Schroeder, 2002: 578). Even though the framework was designed in the West, two of Goffman's (1979) categories may be applicable to cross-cultural (re)presentations. The categories: function ranking, which shows the hierarchical roles portrayed between men and women; and ritualization of subordination, which assesses the portrayal of women as childlike, could be appropriate in the assessment of postcolonial relations. This assumption is made as the categories allow for the assessment of women not only dominated by men of their own society but also dominated by others from the tourist society.

Goffman's (1979) initial six categories, although useful for investigating the portrayal of women within a similar cultural context to an audience of a similar cultural context (Western), are not sufficient for analysing cross-cultural (re)presentations. Cross-cultural (re)presentations are formed on a foundation of power relationships, which are not solely confined to the hierarchical creation of female-male categories, but also include the hierarchical creation of West-rest. Here postcolonial theories and postcolonial feminism may be better placed to investigate (re)presentations of this nature. Postcolonial theory, due to its understanding of the self/Other dichotomy, and postcolonial feminism for its conceptualisation of diverse femininities, its critique of theorising founded on a monolithic woman category and its focus on intersectional identities (Mills, 1993).

Research on gendered (re)presentations within tourism has predominantly focussed on the nonverbal (re)presentation of tourist women often following a deductive analytic strategy and may overlook the subtleties or context-specific messages found within (re)presentations. Moreover, the utilisation of Goffman's (1979) framework may do little in way of exploring cross-cultural (re)presentations, which demand a more nuanced understanding of power relations, as multiple dependent and independent relations are at play. In addition, few studies have investigated audience reception or

empirically addressed the influence of these (re)presentations.

Host Implications

Few studies have shown how (re)presentation by the tourism industry may influence gender roles at the destination (Rozier-Rich & Santos, 2008). Yet, it has been suggested that the host may be aware of their external image and act accordingly, perhaps in a staged way (Henrici, 2002; Li, 2003; Flacke-Neudorfer, 2007). Within a sociocultural context several streams of research concerning destination image have been noted for their inclusion of ‘othering’, but there remains a lack of consensus as to whether or not DMOs should continue to market ‘otherness’ or provide a more ‘realistic’ (re)presentation (Stepchenkova & Mills, 2010). Moreover, studies concerned with the (re)presentation of women accentuate issues of objectification and sexualisation (see, for example, Pritchard, 2001; Alessio & Jóhannsdóttir, 2011; Chaabra, et al., 2011; Conradie, 2013), but DMOs should be cautious of utilising images of women in this way. The use of eroticism in publicising tourism destinations is said to commercialise and make a sexual element, perhaps previously implicit, explicit. Ultimately, this line of publicity may lead to the difficulty in the attraction of diverse markets, as the destination becomes associated with sex tourism in the minds of the tourists (Prideaux, Agrusa, Donlon & Curran, 2004).

The difficulty of shifting and transforming dominant images is epitomised utilising a postcolonial perspective to investigate the (re)presentation of Brazilian women. The Brazilian government continued to market Brazil utilising colonial images of sexualised women until 2003, but even though the strategy has changed, the country cannot shift the image which has created ‘a product that could only be supplied by the women’ (Bandyopadhyay & Nascimento, 2010: 943). Moreover, the impact on host women may prove to be irreversible and undesirable as seen in Pattaya City, where whilst gender roles were not the explicit focus of tourism demonstration effect, the study clearly shows that women in the area are the most affected (Yasothornsrikul & Bowen, 2015). Women are transformed into ‘those girls’ a term with a negative connotation and perhaps synonymous with prostitute. Yet, this change is only situated within intercultural host/guest contact and not publicity or (re)presentation of the host to an external audience previously described as commercialising the erotic (Prideaux, et al., 2004), which may inform those interactions.

The power of the (re)presentations projected by the tourism industry lies in the creation

and shaping of the 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 1990). As highlighted by Bruner (1991) tourists travel to the destination with expectations and preconceptions, which are imposed on the host society through economic and cultural power. Tourists consume the product through observation or the 'gaze' but also through embodied experience, and both have implications for the host Other (Dicks, 2004). However, and as highlighted by several works (Li, 2003; Wang & Morais, 2014), the host is not a passive agent in the process and self-(re)presentations are often considered as the host country's opportunity to contradict hegemonic Western discourse. Yet, these (re)presentations are not value free as they attempt to attract tourists in an effort to gain tourist dollars (Bandyopadhyay & Morais, 2005). Moreover, mis(re)presentation or the ignoring of certain elements such as religion may have a severe impact on potential consumers, who are increasingly able to access a variety of information on the internet. Induced (re)presentations found in marketing materials may lose their usefulness and credibility if they fail to acknowledge negative (re)presentations circulated by mass media on or off-line (Henderson, 2008).

In Tunisia, the focus of the tourism industry has been on the production of mass tourism centred on the three S's (sun, sea and sand), and some locals resent the tourist who is little concerned with the uniqueness of Tunisian life (Bleasdale, 2006). This may be a product of (re)presentations sold by the tourism industry, and consequently, the analysis of (re)presentations may provide insights into tourist and host behaviours. As far as destination image is concerned, the strict marketing focus concerning the decision process or elements of the former (Tasci & Gartner, 2007), leaves questions concerning how image may structure the more social components of tourist behaviour or how it may influence the host.

Conclusion

The tourism industry and its related activities are gendered. Tourism employment has been a key area for analysis within the literature on gender and tourism, but the review in this chapter identifies that there is no easy relationship between women's work in the tourism industry and change in gender norms or ideologies. Studies which have noted change suggest this may be due to intercultural contact, whereas other studies have shown that empowerment derived from employment is limited by patriarchy within a society. Gender is a discursively constructed performed identity and as such tourism research could focus on the gendered discourses which circulate as depicted by the circle of tourism (re)presentation (figure 2.3). Yet, intercultural contact and the creation of gendered identities promoted by the tourism industry may psychologically empower

women, but may also trap them within an inauthentic performance to meet tourist desires.

A focus on discourse would provide an understanding of tourism's power as an image maker and experience shaper. Destination image is a concept used to describe the formation of ideas and identities concerned with a place, which are traditionally formed by individuals but influenced by destination marketing organisations, traditional media and word of mouth (among others). However, the advent of the internet has opened a reflexive space for tourists to generate their own content and move to a position of power in creating images. The review of the literature on gendered images within tourism promotion in this chapter has identified a trend towards deductive approaches, which may overlook contextually specific nuances, a tendency to focus on pictorial elements and a focus on tourist women rather than host women. The extant research highlights how tourist women are sexualised and eroticised in order to please a male gaze, but this may not be applicable for all contexts or all women. Ultimately, when it comes to host women there is a dearth of knowledge on their (re)presentation in tourism promotion and we still know little about how those (re)presented view their (re)presentations. Chapter three turns to postcolonial theory and feminism, a neglected area of theorising within tourism (Figueroa-Domecq, et al., 2015), to delve into the discourses that are constitutive and constituted by Others in postcolonial contexts.

3 Tourism, Discourse and Postcolonialism

All aspects of tourism are gendered, but research on gender and tourism cannot be generalised, due to the context-bound nature of gender. The power relations imbued in (re)presentations of ‘host’ women are best investigated utilising a postcolonial feminist frame, as highlighted in the previous chapter. Postcolonial theory focusses on unequal power relations, which is suitable for many areas of tourism research, and is utilised here not primarily because Tunisia is post-colonial, but because the post in postcolonial does not signify an end to colonialism but rather its continuity (Westwood & Jack, 2007). Edward Said is often quoted as one of the ‘Holy Trinity’ of founding figures of postcolonial theory (the other two being Gayatri Spivak and Homi Bhabha), Said’s seminal text *Orientalism* (1978) is heavily influenced by Foucault and Gramsci and their respective concepts of discourse, and hegemony.

These concepts are fundamental to CDA, and Said’s book was an important impetus for postcolonial theory but fails to address the gendered aspects of postcolonialism (Spivak, 1988). Postcolonial feminism emerged, not in response to Said’s neglect of gender, but to problematise the construction of a ‘monolithic’ woman category and western feminist bias in feminist theory. Western feminist theory has been critiqued for overlooking context and for assuming that all women are the same and want the same (Mohanty, 1988). Even though postcolonial feminists have developed a robust argument, this area of theorising has had little traction in the tourism and gender literature (Figueroa-Domecq, et al., 2015). For these reasons, this chapter draws on scholars such as Michel Foucault, often associated with poststructuralism, Edward Said and Homi Bhabha, known for postcolonial theory, and Gayatri Spivak and Chandra Mohanty, prominent postcolonial feminists, in order to develop a conceptual framework.

This chapter begins by continuing the discussion on the power of the tourism industry, providing an understanding of the concept of discourse and its differences from ideology, exploring the notions of power as possession and power as process, and situating these within the context of tourism. The chapter reintroduces the concept of the Other, qualifying its importance by further exploring the related concepts of epistemic closure and violence, before discussing the veiled postcolonial Other. The chapter develops an understanding of how people are discursively Othered, but more specifically how feminine subjectivities can be contrived, which aids the analysis of discourses on femininity. Before concluding, an exploration of knowledge on the (re)presentation of Arab, and Muslim tourism destinations in promotional materials is provided, highlighting how discourses on Muslim femininities further colonial discourses of the exotic feminine Other.

Tourism, Discourse and Power

The previous chapter highlighted the power of the tourism industry as an image maker, which can influence the social construction of gender, as (re)presentations of gender are both socially constituted and constitutive (Hall, 1997). Goffman's (1979) seminal text *Gender Advertisements* highlights how gendered (re)presentations are shaped by gendered discourses and also in turn shape discourses on gender. The power relations within the process of (re)presenting destinations and their hosts is multifaceted, it includes issues of imperialism and unequal power relations between the developed and the lesser developed worlds, but also control of the industry over the consumer. The power of the industry is often located within the supply chain, as tourism stakeholders frequently originate in the 'first world' and attempt to sell the 'third world' (Echtner & Prasad, 2003) resembling patterns of colonial relations (Hall & Tucker, 2004).

DMOs also exist at the national level or in the 'third world', such as national tourist boards and inbound operators, but an ability to create (re)presentations which challenge dominant place myths or discourses is questionable. The dominant tourism (re)presentational styles and discourses have been created in the West for consumption by the West (Spivak, 1988). Destination imagery is never neutral or 'authentic' due to capitalist interests (Buzinde, et al., 2006) and the need to satisfy tourists' desires (Garrod, 2008). For Spivak (1998: 74), the relationship between the global and the local must be studied by focussing on both ideology and the local issues of power struggles, which give rise to global politics:

The relationship between global capitalism (exploitation in economics) and nation-state alliances (domination in geopolitics) is so macrological that it cannot account for the micrological texture of power. To move toward such an accounting one must move toward theories of ideology – of subject formations that micrologically and often erratically operate the interests that congeal the macrologies.

Ideology as a concept was primarily advanced by Gramsci (Hall, 1996) and has been utilised by critical theorists to explain how the proletariat is duped into a state of false consciousness in the interests of the bourgeois (Mills, 2004). The notion of false consciousness has been critiqued on several levels, firstly because the existence of a false consciousness suggests there may be a 'true consciousness' waiting for intellectuals to reveal, but also because the proletariat is assigned little agency (Hall, 1996). Foucault's notion of discourse (in contrast to ideology) privileges the 'surface of texts', as all communication (all material and performative aspects of life can be read as

communicative or textual) is shaped by discourse (Mills, 1993). Discourse has many definitions, but in a Foucauldian sense can be considered as the systematic organisation of social and institutional life, in that discourses are institutionalised and dictate what can and cannot be said about a particular subject. Foucault himself utilises discourse in a myriad of ways:

the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements (Foucault 1972: 80)

The individualizable group of statements refers to the potential groupings of statements (and images) (Jaworski & Pritchard, 2005), which can elucidate discourses on particular topics, such as femininity. When discourses are formed by groupings of statements, knowledge about a particular topic is produced (Hall, 1996). On the other hand, discourse is also social practice, it is both socially constitutive and constituted (Jaworski, McEwan, Thurlow & Lawson, 2003; Jaworski & Pritchard, 2005), and as such tourism discourse can be said to be socially constitutive and constituted. Discourse infuses power and knowledge, by situating the more powerful in a position to control what is known and the way it can be known. In this understanding of discourse, intellectuals, doctors, politicians and those deciding the penal system can be considered more powerful (Foucault, 1980).

The work of Michel Foucault is particularly relevant to researchers wishing to adopt a discursive approach, as Foucault argues that ‘the way that language and thought went hand-in-hand such that talking and reasoning about things helped to create the conditions under which they could logically be talked and reasoned about’ (Belhassen & Caton, 2009). Foucauldian theorising lends itself to the study of tourism, most notably in the concept of the tourist gaze (Urry, 1990), derived from Foucauldian notions of power and surveillance. It has been argued that even those tourism scholars who are sceptical of poststructuralism understand the utility of Foucault in tourism (Bianchi, 2009).

Discourse is an important concept within tourism studies in other ways. As introduced in chapter two, it is discourse which communicates Otherness between both host and guest (Jaworski & Pritchard, 2005), a pivotal element in the creation of unequal power relations. (Re)presenting almost anyone who is not the self is ultimately confined to the process of creating identities: self and Other. Othering is relevant as it describes the process of (re)creating and (re)positioning identities of foreign or alien cultures as opposite to the self (Aitchison, 2001). The tourism industry creates polarised cultural

stereotypes, (re)creating the Other, in order to sell the tourist product (Bryce, 2007; Wearing & Wearing, 2006; Jenkins, 2003; McRae, 2003; Kinnaird et al., 1994; Enloe, 2000), potentially reinforcing dominant stereotypes and rarely acting in the interests of the (re)presented (Borgerson & Schroeder, 2002). From a postcolonial perspective, questions of who is tasked with (re)presentation demand the consideration of the hegemonic position of the representer (Hall, 1996). For instance, the advertising industry is dominated by men within a patriarchal organisational culture (Windels & Lee, 2012), who create (re)presentations working within their own frame of normalcy, which is almost always heterosexual, white and western, but these (re)presentations shape all gazes (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000).

Foucauldian thinking can radically shift notions of criticality, due to Foucault's conceptualisation of power as productive and exercised individually. This differs from definitions of power as a possession (Mills, 2004), and as such allows subjects to be seen (and conceptualised) as agentive. In CDA, power has been considered as belonging to those who dominate without opposition, or those responsible for the establishment and maintenance of power relations (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Yet, for Foucault power is a productive process, power circulates rather than something which one possesses. As such:

Power must be analysed as something which circulates, or as something which only functions in the form of a chain . . . Power is employed and exercised through a netlike organisation . . . Individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application (Foucault 1980: 98).

Power is central to the postcolonial analysis of tourism (re)presentations (Tribe, Xiao, & Chambers, 2012), which provides an understanding of the construction of Other identities (Said, 1978). As discussed in chapter two, tourism (re)presentations are entwined with the (re)presentation of host identities, and discourse is a prominent approach in studies analysing identities, where:

It is argued that in order to understand identity and subjectivity, we need first to identify the relevant discourses and the positions they make available, and then examine the power relations that are facilitated, the historical and structural conditions giving rise to particular discourses and their ideological effects (Widdicombe, 1995: 107).

Power over a particular text might be assigned to the author, but for Foucault, the importance of the author diminishes, as all that might be said is contrived within common discursive frameworks (Mills, 2004). Foucault's almost complete elimination of the role of the author ignores 'what Said emphasizes – the critic's institutional

responsibility' (Spivak, 1988: 75). Said (1978) retains the author role, perhaps strategically in order to assign responsibility not just to the producer of a literary work, but also to the scholar. The deliberation of authorship is important and can show power struggles in the negotiation of differing discourses after all very few texts are the creation of a sole author (Feighery, 2006; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The importance of the author is also reduced by theories of interpretation, advanced by the concept of polysemy, viewing meanings not as inherent within a text but as constructed out of a text by the audience (Hall, 1980). Just as discourses are created collectively, no one person can be held responsible for the creation of discourse.

These issues of power over texts are epitomised in a study on the dissonance between the western tour operator and Indian state (re)presentations designed for the US market, which highlights how tour operators reproduce orientalist discourses on the Other (Bandyopadhyay and Morais, 2005). Although, the Indian government selects which dominant images to agree with and which to ignore, any attempts to contradict existing stereotypes are hampered by western imperialism and the need to increase the GDP which is increasingly reliant upon tourist arrivals. Similarly, the desirability, or indeed necessity, of the tourist dollar may have caused Brazil to sexualise and objectify Brazilian women in tourism (re)presentations until 2003 (Bandyopadhyay & Nascimento, 2010). Ultimately, the power held by the destination government in representational activities is diminished, as even self-(re)presentation is contrived.

The centrality of power and the everyday make discourse useful to feminist scholars, who attempt to recover submerged women's voices within a larger emancipatory project (Gill, 1995; Squire 1995). Feminists can utilise discourse to analyse the (re)production of power relations within a text. The concept of power is also relevant to notions of 'epistemic violence' when one discourse becomes so normalised it reduces the possibility of others (Jack and Westwood, 2009; Spivak, 1988). After all, 'stereotypes tend to be directed at subordinate groups (e.g. ethnic minorities, women) and they play an important part in hegemonic struggle' (Talbot, 2003: 471). The normalisation or naturalisation of a discourse demands an investigation into how ideas become accepted as 'normal' in the everyday (Feighery, 2006; Machin & Mayr, 2012).

As argued above, subordinate groups become the stereotyped Other, and within this hegemonic struggle, postcolonial feminist Gayatri Spivak (1988) has questioned the ability of the subaltern to negotiate the contemporary global world. Spivak (1988) has suggested that the subaltern cannot 'speak' as they do not know the 'language'. According to Spivak, the subaltern is the person with no opportunity for upward social

mobility (Sharpe & Spivak, 2003). The potential upward social mobility for many nations is contestable as development is often almost influenced by and dependent on external factors. If the destination country is viewed as subaltern then, in this case, they may find it difficult to speak the language and fantasmatics of tourism. Here, fantasmatics can be understood as the narrative meanings held by tourists and tourism businesses (Hollinshead, 1998b). Yet, destination governments' marketing efforts are often described as self-(re)presentation (Yan & Santos, 2009), but self-(re)presentation does not mean freedom to discard other (re)presentations.

Images are shaped by dominant discourses, which may cause nations to partake in self-orientalism, whereby they accept and sustain the predominant stereotype (Yan & Santos, 2009). Self-(re)presentation also remains the (re)presentation of one or some selves, but rarely all, as they are created and shaped often by DMOs within governments, creating an elitist image that may never be a 'true' reflection of, or be accepted by, the local population. As Spivak (1988: 83) notes, 'not surprisingly, some members of the indigenous dominant groups in comprador countries, members of the local bourgeoisie, find the language of alliance attractive'. Yet, it is not just self-(re)presentation that may be contrived, but also tourist behaviour, as noted by Galasiński and Jaworski (2003: 147) when describing travel writing in the press:

These narratives establish a relationship of power between the tourist and the 'native' and legitimise the tourist enterprise as mainly asymmetrical and unbalanced, giving the tourist the right to go 'out there' and to enjoy the country not as a place where a society goes about its life, but, rather, as a tourist attraction

Tourism consumption or the 'gaze' (Urry, 1990) is shaped by the image formation agents who steer tourists into pre-selected enclaves which assimilate the prevalent place identity (Dicks, 2004; Dann, 2003). This draws on the question of authenticity heavily contested in tourism discourse, where it has been argued that tourists search for an authentic, primitive experience (MacCannell, 1976). Tourists search for and consume authenticity, by looking for that which meets the tourist expectation based on previous (re)presentations; or for a 'real, authentic' experience not provided by popular (re)presentation. Both can lead to staged authenticity, a contrived enactment involving the strict protection of the back regions (MacCannell, 1976). It is the image formation agent who constructs and controls both the spectacle and its interpretation, often without consulting the local community, and all those who take part simultaneously act their roles. On the other hand, the counterargument to this commercialisation is that tourism

may conserve certain traditions which would be otherwise lost to 'modernisation' (Dicks, 2004).

Tourism is 'sign-laden', and building on the works of Urry (1990) and MacCannell (1976) among others, Dann (2003) describes how the tourism industry is structured in such a way that it shapes tourist behaviour. The industry creates signs through the use of various media such as guide books and brochures which direct tourist behaviour (the tourist gaze), introducing the idea of the self-fulfilling prophecy. An argument furthered by Jaworski (2010) who confirms that consumers are dependent on information systems providing expert advice and cultural capital when they would have previously been dependent on social structures, affording power to those who produce knowledge. The self-fulfilling prophecy is utilised by Schellhorn & Perkins (2004) to articulate the power of tourism (re)presentations to direct physical and social change in order to reflect the dominant place image. It could be argued that in directing the tourist, image formation agents are simultaneously directing the host in order to meet the desires and expectation of the consumer. Fantasies sold through brochures and websites can potentially (re)create stereotypical roles for both men and women (Kinnaid et al., 1994) and 'pre-modern' host facing modern guest (Bruner, 1991). On the other hand, it has been suggested that pre-existing stereotypes may lead the tourist to perceive something that lacks existence in reality (Andsager & Drzewiecka, 2002), perhaps by discounting that which does not meet the dominant discourse creating epistemic closure. These images undoubtedly shape tourist/host interactions as well as the production of cultural stereotypes in line with tourist expectation.

In contrast to the dominant argument that organic images may be more powerful than induced (Echtner & Ritchie, 2003; Govers, et al., 2007), Dann (2003) argues that organic images may form part of the pre-trip motivation, but induced images such as brochures become the most powerful at the destination level. The author highlights several different categories of notices: the advisory 'a strategy frequently employed by travel writers' (Dann, 2003: 476) in order to highlight for example the best time to visit, in a personal way but to a wide audience; and the obligatory: 'tourists feel duty bound to go to a sight that has been prefigured in guidebooks and brochures as 'worthwhile' (Dann, 2003: 477). The power of induced images at the destination in shaping tourist behaviour influences how hosts respond (Bruner, 1991; Dicks, 2004; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Schellhorn & Perkins, 2004; Caton & Santos, 2008). Ashworth (2003) suggests

that the host population has three coping strategies: adaptation to the (re)presentation, adaptation of the (re)presentation or irritation and displacement of the local community. A full analysis of the (re)presentation and the discourses it (re)creates is necessary to understand host coping strategies or responses, and as previously discussed tourism (re)presentations are argued to follow colonial trends of discursively Othering the host.

The Other

Postcolonial theory has historically considered the process of Othering from a literary perspective (Brunt & Cere, 2011). The importance of Othering and (re)presentation in contemporary society must not be underestimated, as they become ‘the cultural and structural foundations of today’s cultural economy’ (Kim & Chung, 2005: 71). (Re)presentations of the Other consistently call upon essentialist ideals, viewing members of a group in a simplistic, homogeneous manner (Andsager & Drzewiecka, 2002). These essentialist ideals can have very material impacts as they may be used in support of a political agenda to justify the exploitation of one culture by another (Brunt & Cere, 2011). The necessities of certain political discourses shape and give form to (re)presentation; essentialisms and differences highlighted through the process of Othering can form the basis for subtle racism comprised of difference, an unwillingness to assign positive attributes to the Other and the defence of one’s own traditional values, which also become common arguments against immigration (Gianettoni & Roux, 2010). Essentialist strategies are reductionist in nature, throwing away that which is not necessary for the (re)presentation in question, an act enabled by ‘wilful ignorance’ (Jack & Westwood, 2009: 172). Furthermore, essentialisation can lead to epistemic violence in that any qualities which contradict the commonly accepted (re)presentation, will undoubtedly remain hidden and eventually lost (Jack and Westwood, 2009; Spivak, 1988).

Essentialising the Other is pivotal in the creation of knowledge of the self (Said, 1997). Othering is said to favour the white, male, heterosexual who becomes normalised as self, claiming knowledge of all there is to know about the subordinated Other. The creation of the Other depends on epistemic closure, which ‘tends toward a creation of a recognizable “authentic” identity while knowing next to nothing “about the typical Other beyond her or his typicality’ (Borgerson & Schroeder, 2002: 577). Through (re)presentation the foreign Other is reduced to a pre-determined never changing set of attributes, as is evidenced by the case of the Seychelles whose destination image has been constructed on the back of prominent paradisiacal essentialisms, lacking in realistic

communities, histories, economies (Kothari & Wilkinson, 2010).

The seminal work of Edward Said (1978) has been pivotal in describing the process of Othering and providing a framework for studies in tourism; but as highlighted by Aitchison (2001), the author was not the first to describe this process. The feminist work of De Beauvoir (1949) describes how women's identity is created as Other to men's identity, arguing that although many groups stereotype those further down the hierarchy this is nowhere more true than it is with gender, it is 'At the crossroads of sexuality and ideology, woman stands constituted (if that is the word) as object' (Spivak, 1981: 165). Said (1997) favoured one reading and therefore one discourse over others (as previously argued), and De Beauvoir (1949) insisted that one is not born a woman but becomes a woman, but there is not simply one discourse of the Other as differences exist within the process of Othering (Mills, 2004). Womanhood is not the only identity women become, as we become a multitude of categories related to ethnicity, class or sexuality, 'any individual occupies different positions in different hierarchical systems' (Gianettoni & Roux, 2010: 376) at any time.

This notion of multiple identities is embraced in postcolonial feminist work which seeks to challenge the categorisation of a 'monolithic' or never changing universal woman category (Gill, 2007; Mohanty, 1988). The move towards an intersectional approach accepts that 'if you are poor, black, and female you get it in three ways' (Spivak, 1988: 90), or multiple axes of oppression. Cultural difference is no longer related to national difference between the coloniser and the colonised Other, but also intra-national difference which might be related to class and education – 'the ones who work with their heads are taught in one way (...) and the ones who are going to work with their bodies are taught in another way' (Sharpe & Spivak, 2003: 617-618).

Feminist media theorists have discussed the symbolic denigration of women through (re)presentation, which has either portrayed women in stereotypical roles or ignored them (Mills & Barlow, 2012). The Other is used by advertising companies to sell products and has been since commodities were revolutionised, re-packaged and sold as branded goods (McClintock, 1995). Marketing images call upon subordinating (re)presentations 'of cultural difference, group identity and geographic specificity' (Borgerson & Schroeder, 2002: 571). The act of (re)presenting and selling the Other may be difficult to divide as the control of the advertising industry over media can blur the lines between advertising and content as well as culminate in a lack of reflection of

certain social groups, especially the poor (Kilbourne, 1999).

Orientalism has become a commodity and also an impetus for consumption, yet few scholars have fully examined the ways in which those unrepresentative of the target audience might be commoditised; in other words, how those Other than the consumer may be appropriated to sell a product (Kim & Chung, 2005). The (re)presentation of the Other in US advertising is said to simultaneously include those previously excluded, but also sell those Others to the predominant white market, which has the potential to reaffirm the racial and gender hierarchies found within society (Kim & Chung, 2005). The politics of (re)presentation demands the consideration that those 'People that have a stake in representing and reinforcing certain stereotypical gestures, characteristics, or styles do not necessarily operate in the best interests of those represented (Borgerson & Schroeder, 2002: 579).

A review of 50 years of advertising (Mager & Helgeson, 2011) utilising Goffman's (1979) framework clearly shows that (re)presentations of women persistently rely on submissive and subordinate (re)presentations. Where tourism is concerned, it is suggested that advertising speaks to a male audience from a male producer reaffirming the importance of the male gaze (Pritchard, 2005), as a male gaze 'takes pleasure in and depicts women as erotic objects' Mager & Helgeson (2011: 240). Eventually constituting all gazes, the male gaze is pervasive, this gaze becomes normalised among all genders and, in that regard, is useful for theorising the objectification of women. However, the concept of the male gaze essentialises the gaze of all men into one homogeneous category, just as it can downplay the agency of women to gaze at others, including men, as sexual and erotic objects. Nonetheless, this catering to a male gaze is perhaps evidenced by the two primary categories for Others: the Exotic and the Erotic. The 'exotic' embodies differentness in a place far from the everyday setting, whereas, the 'erotic' embodies sexual desires and can be experienced in almost any setting (Prideaux, et al., 2004). As chapter two suggested, the (re)presentation of host women has tended towards discourses of the exotic and the erotic, and clothing is often utilised to connote the exotic, the veil has long been utilised to symbolise Otherness.

The Veiled (post)colonial Other

The 'post' in postcolonial is misleading, suggestive of a transcendence of colonialism when what remains is a continuation of the hegemony of Western imperialism (Westwood and Jack, 2007). In the seminal text *The Empire Writes Back*, Ashcroft,

Griffiths and Tiffin (1989: 7) describe how postcolonialism has transformed regimented and official relations of power to implicit and harder to explicate cultural hegemony, noting that ‘the weight of antiquity continues to dominate cultural production in much of the post colonial world’. Mohanty (1988) also describes how formal processes of colonisation may have drawn to an end, but that the process was founded on both structural domination and a discursive suppression of the heterogeneous nature of the colonised. In other words, the legitimisation of the colonial project rested on the essentialised discursive construction of the Other.

Intimately entwined within the colonial and postcolonial project are ideas of modernity and tradition. Discourses of modernity became dominant at the same time as European colonialism was replaced by neo-colonialism and whereas ‘Colonialism had a civilising mission of settlement. Neo-colonialism had a modernising mission of development’ (Spivak, 2000: 100). The un-modern host became the legitimisation for Western interfering and McClintock (1995: 87) notes “within this trope, the agency of women, the colonised, and the industrial working class are disavowed and projected onto anachronistic space: prehistoric, atavistic and irrational, inherently out of place in the historical time of modernity.” The use of anachronistic (re)presentations portraying Muslim women as out of place and time, fixed in history and in need of modernising continues to be used as the archetype for (re)presentation (Zine, 2002). Modernity imposed from outside, however, has led to an abrupt finishing off of tradition, locals are not given time to ‘mourn’ and the modern becomes fractured – situating its subjects with a ‘foot in each world’ (Spivak, 2000: 111). In the fragmented modern world, the Other loses access to their own language, ‘they no longer compute with it’, but they never fully have access to the modern language of the coloniser (Spivak, 1996: 258) and again the subaltern cannot speak (Spivak, 1988). Perhaps, nowhere is this truer than in Tunisia (see chapter five) where ‘modernity signifies western values of individualism, secularism and equality that derive from Enlightenment traditions’ a dominant discourse stifling any alternative (Ghumkhor, 2012: 500).

It has been argued that Western feminists have been complicit in the colonising and neo-colonial project. Western feminists have been critiqued for analytically jumping from ‘veil’ to subordination (Mohanty, 1988), but it is not only Western feminists who may be guilty of this essentialism. Muslim feminists have also reiterated the dominant construction of veiling as subordination (Ghumkhor, 2012; Mernissi, 1991), perhaps again due to the pervasiveness of the discourse which gives way to epistemic violence, rendering alternative discourses impossible or subaltern. A limitation of both feminist

movements is not only the essentialist position towards the veil but a lack of listening to Other voices. Even if alternative discourses were possible, the voices of those who are Othered are not permitted to speak in their own words, so their voices struggle to be heard (Hoodfar, 1992; Mohanty, 2003; Spivak, 1988). Patriarchy and misogyny have informed all power relations concerning Muslim women: colonialism, internal politics, and postcolonialism (Dabashi, 2012), and therefore also their (re)presentation and the process of Othering. Following Enloe (2000), tourism could be added to the list as neo-colonial imperialism.

Gianettoni & Roux (2010) analysed the relationships between race and gender, highlighting how sexism is often attributed to the 'racialised Others', which justifies ordinary Swiss sexism. Many may argue that Muslims are sexist and Muslim women are controlled and subordinated by their men in order to (re)present their own culture as having achieved gender equality. The issue of gender equality is 'especially salient in the comparisons of Western and non-Western populations' (Gianettoni & Roux, 2010: 377). In many European countries, the media and political debate regularly rely on the manufactured Image of Muslim women as passive, submissive, enslaved within a repressive religion, and denied a public presence (Dabashi, 2012). These (re)presentations perpetuate Orientalist ideas, especially when showing veiled women, praying male or the 'Muslim' terrorist' (Brunt & Cere, 2011: 9). Yet, ultimately these discourses become part of a 'specific sexism' belonging to the Other culture, but which may obscure Western gender relations and be used to justify discrimination towards that Other (Gianettoni & Roux, 2010).

The veil has been (re)presented as a male imposition on Muslim women, which has justified colonial efforts to rescue her. Yet, the veil in Muslim societies has a variety of meanings, and in many Islamic communities has been a symbol of resistance to top-down 'de-veiling' (Hoodfar, 1992). The desire to unveil women dates back to the colonial period when the dominant discourse in circulation pertained to sexual imaginaries of the harem, Muslim women were (re)presented as an exotic Other, which if to be known had to be uncovered (Zine, 2002). This epistemic violence towards Muslim women has created an 'uncivilised' population and an essentialised fantasy image of an awaiting harem full of sexual deviance, and travel writers (male and female) of the time were often complicitous in epistemic closure (Hoodfar, 1992; McClintock, 1995). Interestingly, some postcolonial Muslim, North African states began to re-work these dominant discourses in an effort to meet a modernity created by

the European colonisers (Said, 1979). The veiled woman was considered to signify all that was 'backwards' and as the denigrated community sought to modernise many initiated processes of unveiling (Fanon, 1963).

When the colonised adopted the European worldview, they inherited visions of themselves that reinforced the backward-modern dichotomy. They came to know themselves through the lens of the colonial gaze; as a result, the colonised came to accept that the only cure for what Europeans had diagnosed as a problem – an 'illness' – was to 'Europeanise' themselves (Ghumkhor, 2012: 497)

The significance of the veil in postcolonial North Africa, especially Algeria, Egypt and Tunisia lies in the transformation of the veil into a symbol of national identity under colonial rule (Fanon, 1963). In Algeria, the French attempted to civilise the colonised by ridding women of the veil, and in Tunisia a return to the veil symbolised a *Tunisian Personalite*, only to be quickly discounted upon gaining independence (Ghumkhor, 2012). The veil in contemporary Muslim societies can have a variety of meanings, but the most important acknowledgement is that many women believe it helps them in their day to day lives (Hoodfar, 1992; Ghumkhor, 2012; Zine, 2002).

The self, as well as the Other, has been destabilised within postcolonial scholarship to recognise the global diffusion of discourse, 'the self that runs the other machine has become so diversified that you can hardly give it the name of a continent or country' Spivak, 2000: 101). Similarly, the concept of subalterneity was used to shift notions of third-world equals subaltern when very few members of society can be equated to subalterneity 'in the sense of no lines of mobility into upward social movement' (Sharpe & Spivak, 2003: 619). An anti-essentialist analysis of the postcolonial situation of the Other and power must acknowledge heterogeneity and agency or ability to resist the dominant discourse.

Power and Resistance

From a feminist perspective, agency is pivotal when discussing empowerment and 'represents the processes by which choices are made and put into effect' (Kabeer, 2005: 14). Yet, agency has both positive and negative connotations, as it can refer both to an individual's ability to act on and make choices as well as the ability of others to overrule this. Within the paradigm of colonisation, the colonised has only a few options, to assimilate or rebel, but both are uneasy. Assimilation will be met with rejection as the 'colonizer is not capable of incorporating the Other, as the incorporation of the Other would entail its own destruction' (Brunt & Cere, 2011:5). In discussing agency and the

subaltern's ability to (re)present themselves, Spivak (1988) concludes that the subaltern most definitely cannot know and speak for themselves as both the question and answer are shaped by the fantasmatic. The 'fantasmatic' is the cosmology or deeply ingrained narratives told and re-told within society (Hollinshead, 1998a). On another level, 'all speaking or silencing in the circulation of cultural production and representation of women from ethnic minorities, and not only women, at least in Britain, is still not largely done by them.' (Brunt & Cere, 2011:11). Moreover, and especially relevant to tourism (as previously discussed):

the hegemony of neoliberalism, alongside the naturalisation of capitalist values, influences the ability to make choices on one's own behalf in the daily lives of the economically marginalised as well as economically privileged communities around the globe (Mohanty, 2003: 508)

The concept of agency encapsulates the politics of (re)presentation; the concept is complex and can be used to describe the control the (re)presented has over their own (re)presentation. Host (re)presentational strategies are often merely responsive; found within the same conceptual space as colonial discourse, rather than new spaces in which alternative (re)presentations can be formed (Huang, 2011; Kothari & Wilkinson, 2010; Spivak, 1988). Machin and Van Leeuwen (2008) highlight the role of the nation state and global institutions in controlling possibilities of agency. The level of confinement within the (re)constructed identity depends on the financial, cultural, and social resources available. Agency is not used to suggest total control or freedom, as actors are constrained and controlled by a particular model of power, discourse.

The concept of self-orientalism describes the appropriation of orientalist discourses by the former colony in order to increase their attractiveness (Bryce, 2007), self-Orientalism suggests the Orient's participation in its construction, reinforcement and circulation. Just as the colonial process of Othering relies on cultural essentialism, the 'host' may also appropriate the same cultural practices that situate the subject as Other to resist assimilation (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2001; Fanon, 1963). Strategic essentialism (Spivak, 1988) may become a pervasive discourse which resists heterogeneity or diversity. However, the psyche of the 'host' may not be as calculative as self-orientalism suggests and a desire to modernise is created through thinking in terms of colonial knowledge leading to feelings of inequality and sovereignty of Western definitions of modernity (Yan & Santos, 2009). The ability of the postcolonial subject to create their own (re)presentations engaging in and resisting power relations has been questioned within Foucauldian theorising. In the works of both Bhabha (1994)

and Spivak (1988), human subjectivity is at least partly constituted by discourse.

Bhabha's (1994) notion of hybridity, which at its most simple understanding means 'neither one thing nor the other' (Bhabha, 1994:18), or the acknowledgement that 'claims to inherent originality or 'purity' of cultures are untenable, even before we resort to empirical historical instances that demonstrate their hybridity' (Bhabha, 1994:21), can be utilised to reconceptualise essentialised host-Other power relations. Hybridity may allow the subject to create a unique sense of self ultimately breaking free of stereotypes, but this might simply be a 'compromise by the individual among the pressures and forces of multiple cultures and institutions which are seeking to control our identities' (Lemke, 2008: 33). Hybridity at least, in theory, addresses both difference and similarity as oppose to simply difference, which is at the heart of othering (Olesen, 2011). It does so by incorporating the further concept of ambivalence, which for Bhabha (1994) rests on the use of stereotypes within colonial discourse. In agreement with Said, Bhabha views the stereotype as fundamental to the colonial project but uses ambivalence to problematise the fixity of stereotypes. The stereotype must reduce the Other to a knowable subject and it is in this process that difference is 'disavowed', within the colonialist (re)presentations the colonised ambivalently move from knowable similar and unknowable Other.

In a postcolonial context, the possibility of a hybrid identity both different and the same allowing freedom from identity politics is contestable, as what might be offered is merely constraining alternatives or even double the constraints. Women managers in Hong Kong, for example, must be all at once traditional and caring while also being modern and authoritative (Sposato, 2016). Often there may only be two options available to model identity, the first being delineated by the nation state and promoted via national media and education, ultimately defining what it means to be a citizen. The second might be that which serves the interests of global neoliberal business, often deciphered from marketing campaigns (internal or external) (Machin & Van Leeuwen, 2008). National tourism marketing campaigns might conflate both these models attempting to both build national identity and also attract tourists. Whereas hybridity challenges dualities and allows for the constant performance and renegotiation of identities, dualities of self-other within the tourist destination are resilient due to the hegemonic cultural fame shaping the marketing (re)presentations.

Within a modernity – tradition dichotomy, Bhabha's concept of ambivalence can be useful in attempting to theorise the possible subjectivities of the 'host'. For Bhabha

(1984: 126), ambivalence became a counter position to Said, as he notes ‘Within that conflictual economy of colonial discourse which Edward Said describes as the tension between the synchronic panoptical vision of domination-the demand for identity, stasis- and the counter-pressure of the diachrony of history-change’. Ambivalence is also present within Bhabha’s development of imitation, or mimesis - the act of copying. The inability to perform an exact imitation creates ambivalence, which may lead to mimicry - an almost copy or imitation. For Bhabha (1984: 126) mimicry is a term used to signify an incomplete or slightly different copy:

Mimicry is, thus, the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation, and discipline, which "appropriates" the Other as it visualizes power. Mimicry is also the sign of the inappropriate, however, a difference or recalcitrance which coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power, intensifies surveillance, and poses an imminent threat to both "normalized" knowledges and disciplinary powers.’ For in "normalizing" the colonial state or subject, the dream of post-Enlightenment civility alienates its own language of liberty and produces another knowledge of its norms.

The local elite in North Africa may for example work within a dominant frame (mimesis) and attempt to unveil the Other woman, but some women still choose to veil while performing modern femininities - an act of mimicry. The veiled Other is performing the same discourse that Others her, but with a slight difference; the veiled Other produces a counter-discourse, she resists the fantasmatic unveiled modern woman.

However, both mimicry and hybridity exist within the same discursive framework as the colonial or neo-colonial possibilities. Echoing Spivak (1988) and Said (1975), and commenting on the discursive possibilities of the veiled Other, Zine (2002:18) states ‘there is no pure space from which we can begin to create counter-narratives that capture the complexity obscured and denied by recurrent archetypes’. The power relationship between the (re)presented and those who (re)present is invariably asymmetrical (Borgerson & Schroeder, 2002; Huang, 2011), and yet may be open to negotiation in the contemporary digital age. Image formation agents are becoming more diversified as the digital era allows tourists and residents to communicate via virtual communities, discussion forums, and blogs (Stepchenkova & Mills, 2010).

Tourism and the (re)presentation of Islamic Spaces

Geographically or culturally classifying Tunisia may be an arduous task due to the ambiguity surrounding the definition of the Middle East, which is neither entirely Arab nor entirely Muslim (Morakabati, 2013). For the purposes of this thesis, Tunisia is

considered as pertaining to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), a Muslim country, and an Arab country. References will be made to those countries which share similar cultural and geographic contexts in light of minimal research concerning Tunisia.

In a review of Islamic tourism, surprisingly little focus is given to Tunisia (Jafari & Scott, 2013), doubtless due to a lack of extant research. Yet, it is noted that tourism development has been historically described as inappropriate for the traditional and religious context of the country. Jafari & Scott (2013) suggest that tourism development influences Islamic countries in varied ways depending on the context. Consideration should be given to the level of religiosity and its implications, colonialism, wealth and resources, and traditions. These elements are considered in past research through the categorisation of countries as moderate Islamic or traditional/conservative, with Tunisia being categorised a moderate Islamic country. In a review of the literature regarding the development of tourism and the emic characteristics of place, only one text is cited concerned with Tunisia (this is Poirier, 1995), highlighting a gap in the literature.

It has been noted that Arab tourism is structured by an imbalanced relationship between the host and those who (re)present them, as well as the tourists who travel with prejudices (Al Mahadin & Burns, 2007). Moreover, negative (re)presentations of Muslim countries have culminated in misrepresentations and negative stereotypes (Khaksari, Lee & Lee, 2014); through Western eyes, the Middle East is often pictured mentally as a place to fear (Morakabati 2013). The frequency of negative events in the Middle East has created a severe barrier to destination marketing (Morakabati, 2013). Events such as terrorist attacks affect the region as a whole, as even if the event takes place in a neighbouring country, tourists tend to group Middle Eastern countries under the same image (Schneider & Sönmez, 1999).

Yet, the role of women in (re)presenting Islamic and Arab spaces must not be underestimated and Al Mahadin & Burns (2007) highlight the importance of the (female) veil within orientalist ideology and as a symbol of primitiveness often used to market tourism destinations. Certainly, it is the veil which is utilised more than male traditional dress when promoting Malaysia (Hashim, Murphy & Hashim, (2007). In contrast, official tourism websites may omit the local host altogether (Al Mahadin & Burns, 2007), reminiscent of Hunter's (2008) 'groomed spaces' and a potential for identity conflict.

Returning to the veil, it is said that its use by the travel industry is justified by the tourist's search for an 'authentic' or even 'primitive' Arab experience. The use of the veil as iconic of a 'backwards', exotic Other falls within the Oriental category described by Echtner & Prasad (2003). When analysing a pictorial image used by the Yemeni tourist board, Al Mahadin & Burns (2007: 147) suggest that the photo could read as 'here is Yemen. See how primitive and exotic it is. Regard the opposite to your own lives: veiled women, mud houses, alien architecture'. This type of promotion should be used with caution, as it is suggested that travellers to the Middle East will be disappointed by the inability of the region to satisfy these elements of perceived authenticity. Moreover, (re)presentations following the orientalist pattern are said to form a barrier to political maturation in the region (Echtner & Prasad, 2003).

Jafari & Scott (2014) call on postcolonial theory in order to describe the marketing of Islamic destinations as an extension to orientalism and one which is often accepted by the host country; aptly termed self-orientalism. The authors briefly discuss the portrayal of western women in bikinis as a tool to entice consumption and the idea that the veil may be utilised to portray the exotic, primitive Other. Yet, the slightly greater focus is placed on the lack of research concerning the effect of religion on women's participation in the labour force.

When asked to describe Dubai, the position of women in Muslim and Arab countries became the 11th most common theme associated with Dubai among tourists and was highlighted as a unique negative image component (Govers, et al., 2007). When dividing respondent answers by country of origin the position of women becomes a concern commonly held among those from the US and to a lesser extent Europeans, which is considered a consequence of media attention and religious distance. This preoccupation with the status of women in Arab countries could explain the use of nonconforming Western women in tourism (re)presentations, as found in Malaysian Tourist Destination Websites, where the only example of non-Islamic conduct is women in scantily clad clothing (Hashim et al., 2007). The omission of locals and inclusion of tourists is coupled with the exclusion of religion, perhaps in order to combat negative organic (re)presentations. A study of printed brochures and official websites for 6 countries with a predominantly Muslim population shows that marketers strategically choose to overlook the religion, with the exception being the aesthetically pleasing pictorial mosques. Interestingly, only the Tunisia National Tourist Office is associated with referring to women's rights and the impacts of Islam on tourism (Henderson,

2008). Yet, it is not just western discourse and imagery which omits the unique components of destination image from its publicity of the Middle East. In the case of Iran and Saudi Arabia, it is noted that the two countries omit the western world from their tourism marketing strategies, which undoubtedly leads to a decline in potential revenue but also a loss of opportunity to counter negative media discourse in circulation (Zamani-Farahani & Henderson, 2010). However, tourism management and marketing strategies are rarely heterogeneous among regions and in the case of Dubai, it is said that in an effort to shift the destination from a sun and sea product, Islamic and Arab culture are highlighted, but alongside the ideas of tolerance and openness, in an image of East meets West (Henderson, 2008).

Conclusion

The power of the tourism industry at least partly lies in its ability to Other the host, it has also been argued that tourism is an extension to colonialism. As such this chapter considered postcolonial theory, spearheaded by Edward Said's (1978) seminal work *Orientalism*, which accounts for how the West has Othered the Orient. Othering was both constituted by and constitutive of colonialism, it was used to legitimise colonial activity and left the local population denigrated. Although Said's (1978) work is undoubtedly important, he almost completely overlooked gender in the Orientalist project. Postcolonial feminism emerged as a critique of Western feminism and its creation of a universal woman category (Mohanty, 1988). Postcolonial feminists such as Spivak (1988) have questioned the ability of subaltern subjects to speak for themselves, describing a halfway people trapped between the past and the coloniser's future.

Postcolonial feminism is not only a useful theoretical framework for the study of cross-cultural (re)presentations of host women, but it can also inform the ethics of research and has important implications both epistemologically and ontologically. Prominent postcolonial feminist Mohanty (2003), for example, stands opposed to cultural relativism which is an epistemological issue, and Spivak's demand that French poststructuralists cannot possibly 'speak for' the subaltern is not just an ontological issue but also an ethical issue. These issues are explored further in the next chapter discusses the philosophical research paradigms shaping this research, alongside the methods used to collect and analyse data, ethical considerations and a reflexive account of the research.

4 Methodology and Research Approach

Research develops from “the set of common beliefs and agreements shared between scientists about how problems should be understood and addressed” (Kuhn, 1962: 45) also known as a paradigm. Paradigms have been differentiated by their ontology (belief of the nature of reality), and epistemology (belief of the nature of knowledge), which together shape how a question or phenomena can be studied (Crotty, 1998; Guba, 1990). Therefore the primary aim of this chapter is to investigate the various research paradigms and their ontological and epistemological foundations alongside the methodological decisions of this research in order to guide the reader in judging the credibility of the results presented in the final chapters of this thesis. Reflecting on gender as a social construct, the constructionist paradigm is outlined, but noting that ‘approaches and methods will hybridize, will overlap, and will present combinations of opportunity and challenge’ (Wilson & Hollinshead, 2015: 44), the chapter describes my philosophical foundation as a critical form of constructionism. The overall aim of this study is to critically explore both the discursive role of tourism and its influence in (re)constructing feminine identities in Tunisia, in line with both the ‘critical turn’ (Ateljevic, Morgan & Pritchard, 2007) in tourism studies, and wider ‘discursive turn’ (Hall, 1997).

A qualitative research design is put forward as necessitated by the ‘soft data’ collected for the study, which includes a variety of multimodal (including linguistic text, pictorial image, and moving images) data. In order to answer the first research questions, (How are Tunisian women discursively (re)presented by Tunisian promotional materials targeting a UK audience? How do the (re)presentations of Tunisian women in printed brochures and websites differ?) touristic brochures and a website created by the TNTTO were collected. Yet, the second set of research questions (How do Tunisian women engage with discourses on femininities (re)constructed by Tunisian promotional materials? How do Tunisian women interpret the (re)presentation of Tunisian women in Tunisian promotional materials? How do Tunisian women discursively construct Tunisian femininities?) necessitated participant centred methods, in this case, interviews.

CDA grounded in the ‘socio-political nature of power and the construction of knowledge’, becomes a theoretical strategy as well as a form of analysis in the thesis (Wilson & Hollinshead, 2015: 35). The orientation of CDA towards social phenomena as oppose to a method of data collection has created an eclectic school of thought

(Wodak & Meyer, 2009). There are many approaches to CDA, but the multimodal nature of the data limits linguistic approaches. The primary tool in research is the researcher, who chooses what and how to study, designs the tools to be used, and decides which elements will be analysed and interpreted and which will not. Postcolonial feminist theory highlights the responsibility of being in control of the (re)presentation of others, demanding the consideration of an ethics of (re)presentation, which is considered in this chapter before a final reflexive account. Reflexivity is discussed as a valuable tool for feminist researchers, as it allows for probing of the researcher-researched relationship, and it is demanded by CDA, acknowledging the problematic concept of value-free knowledge (Huang, 2011), and the importance of presenting a 'retroductable' or transparent interpretation (Wodak, 2001).

Paradigms

An understanding of the philosophical grounding of any research project is central to the appraisal of the work based on the retroductability of the researcher's arguments (Wodak, 2001). However, paradigms, ontologies and epistemologies have become ambiguous concepts utilised by scholars in various often contradictory forms, described by Crotty (1998: 1) as 'more a maze than as pathways to orderly research'. This section aims to unravel the dominant research paradigms and the positions they encompass in order to develop a philosophical underpinning for my understanding of the discursive construction of Tunisian femininities. The term paradigm has been utilised by Guba (1990) to encompass and answer ontological, epistemological and methodological questions, and following his work can be classified as positivism, constructivism, post-positivism, and critical theory. According to Guba, the responses to the following questions form the basic beliefs of the paradigm:

- (1) Ontological: What is the nature of the 'knowable'? Or, what is the nature of 'reality'?
- (2) Epistemological: What is the nature of the relationship between the knower (the inquirer) and the known (or knowable)?
- (3) Methodological: How should the inquirer go about finding out knowledge?

Each of the four paradigms identified by Guba (1990) answers these questions differently, positivism is traditionally associated with the scientific method, ontologically positivism views reality as existing 'out there', it is measurable and truths can be generalised. Positivism views the researcher's role to unveil objective truths,

whereas critical theory and constructionism positions the researcher as an interpreter of the data collected. Epistemologically, the researcher can be separated from the research within a positivist paradigm, which means that the researcher can be objective. The positivist paradigm, and an overall tendency towards positivism within tourism scholarship (Pritchard & Morgan, 2007; Ren, Pritchard & Morgan, 2010), can be critiqued for undermining the subjective nature of experience and pluralities which coexist within tourism (Aitchison, 2001).

The subsequent figure summarises the four paradigms identified by Guba (1990), which are utilised throughout this section:

Figure 4-1 the Research paradigms as Identified by Guba (1990)

	<u>Positivism</u>	<u>Postpositivism</u>	<u>Critical theory</u>	<u>Constructivist</u>
Ontology	Realist: Reality exists 'out there' knowledge is generalizable	Critical realist: Reality exists but can only be partially understood	Critical realist	Relativist: Reality exists as a mental construct
Epistemology	Objectivist: Researcher can and must adopt an objective position	Modified objectivity: objectivity is the aim, but can only be approximated	Subjectivist: values mediate enquiry	Subjectivist: Findings are the creation of interaction
Methodology	Experimental/manipulative	Modified experimental/manipulative	Transformative: seek the elimination of false consciousness	Hermeneutic, dialectic

Source: Own conceptualisation after Guba (1990)

Guba's (1990) boxing or separation of the paradigms lends itself to the belief that research may be indexed and clearly delineated. Yet, Schwandt (1990) problematises the categorisation of paradigms, noting how constructivist methodologies can take a more moral approach often associated with critical theory. Moreover, Crotty (1998), who in contrast to Guba's (1990) paradigms, utilises the categories of methods, methodology, theoretical perspective, and epistemology, suggests research is far more flexible, and others show research to be hybridised and messy (Caton, 2013; Wilson & Hollinshead, 2015). This research project is founded on both the understanding of gender as a performative social construct (Butler, 1988; Swain, 1995, 2002) and an

understanding that there is no value-free knowledge. The project mobilises postcolonial theory and CDA, which can be considered critical theories, and is ultimately informed by postcolonial feminist theory. The following sections will discuss constructionism and critical theory in order to delineate a critical constructionist paradigm within which the research can be located.

Constructionism

The primary difference between constructivism/constructionism and the other three paradigms is ontological. Constructivism/constructionism believes that ‘reality exists only in the context of a mental framework (construct) for thinking about it’ (Guba, 1990: 25), in other words, reality is made rather than an objective reality ‘out there’ awaiting discovery. Yet, tourism scholar Kellee Caton (2013) suggests that almost all researchers ascribe to at least some degree of realism (a belief in the existence of a material world outside of the mind or meaningful constructions), problematising the notion that the paradigms can be differentiated by ontology. Constructionists (or constructivists according to Guba, 1990) do not refute the existence of a reality ‘out there’, but the existence of a meaningful reality; after all, it is the mind which assigns meaning (Crotty, 1998; Pernecky, 2012). Hall (1997: 25) further clarifies this point, stating that ‘constructivists do not deny the existence of the material world. However, it is not the material world which conveys meaning’. Within constructionism, (at least) two very different notions exist (Hollinshead 2006), social constructionism and constructivism, or the construction of meaningful reality via interaction, and the construction of meaningful reality individually (Pernecky, 2012).

The recognition that gender is not defined at birth, but through interactions, and socialisation has fostered the idea that gender is a social construct (Butler, 1988; De Beauvoir, 1949; Swain, 1995), which has become one of my primary reasons for situating myself within a constructionist paradigm. For the study of gender, a social constructionist approach aids in the understanding of how we become men and women by situating all meaningful reality and therefore identities as:

contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context (Crotty, 1998: 42).

As this thesis investigates meaning, meaning making and their relationship with performed and constructed femininities, it decidedly falls within a constructionist paradigm. Within tourism research, constructionism is considered appropriate for those

analysing visual data (Rakić & Chambers, 2011) and has been mobilised in a variety of ways; as a paradigm, a method and a technique. Scholars have adapted the constructionist paradigm to meet the needs of the research, and arguably to highlight the possibilities of more flexible philosophies, constructionism has been modified in order to include a variety of adjectives including realist (Pernecky, 2012). Indeed, critical theory is sometimes considered under the umbrella of interpretivist thought alongside constructionism rather than a paradigm in and of itself (Hollinshead, 2006). Moreover, there is a tendency of constructionism to consider discourse as a prominent tool in the creation of constructions (Hall, 1997), and in this view, gender can be considered a discourse, one which we choose to enact or refute every day (Freysinger, et al., 2013).

Constructionism's usefulness is not confined to issues of gender but excels 'where there is a pronounced need to delve into particular social differentiations of value or multiple and contesting in situ truths' (Hollinshead, 2006: 44), relevant to tourism due to the interaction of numerous stakeholders. Epistemologically, constructionism views knowledge as co-created or co-constructed between the researcher and participants. Knowledge is viewed as plural and constructionist researchers 'consciously attempt to avoid hegemonising the perspectives of the individuals they study' (Caton, 2013). As for Berger and Luckman (1966: 27), it is precisely the knowledge of the participants rather than the knowledge of the 'expert' that the social scientist needs in order to gain any potential partial understanding of multiple lived realities:

The theoretical formulations of reality, whether they be scientific or philosophical or even mythological, do not exhaust what is 'real' for the members of a society. Since this is so, the sociology of knowledge must first of all concern itself with what people 'know' as 'reality' in their everyday, non- or pre-theoretical lives. In other words, common-sense 'knowledge' rather than 'ideas' must be the central focus for the sociology of knowledge. It is precisely this 'knowledge' that constitutes the fabric of meanings without which no society could exist

The constructionist paradigm is built on 5 tenets: first, 'we experience the world as an objective reality'; second 'language provides the basis on which we make sense of the world'; third 'the reality of everyday life is shared'; fourth 'shared typifications of reality become institutionalised'; and finally, 'knowledge may be institutionalised at the level of society or within subgroups' (DeLamater & Hyde 1998: 14). These five tenets are embedded within every level of this research project. The first has shaped the choice of data collection methods by placing importance on the research participants' understanding and meaning making. The second and third tenets allow importance to be

placed on the discursive creation of Tunisian femininities, allowing an understanding of the material effects of discourse. The final tenets allow the consideration of how (re)presentations or beliefs can become normalised at all levels of society, with implications for all Tunisian women.

In summary, a constructionist orientation accepts that the socially constructed world is real, and views language as forming social constructions. Whereas realist ontologies (found within the other paradigms) suggest genders are real and exist outside our own construction of them, constructionists believe language and practice dictate what we see (Neuman, 2014). It is this view that allows the notion of gender as a social construction, in line with my own beliefs, which is the most useful for this study.

Critical Theory

Critical theory is the paradigm commonly associated with the Frankfurt School, initially outlined by Horkheimer (1937) in his book *Traditional and Critical Theory*. The Frankfurt School developed in 1923, heavily influenced by Karl Marx and Friedrich Nietzsche, and associated with influential scholars such as Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse, Habermas and Fromm (Alvesson & Deetz, 2006). The primary difference between critical theory and the other paradigms as differentiated by Guba (1990) is its ideological orientation, and as such is suggested to encompass feminist research alongside other movements, such as postcolonial theory. These ideologically oriented lines of enquiry are grouped together because in contrast to positivism and postpositivism they reject the notion of value-free or apolitical knowledge (a key tenet of critical theory). However, in contrast to Guba (1990), tourism scholars have been reluctant to pigeonhole these ideologically oriented forms of enquiry (Hollinshead, 2006), and Caton (2013) suggests both constructionists and critical theorists share a rejection of the notion of value-free knowledge. Nevertheless, the rejection of value-free knowledge or apolitical research develops from a subjectivist epistemology, which considers research as mediated by the values held by the researcher (Guba, 1990). An understanding of value informed research demands tools such as reflexivity, which attempt to lead the researcher on a path of self-awareness as they investigate the constructed nature of their own research.

Whereas feminist research has been considered as belonging to both critical theory and constructionism (Wilson & Hollinshead, 2015), CDA has been associated with constructionism (Feighery, 2006; Flick, 2014), but it is the criticality of CDA research

that ties diverging approaches together (Wodak, 2001). Arguably, both feminist and critical discourse analytic approaches centred on the study of power demand a consideration of critical theory. At least one approach within critical theory has been the examination of a Nietzschean influenced power/knowledge nexus, which exposes an inability to derive objective knowledge from lived experience and the importance of challenging truth claims (Alvesson & Deetz, 2006; Foucault, 1980).

Critical theory also differs from positivism as it engages with moral questions, but differs from interpretivism (and arguably constructionism) as it is untrusting of the answers given by participants, due to a belief in ‘false consciousness’ (Tribe, 2008). As previously stated, false consciousness dates back to the beginnings of critical theory and the Frankfurt School, influenced by Karl Marx, viewing the proletariat as unknowingly controlled by the bourgeois (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). Scholars within the school of thought worked on behalf of the marginalised by lifting the wool from their eyes (Wodak, 2001), but while the school’s intentions may appear morally good, it has been critiqued for its presumption that a researcher may have access to a truth that their participants’ do not (Mills, 1993). Traditional critical theory may necessitate the researcher takes ‘the arrogant position of attempting to perform absolute adjudication between conflicting constructions of reality’ (Caton, 2013: 133).

For constructionists, there is no one truth to be found, but multiple truths which are socially constructed and assigned to reality; for Foucault, all of these meanings are shaped and reflect discourse, so there is no ‘true consciousness’ merely more discourse (Hall, 1992; Mills, 1993). This understanding of multiple discursive realities renders certain approaches to analysis, which seek to find a truth beneath layers of discourse, meaningless (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). While the concept of ‘false consciousness’ associated with critical theory may create a demeaning relationship between the researcher and their participants, the importance of how power and discourse shapes research and knowledge is invaluable. The power of the tourism industry in (re)presenting reality has been conceptualised by Hollinshead, Ateljevic & Ali (2009) as worldmaking, and it is this productive use of power (directed at Tunisian women) that the thesis is investigating. The investigation of power demands criticality, but the investigation of worldmaking demands not simply the kind of critical theory associated with the Frankfurt school, but a critical thinking which takes on board postcolonial thought in order to analyse the power of the industry in choosing and producing people discursively (Hollinshead, et al., 2009). These considerations have led to the hybridisation of critical theory and constructionism, as alongside other researchers

(Caton, 2013), I find myself as a researcher influenced and belonging within both paradigms, which creates friction as well as sources of harmony (considered further in the ethics and reflexivity sections).

Critical Constructionism

Gender became a term used by feminists to describe how one becomes a woman, in contrast to being born a woman as previously thought in essentialist notions of manhood and womanhood (DeLamater & Hyde, 1998; Segal, 2011). Whilst not all research on gender is feminist research, and there are many feminist approaches (Pritchard, 2014), approaches are centred on three tenets: a commitment to feminist principles, commitment to doing research for and not just on women, and a commitment to reflexivity (Morris et al., 1998). Feminism is not a method, but a perspective, one that values women's lives (Reinharz, 1992) and recognises 'the social construction of gender, a desire to make the personal political, a critical agenda to enact progressive change in women's lives, and an awareness that theory, epistemology and method are directly interlinked' (Wilson & Hollinshead, 2015: 36). These tenets coupled with the recognition that 'feminist research acknowledges the significance of the researcher or writer in shaping the research process' (Aitchison, 2005a: 23) ensure feminist research is informed by both constructionism and critical theory.

Yet, there is one critical disjuncture between constructionism and critical theory as developed in the preceding sections, relativism. Relativism, associated with constructionism, whilst useful here for an understanding of the construction of gender and for the lack of belief in universal truth (Feighery, 2006), can also be critiqued for focusing on all statements or standpoints as equally good. The acceptance of all standpoints as equally good can make taking a critical position arduous within constructionist research (Caton, 2013), as 'if the dominant discourse is the discourse of cultural relativism, questions of power, agency, justice and common criteria for critique and evaluation are silenced' (Mohanty, 2003: 520). Yet, relativism may be overcome by discourse analysts in the acceptance of 'epistemic relativism' (that the meaningful world is socially constructed) and the refuting of 'judgmental relativism' (that all standpoints are equally good) (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Pragmatically, this acceptance allows the belief that all (re)presentations are socially constructed (as I view gender), but that the researcher can also take a political stance, which may be necessitated in feminist research.

Merging social constructionism and critical theory can be beneficial in that whereas explicitly critical research investigates issues of power often from a structural position, critical constructionism can lead to an understanding of power as a process, instead of one-way or uncontested (Hosking, 2008). Postcolonial feminism recognises the critical constructionist paradigm and demands researchers question their responsibility in speaking for others (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2012). Furthermore, tourism researchers approaching questions from a critical perspective acknowledge that the relationship between the 'knower and the known' (Guba, 1990) is mediated by a wide variety of factors, such as positionality, the discipline, as well as societal ideologies and dominant discourses (Belhassen & Caton, 2009). This thesis is therefore founded on critical constructionism, which merges a constructionist view of reality with the criticality necessitated by the theoretical approach of postcolonial and postcolonial feminist theory.

Qualitative Research

Tourism research has been dominated by positivism and quantitative methodologies (Pritchard & Morgan, 2007; Ren, Pritchard & Morgan, 2010), which emphasise objective measurements of data often analysed using statistical methods in order to find generalisable truths (Crotty, 1998). These methods tend to reduce complex realities to a restricted set of variables, viewing experience as universal, and yet postcolonial feminists have shown that there is no such thing as a universal woman category (Mohanty, 1991). Whilst tourism may have been dominated by positivism and quantitative methods, interpretive and critical approaches have been widely accepted in gender studies (Figueroa-Domecq, et al., 2015). The critical-interpretive often frames qualitative research (Wilson & Hollinshead, 2015), and is necessary when investigating 'complex and sensitive issues in hard-to-access groups' (Figueroa-Domecq, et al., 2015: 93) as is the case within this research. Moreover, critical studies on discourse and studies on (re)presentation, which seek to explore meaning, can only ever be interpretive as a variety of meanings are possible and meanings change over time (Hall, 1997). The exploration of meaning as developed in the research questions requires 'soft' data (words and images as oppose to numbers) which are not easily quantified. Even if they were, quantifications would not answer the research questions (Neuman, 2014). For these reasons qualitative research is better positioned than quantitative research for this study as it "explores complex and sometimes subtle, gender dynamics, as well as structural barriers" (Ng and Pine, 2003: 100).

In addition to qualitative methods being better positioned to answer the research questions, a literature review presented in chapter two evidences little knowledge on the (re)presentation of Tunisian women by the tourism industry, justifying exploratory research often associated with qualitative approaches (Neuman, 2014). Moreover, constructionism often suggests a qualitative research design due to its ability to place importance on the participants' knowledge and understanding of situations (Creswell, 2014). Qualitative research, in contrast to quantitative research, assigns importance to the ways in which individuals understand phenomena, a quality which may meet the aim of feminist research in opening a space for women to speak and disrupting the male oriented positivist science (Neuman, 2014). In understanding (re)presentations it is important to acknowledge those silenced voices (silenced in (re)presentation, representational processes, and research) (Huang, 2011), and whilst I do not presume to unproblematically 'give a voice' to the research participants (see ethics section), qualitative methods are better situated than quantitative methods in allowing participants to respond and interact with the researcher creatively, and on their own terms.

A further key critique of positivism and quantitative methods, involves the often deductive approach (applying theory to lived experience) researchers take in their studies. Deductive studies can influence the interpretation of the data, potentially creating a self-fulfilling prophecy (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). The self-fulfilling prophecy occurs as researchers attempt to make phenomena fit a specific theory or hypothesis. This potential bias has been acknowledged in response to the work of Yan & Santos (2009), which attempts to apply orientalism to a Chinese tourism promotional video:

These propositions are produced by the authors as interpreters with a predominated mind set of "Orientalism", the one Said (1978) attempts to deconstruct. Taking this in mind, the validity of these propositions remains not unquestionable. (Huang, 2011: 1189)

One way of reducing this bias is to invoke an inductive approach, which attempts to theorise from the data or even an abductive approach, which oscillates between theory and data (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). An abductive approach was adhered to during this research project, data was collected and analysed iteratively for this study, constantly oscillating between theory, data collection and analysis. Throughout this process, I reflected on each stage in order to consider influences and my role in shaping the data collection, and interpretation. This section has considered the importance of a

qualitative research design; it has discussed the utility of soft data, and its demand for qualitative analysis. The use of an abductive approach following a discussion of deduction and induction in chapter two was presented. The following section introduces the data sets and the data collection methods used in more detail.

Data

This study relies on CDA for both a theoretical and analytical underpinning (considered in more detail in the Critical Discourse Analysis section of this chapter), but there is no CDA way to collect data or select samples. Yet, that is not to say CDA warrants an ‘anything goes approach’ and several criteria do exist: research must be intelligible in interpretation, collection, and analysis, all should be guided by the research questions and all decisions should be transparent (Daniel, 2011). In addition to these criteria, CDA dictates simultaneous iterative collection and analysis; the two processes are carried out simultaneously and inform each other developing new questions to be answered through further data collection (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The following sections describe the data, which includes secondary data produced by the TNTO and semi-structured interviews carried out with Tunisian women directly involved in the tourism industry, and data collection methods used for this study.

Promotional Materials

The first data set is comprised of promotional materials produced by the TNTO. The data set answers the first research questions: How are Tunisian women discursively (re)presented by Tunisian promotional materials targeting a UK audience? How do the (re)presentations of Tunisian women in printed brochures and websites differ? The first data set also informs the interviews, and consists of still images and text originating from the TNTO campaigns (website and printed brochures), important resources for tourists gathering pre-departure information concerning the destination (Govers, et al., 2007) (see chapter two for more on destination images and information sources).

The set is comprised of images and text available to UK tourists, one of the largest tourist originating countries for Tunisia (see chapter five). This presence is important in analysing the potential influence of (re)presentations on Tunisian women, as the discourses within promotional materials potentially travel back to Tunisia accompanying UK tourists on their holidays (chapter three). Moreover, messages aimed at those with similar cultural backgrounds to the researcher (who is British) can potentially be decoded, reducing those messages to the dominant meanings (Hall, 1996) (see chapter 2). Many media forms previously only available in printed format are now

also available online or exclusively online. Yet, a drawback of this type of data is that it can be arduous to decipher the time it was produced or how long it has been in circulation (Jokela & Raento, 2011), which justifies the analysis of both printed and online material. Promotional images located in brochures, on websites, and postcards are secondary sources as they were not created for the research in question. These secondary source materials are vast and the goal of data collection should be to collect a manageable, reliable sample that can answer the specific question (Jokela & Raento, 2011).

A total of seven brochures published by the National Tunisian Tourism Office were collected from the World Travel Market in London in November 2014. The brochures are entitled: *Holidays in Tunisia*, *The Great South*, *Sousse Port El Kantaoui*, *Tunisia History and Culture*, *Djerba Island*, *Golf in Tunisia*, and *Monastir*. Travel trade shows of this type have been highlighted as an ‘excellent venue for sampling because of the extent of information available and the concentration of sources.’ (Hunter, 2008: 258). Moreover, these brochures are made available to UK tourists at every tourist information office in Tunisia and have been for over ten years, which gives a sense of longitude. Of the seven brochures collected, only four were analysed; *Golf in Tunisia*, *Djerba Island*, and *Monastir* were all discarded due to their very specific target audiences. Whereas the decision to analyse *Holidays in Tunisia*, *Tunisia History and Culture* was based on their general appeal to a wide range of tourists, *Sousse Port El Kantaoui* was chosen as the fieldwork was carried out in that area, and *The great South* was selected due to it being a popular excursion. *Holidays in Tunisia* was the largest brochure at 60 pages and *The Great South* the shortest with just 20 pages, all were produced in colour and rely heavily on pictures alongside text (for a full content analysis see chapter six).

In addition to these brochures, the TNTO in the UK and Ireland website specifically aimed at British tourists: <http://www.discovertunisia.uk>, was also analysed. The website Discover Tunisia includes pictorial images, moving images (videos) and hyperlinks to external sources. The website was created specifically for the UK audience and includes 330 web pages, which are divided into the following 13 categories: Explore Tunisia, What to do, News, Beaches, Golf, Adventure, Luxury & Spas, Family, History, Culture, Religions & Cities, 4 star resorts, 3 star resorts, Practical info, and Gallery.

Interviews

Interviews are one of the most popular methods of data collection within research on

gender and tourism (Figueroa-Domecq et al., 2015). This is perhaps unsurprising, as the interview has long been associated with feminist research, as has qualitative research in general (Oakley, 1998). Yet, and as I comment in the ethics section, in order to answer the second set of research questions (How do Tunisian women engage with discourses on femininities (re)constructed by Tunisian promotional materials? How do Tunisian women interpret the (re)presentation of Tunisian women in Tunisian promotional materials? How do Tunisian women discursively construct Tunisian femininities?) and within the research paradigm of critical constructionism, a more participative approach may have enhanced the data. Participative methods are often placed within the action research paradigm alongside participatory methods, co-operative enquiry and participatory action research among others (Brgold & Thomas, 2012). These approaches attempt to integrate participants at various levels of the research such as the definition of research questions, the design of data collection tools, and/or the interpretation of data (Wicks, Reason & Bradbury, 2008). The integration of research participants could have led to deeper insights into the issues facing Tunisian women in contemporary society by providing deeper understandings from the perspective of the participant.

As this research was shaped by the political situation of Tunisia at the time of data collection (see reflexivity section) more participative methods were not a possibility, due primarily to time constraints. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were chosen due to the ability to place importance on the participants' knowledge and understanding of situations (Hesse-Biber & Leavy 2006; Creswel, 2014; Neuman, 2014). Allowing the participants a space to voice opinions on (re)presentations and Tunisian femininities became an important strategy in negotiating critiques of CDA (see section on CDA) and also in following a postcolonial feminist stance (Spivak, 1988), which demands I view myself as an outsider, who does not experience being woman in the same way as my participants (see reflexivity), subject to dominant discourses in the UK (Mohanty, 1991).

Semi-structured interviews were chosen as a method over both structured and unstructured interviews for several reasons. The structure of semi-structured interviews can help in the process of interpretation, whilst still facilitating open-ended questions in order to gain an insight into the lived experiences of the participant, in contrast to structured interviews, which may deny creativity and spontaneity (Hesse-Biber & Leavy 2006). The interviews were carried out firstly seeking initial consent to record from

participants (see ethics section) and the conversation was then centred on the participants' job role before I asked questions very much related to the research questions (Creswell, 2014) (see appendix for full interview schedule). The initial questions and any emerging conversation were followed with photo-elicitation, which entailed showing the participants some of the images from the brochure *Holidays in Tunisia* in the first data set. This element was accompanied with vague questions, such as 'what do you think?' in order to reduce my influence as the researcher.

In total, I carried out formal interviews with 15 women (see figure 4.3), chosen for their involvement with the tourism industry and their willingness to engage with the research. Each interview lasted between 40 minutes and two hours. I recruited participants (sometimes accompanied by my interpreter) by visiting tourist attractions and areas that I was already aware of from past visits and asked women workers if they would agree to be interviewed (see page 81). The number of participants was shaped by the level of insecurity in Tunisia, which had meant that my travel was curtailed (see page 99), and also by the attainment of theoretical saturation (Creswell, 2014). Theoretical saturation occurs when no new insights are achieved from further data collection (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009), which happened when participants' continued to draw on two dominant discourses rather than offer new discourses (as identified in chapters six and seven). However, human experience is subjective (Berger & Luckman, 1966) and if I had have interviewed a further 15, 30, 90 or 1000 women I am sure they would have had different stories to tell, but I am confident the two discourses identified by the thesis would have remained dominant.

The participants chose where the interview would take place and many desired they happened in the moment, which meant many of the interviews were carried out in offices or were in groups (see ethics section for more). Within the interviews, I tried to achieve the role of supplicant, which privileges reciprocal relationships, empathy, respect, and knowledge sharing (England, 1994), but I feel this role was only fully achieved when the interview was carried out in English (see working *with an interpreter/reflexivity* section). For nine of the interviews I worked alongside an interpreter, Eliana, and seven of those were conducted in Arabic (explored in the subsequent section).

Five participants chose to be interviewed in groups, which meant that quite often there were contrasting ideas. For the most part, I view this as unproblematic as

gender is a social construct, it adds another layer to the data, by allowing rich constructions to happen in the interview. Yet, there was one particular interview where this was indeed problematic and that was with Salima the head of the women’s association of carpet makers, who requested the interview took place within the shop where the carpets are sold. Yet, this meant that the male owner of the shop (who was no relation of Salima’s) felt the need to dart between the shop and the room where the interview was held, adding comments and interrupting when he could. A lot of what was captured in the interview was Tunisian gossip, which is interesting and shows some of the power relationships between Salima and this male shop owner (please see the analysis chapter for more).

Figure 4-2 Research participants

Name*	Occupation	Age	language	Group	Eliana present	Location
Eliana	Student	20-25	English		✓	Coffee shop
Mounira	Tattooist	20-25	Arabic	✓	✓	Medina
Salwa	Tattooist	20-25	Arabic	✓	✓	Medina
Salima	head of women's association of carpet makers	45-50	Arabic	✓	✓	Carpet shop
Safa	Visitor attraction manager	30-35	Arabic		✓	Visitor attraction
Balsam	Museum manager	35-40	Arabic	✓	✓	Museum
Fatma	Museum manager	35-40	Arabic	✓	✓	Museum
Emma	Hotel receptionist	40-45	English	✗	✓	Hotel
Noha	Hotel chain quality manager	35-40	English	✗	✓	Hotel
Afifa	Shop assistant	30-35	Arabic	✗	✓	Shop
Nour	Hotel guest relations manager	25-30	English	✗	✗	Hotel
Hela	Lecturer in tourism institute	35-40	English	✗	✗	University
Anissa	Publicity manager TNTO	40-45	English	✗	✗	Office
Azhar	couch surfer host	20-25	English	✗	✗	Coffee shop
Salma	restaurant owner	25-30	English	✗	✗	Coffee shop

*All participants anonymised

I Utilised NVivo, a computer programme, to transcribe the interviews verbatim, but I could only do this for the interviews which were carried out in English. I enlisted two Tunisian English teachers in Sfax, Tunisia to translate and transcribe the seven interviews carried in Arabic. I had initially thought using an interpreter in the

interviews would mean further translation was not necessary. However, listening to the interviews, it became obvious that a lot of the details had been ‘lost in translation’, and the further translation provided another layer to the interviews. There were for example moments where the interpreter mistranslated my questions, which were only highlighted by this further layer of translation (see reflexivity).

Working with an interpreter

Feminist research demands researchers are aware of their own role in constructing the data (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). It has been suggested that intimate and non-hierarchical research relationships may be achieved between participant and researcher by drawing on some common experience of womanhood (Oakley, 1981). However, a common experience of womanhood would demand that as women we all experience being a woman in the same way, or consider all women the same. Creating the monolithic category of woman can be seen as a form of ‘strategic essentialism’ (Spivak, 1988), in order to gain women’s rights and influence policy feminists may have to ignore the more intersectional nature of women. The notion of a monolithic woman has been challenged by postcolonial feminists (Mohanty, 1991) as too simplistic, and ignoring other characteristics, such as race, nationality, class or age (Cotterill, 1992). These other characteristics certainly appear to influence Tunisian women’s experiences regarding tourism, as discussed in the analysis chapter. After having lived in Tunisia I am acutely aware that I experience being a woman in differing ways to the participants, which is partly why I chose to work with a female Tunisian interpreter. Jobbins (2004) had previously noted that even if the researcher is fluent in Tunisian Arabic, they might never be fluent in local customs.

The other reason I chose to work with an interpreter was based on language, I speak basic French and Arabic, but my language skills are not sufficient to carry out an interview and without an interpreter. Without an interpreter, I would have only been able to interview English speakers. Surprisingly little attention has been given to the topic of interpreters be they cultural or linguistic, due to worries of loss of meaning (Krzywoszynska, 2015). This worry of a loss of meaning and lack of a space dedicated to the role of interpreting insiders within the research process can also be said to reflect an ongoing bias of positivist thinking even in qualitative research when the ‘truth’ is sought about the ‘other’. Even though the concept of transparent language has been problematised in recent years, researchers still fail to engage with interpretation due to credibility (Krzywoszynska, 2015).

Interpreters have previously been heralded as a second order when moderating and conducting research in Tunisia (Jobbins, 2004). In my experience the 'insider' varied enormously, due to the specificities of each region; my interpreter was from the Island of Kerkennah which is culturally very different from some of the participants (see reflexivity). I often felt it difficult to move the relationship with the interviewees (who did not speak English) from participant to collaborator or to truly perform the role of supplicant, and in the moment the interview appeared to play out naturally without me forcing the creation of rapport. Eliana, the interpreter was far more than simply an employee and together I feel we progressed to the kind of co-transformation and learning highlighted in Hopeful Tourism 'a values-based, unfolding transformative perspective' on tourism research (Pritchard, Morgan & Ateljevic, 2011: 942).

Five of the interviews in English were carried out without Eliana and I think it made a difference (see reflexivity), whilst the research would not have been possible without Eliana, I feel that in this context and these circumstances the necessity of an interpreter created an extra barrier to access and rapport. Jobbins (2004) claimed that utilising a translator in Tunisia helped him understand the cultural nuances that even if he had spoken the language he may have missed. Jobbins (2004) also warned that choosing the right interpreter was important and participants were often wary of the intentions of the 'insider' due to the political situation. This wariness became a barrier to recruiting participants (discussed in the reflection on positionality) and I found that quite often Eliana lacked cultural insight, which may be because of intersecting characteristics. However, working with somebody else did help me grow; it provided me with confidence and motivated me as I felt in some way accountable. My own relationship with Eliana was intense as we spent every moment of every day together, but it was also reciprocal (see ethics).

Gaining access to and recruiting participants

Due to the political situation in Tunisia (see reflexivity) setting up the interviews was done in haste, I contacted the owner of the school where I used to work and asked him if he could put me in touch with 'a friendly, open Tunisian girl who can speak English'. Imed, the owner of the school arranged for me to meet Eliana (the prospective interpreter), who agreed to work with me. Finding research participants was another concern, during a previous trip I had identified prospective participants, but I had not approached them or arranged any interviews. In order to recruit participants, either Eliana or I approached a prospective participant and asked if they had some time to chat,

surprisingly only three declined (for issues concerning access see reflexivity). Eliana and I then went on to discuss the research, what I was doing and what I would use it for. If the prospective participant preferred to speak in Arabic, Eliana described the research without translating. I believe the participants agreed to speak to me for several reasons. As I am a white British woman, participants might have viewed me as being from an 'upper class' taking a special interest in them. Yet, at that time, just after the Bardo Museum terrorist attack, many Tunisians were worried about tourism, it employs many people and forms a large part of the GDP, and they viewed me as a tourist. On several occasions participants asked the interpreter 'is she a tourist?' 'what is she doing here?', so I believe the participants wanted to make me, as a 'tourist' feel welcome. This desire to show their country in the best possible light undoubtedly influences both access and their responses to my questions.

I also interviewed an English teacher in a tourism university, where I gave two guest lectures. I was allowed to give these lectures simply because I was a white, British woman, in fact, the director of the university took great pleasure in 'showing me off' around the school. He introduced me as 'Miss Heather from London, his friend', and the interview with the English teacher would not have happened if it was not for this. I was also able to interview the director of publicity from TNTO, which was quite arduous. Trying to call an official in Tunisia means first having to speak to a secretary, who does not speak English, so I asked the interpreter to call for me. The director did not want to believe that the interpreter was working with someone from an English university. Ultimately this meant me having to travel to Tunis twice, and the second time I was allowed to pass through security and enter the office without questioning, which I can only think is because of the way the guards perceived me.

Yet, whilst these issues might be related to my 'white British' privilege, they cannot be separated from other elements of my positionality or Eliana's. For example, I feel Eliana's veil and dress may have created rapport with participants who also wore a veil, but as much as I am sure Eliana would disagree with me, I feel her veil also created a barrier with those who did not. Alissa, a luxury hotel receptionist, was very reluctant when approached for an interview with Eliana. We asked in Arabic & when she said she was busy, turning away from the desk we spoke together, I said 'oh that is a shame because you will be leaving at 3 but perhaps I can come back', at that moment Alissa turned and spoke to me in English to tell me she could do the interview at 4 pm. I could feel a level of uneasiness in Eliana's presence, an uneasiness that was not present during

the interview.

This uneasiness can be due to many factors, Jobbins (2004) experienced a similar uneasiness in Tunisia, which he suggested was due to the political situation. However, interestingly one of my participants (who I interviewed alone) admitted that since the revolution, more and more women were wearing veils and that she is actually fearful of them. The use and presence of another person during the fieldwork and in the later translation of the recorded interviews is an added layer, which has not been fully considered in the tourism literature.

Photo-elicitation

Photographs are an extremely important element in tourism publicity and in the creation of self-fulfilling prophecies (noted in section 2.5) as they are viewed as authentic depictions of reality (Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b). The process of interpreting photographs is similar to that of live scenes, regardless of 'staging' or post-production re-touching of the image (Goffman, 1979). Pritchard and Morgan (2000) have emphasised that tourism research must investigate how hosts are (re)presented and how they view these (re)presentations, photo-elicitation has been utilised here in part to address this call for research, but also as a (visual method) tool to engage participants in reflective conversation.

Visual methods are growing in tourism research, these methods primarily fall into three categories: the collection and analysis of visuals from secondary sources; visuals created by researcher or participants; and visuals utilised in the collection of data i.e. photo-elicitation (Rakić & Chambers, 2011). Photo-elicitation has been utilised as a method to investigate tourist experience (see for example Caton & Santos, 2008; Garrod, 2008; Jenkins, 2003; Scarles, 2010), but whilst host-employed photography has received some attention (Brickell, 2012; Wu & Pearce, 2014), host photo-elicitation remains marginal (Cahyantoa, Pennington-Gray & Thapa, 2013; Pattison, 2012).

Westwood (2007) highlights how photo-elicitation can be utilised in order to address some of the critiques of in-depth interviewing, which are primarily led by the researcher and exist within an asymmetrical framework of power. Photo-elicitation in an interview can help to create 'rapport, provide security and comfort as respondents reach out, touch or hold the photographs around which conversations develop' (Scarles, 2010: 908). Moreover, the introduction of photos in the interview can disrupt the process, providing

time for participants to reflect on their own experiences, giving them examples to draw from, or simply something to comment on (Westwood, 2007), it can interrupt an uncomfortable silence without researcher influence or prompting. Moreover, Photo elicitation can be a useful tool in creating rapport where a language barrier exists between a researcher and their participants (Pink, 2001).

There are different ways of deploying photo-elicitation as a technique in tourism research interviews; these include the using of prescribed photos or participants' choice of photos situated across a researcher-led/participant-led continuum (Scarles, 2010). Due to the research questions the use of photo-elicitation was researcher-led, I selected the photos to discuss, in order to understand more about how Tunisian women viewed touristic (re)presentations of Tunisian women (These photos can be found in the analysis).

Critical Discourse Analysis

As previously noted there is no one way to use CDA, which aims at understanding the variety of ways discourse embodies ideas and communicates values or identities (Daniel, 2011). Communication, in general, has become multimodal, and non-linguistic modes such as photos are used to communicate a variety of ideas, which often demands a multimodal consideration of CDA or multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA). MCDA, in the same way as CDA, attempts to uncover hidden elements in discourse and highlight the political and ideological implications of these concealments (Machin, 2013). Multimodality in feminist discourse analysis is still in a stage of infancy but offers an inroad to a broader understanding of gender and contemporary society (Lazar & Kramarae, 2011). The internet may also necessitate new methods of analysis (Herring, 2010), as it provides a space for the mass-viewing and sharing of moving images and pictorial images as well as linguistic text.

Traditional CDA has often privileged linguistic texts over non-linguistic (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996), which may have inadvertently formed a barrier to a CDA approach towards a wide range of semiotic devices. A more critical multimodal approach can enable a qualitative, abductive study (see page 74), acknowledging that:

In tourism, as in other social dimensions, discourse is embedded with complex layers of meaning representing important socio-cultural underpinnings; therefore, a critical approach of discourse analysis is needed for their full interpretation. Wang & Morais (214: 79).

CDA is not a method of data collection or analysis, but an approach or numerous approaches to research (Daniel, 2011; Wodak, 2001). CDA is characterised by its orientation to the social problem often creating an eclectic mix of methods, and its researchers share a 'common interest in de-mystifying ideologies and power through the systematic and reproducible investigation of semiotic data' (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 3). The focus of research is often of a social concern, such as gender inequality or inequality of any type, and in agreement with constructionism, CDA can be built on the assumption that meaningful reality only exists within our constructions (Feighery, 2006). Other approaches were considered in this study such as traditional content analysis, and there are similarities between CDA and other methods (such as semiotics, conversation analysis and discourse studies among others), but CDA was deemed most suitable due to its unique focus on social phenomena over linguistics and its understanding of mediation (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The focus of the research questions, hence the study as a whole, is specifically on social phenomena rather than linguistics. An understanding of mediation can also allow a focus on audience reception and polysemic decoding. In addition to this problem-based justification, CDA allows an interdisciplinary, multi-method approach (Wodak and Meyer, 2009), and tourism researchers have used CDA to successfully draw together and analyse different qualitative data sets concerning tourism (re)presentation (see: Feighery, 2006; Caton & Santos, 2008).

CDA researchers are eclectic in how they deploy methods, theories and research foci, tied together only by criticality, considered as the clarification of connections between the social, political, and socially constructed society (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Both ideology and power are considered pertinent to CDA, ideology is described as the 'hidden and latent type of everyday beliefs' (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 8), which is studied through the normalisation of different discourses. CDA as an ideological research path and in line with critical theory often aims to improve the lives of marginalised communities (Guba, 1990). The 'discursive turn' has been critiqued for leading critical scholars away from their activist roots, but the deconstruction of normative and restrictive discourses can be a preliminary step in emancipation or at least the beginning of an undoing of subordination (Caton, 2013; Riach, Rumens & Tyler, 2016). Lazar (2007) has termed this 'analytical activism' (Lazar, 2007).

Analytical Techniques

Data analysis within CDA can call upon multiple linguistic and non-linguistic methods, and may combine both quantitative and qualitative methods (Daniel, 2011). Within

tourism scholarship, many research approaches have addressed forms of (re)presentations including discursive analysis, textual analysis, genre analysis, semiotics and ethnomethodology; but it is critical analysis that has been identified as most appropriate to explore issues of identity, due to its focus on power struggles concerned with meaning and being (Hunter, 2008). The selection of an analytical method included the consideration of several options, such as Goffman's (1979) framework for categorisation, and critical visual methods utilised by Campelo, Aitken, & Gnoth (2011) and developed by Schroeder (2006) as a method for investigating both still and moving images within advertising. Yet, both critical visual methods and Goffman's (1979) framework do not allow the investigation of text. Moreover, Goffman's framework (1979) along with other models and frameworks aimed at categorising data often involve a deductive approach, which can miss the nuances of context – pertinent in postcolonial studies (Mohanty, 1991). MCDA tools designed by Machin & Mayr (2012), were also considered, but also deemed too deductive.

Content analysis is traditionally of a quantitative nature, used to reveal what is there or manifest content (Hunter, 2008), but more qualitative approaches have also been utilised within CDA (Krzyzanowski & Wodak, 2008). Content analyses have been considered best positioned in media studies to analyse texts and images in an attempt to reveal biased, stereotypical, sexist or racist images (Van Dijk, 2016). During the preliminary analysis of the first dataset (the brochures and website), which aims to view each item of data, a content analysis was carried out in order to identify the pictorial presence of Tunisian women. This step has been suggested by Echtner (1999) in Finn, Elliott-White and Walton (2000) as a pre-step to more qualitative sociological analyses. This content analysis is noted as frequencies of (re)presentation (following Buzinde et. al., 2006) and is useful in meeting the overall aim of the study (see the analysis chapter for tables). It also aided in identifying the relevant units for analysis, and overall familiarity with the data. Tunisians were identified in images by considering those dressed in traditional dress, or service jobs (Buzinde et al., 2006). A similar approach was utilised for the analysis of the website, and a cumulative content analysis of the images found in the gallery is displayed (figure 6.8), but the size of the website and volume of the data made a human content analysis arduous. However, NVivo facilitates researchers in performing an automatic analysis of word frequency, similar to manual content analysis and a method that has been previously utilised to analyse travel blogs (Pan, MacLaurin, & Crotts, 2007).

While content analysis is an excellent method for the analysis of manifest content, it does not fully allow the context-rich and interpretative results that the research

demands. Interpretation can be guided by a first look for interesting qualitative themes, which is enabled by content analyses, but variability, consistency, and absence in what is and is not said or shown must also be accounted for (Daniel, 2011). Tourism researchers, Santos, Belhassen & Caton (2008) utilised CDA to analyse three separate data sets, including printed images and participant observations, with the aim of analysing the (re)presentation of China Town. The authors performed a more Foucauldian (1972) discourse analysis by focussing on statements, groups of statements and the relationships between those and events of ‘another kind’. This approach was deemed most useful for this study as it allows the analysis of each separate data set and then the discourses in their entirety, in order to analyse the relationship between the discourses.

Moreover, discourse analysis, if to prove meaningful must consider the context in which the discourse was produced and found. Fairclough (1995) suggests three dimensions of context: the text itself, surrounded by the sender and receiver or speaker and audience, encompassed by the setting or location in both space and time, both when the text was found and when it was produced. The next circle is the institution and finally society in general. Context is particularly important to this thesis due to its consideration of socially constructed feminine identities, which are context dependent (Mohanty, 1991). The (re)presentations are used to entice UK-based tourists, and it is suggested that both the Tunisian and UK contexts will influence the discourses hidden within (re)presentations.

In summary, the analysis of the different and separate data sets included several steps. The first step was to perform a content analysis focussed on the images found in the brochures and websites. The second step in the analysis (following Santos, Belhassen & Caton, 2008) was to focus on statements within each of the three datasets, and then groups of statements within each and across all of the datasets, and finally the relationships between those and events of ‘another kind’. The final focus on the relationship between the statements, groups of statements and events of ‘another kind’ meant drawing on the particular contexts of each of the three datasets, which is why the chapter directly preceding the analyses developed in chapters six and seven is focussed on a critical appraisal of Tunisia, its history, tourism and their relationship with the discursive construction of Tunisian femininities (see chapter 5).

Assessing quality and limitations of CDA

The point of social sciences is not to get it right but to challenge guiding

assumptions, fixed meanings and relations (Alvesson & Deetz, 2006: 272)

CDA studies do not follow concerns of validity or generalisability but are motivated by trustworthiness, credibility and plausibility (Tribe, 2008). These concerns are built on the understanding that there is no 'correct answer' since discourse analysis discards the conception of objective interpretation (Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b). Similarly, constructionists consider that the relationship between the knower (researcher) and the known (findings) shapes understanding, and perspectives so that meaning will vary, which means that options for generalisability are minimal (Hollinshead, 2006). This acknowledgement has become one of the major criticisms of discourse analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2009), and is accepted by the current project, which acknowledges that:

In analysing any form of discourse materials, researchers' subjectivity cannot be eliminated. This does not discount the utility of discourse analysis as a research approach. In fact, there is no purely objective research. (Huang, 2011: 1190)

The project attempts to include not only researcher reflections on choices of interpretations (see reflexivity and analysis chapters six and seven) but also the presentation of raw data in order for the reader of the thesis to examine the conclusions reached. It has been noted that one method of treating the subjectivity of CDA is the inclusion of both audience and author or producer (Machin & Mayr, 2012), as:

the interpreters are not the initial producer of the discourse analyzed, and the analysis just goes through the analyzers' self-positioned lens of analysis without consulting either the producer or the subjects the producer intends to present in the video, the propositions are rooted in the authors. (Huang, 2011: 1189)

In order to address this observation, the publicity manager from TNTO was interviewed as a representative of the organisation that created the brochures and website. Photo elicitation was also carried out with the participants in order to explore their own interpretations. Photo elicitation can also gain an insight into different readings of the pictorial images used in the brochures, as whilst it is acknowledged that messages are polysemic, it is also thought that there are often several prominent readings to a text (Hall, 1973) (see chapter two). The postcolonial feminist approach demands a more ethical assessment, one which considers the consequence of the production of knowledge; it is the concern that differentiates postcolonial feminist approaches from most (even critical) qualitative research (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2012). Therefore, the reader of this research should judge its trustworthiness, its credibility and its plausibility as well as the ethics of the overall research project.

I feel that the primary limitation of this project lies in the data collection methods. A key issue has been negotiating my position within the research and within a critical constructionist paradigm, which at times has obscured the 'right' action as a researcher (considered further in the ethical considerations section). More participative methods could have helped me to negotiate my position from both a postcolonial feminist perspective and in meeting the critical aims of the study. Participative methods aim to integrate participants and by doing this I could have rebalanced the power relationship between myself and the participants (Wicks, Reason & Bradbury, 2008). However, the instability in Tunisia at the time of carrying out the fieldwork has meant that this was not possible.

Ethical Considerations

Issues of ethical behaviour permeate the research process; they are based on researcher responsibility towards the methods of research, the readers, participants and 'truths' (Ryan, 2005). This section reflexively recounts and considers ethical issues arising throughout the research, from its conception through to the writing-up. From my initial desire to carry out this research through to completion, many of my ideas have changed, but one element that has remained in the research methodology is the voice of Tunisian women, ultimately founded on an ethical stance. I consider deconstructive methods of analysing brochures and publicity materials as often prohibiting the voice and opinion of those found within their pages (Ryan, 2005). Moreover, without gaining the opinions of Tunisian women, I might have been in danger of 'replicating whiteness' (Olesen, 2011: 129), silencing and imposing my own views and discursive background on Others. However, the inclusion of a Tunisian voice is not unproblematic and leads to a further ethical dilemma, the dilemma of (re)presentation (Olesen, 2011).

England (1994) asked if as researchers we can ever incorporate other voices without colonising? As fieldwork often situates the researcher within a strict hierarchical relationship creating a situation whereby the 'true' voice of the researched is unheard (Aitchison, 2005b; Naples & Gurr, 2013). Yet, there is a long history of fieldwork within feminist research (Buch & Staller, 2013), which is concerned with issues of ethics. It is believed that by creating reflexive research the author can attempt to consider their position of power in the re-telling of lived experiences (Aitchison, 2005a). This consideration has led me to refute a hermeneutic analysis, as layer upon layer of interpretation arguably only yields more interpretation (Mills, 1993) and also risks of concealing the participants' voices. Hermeneutic analysis is often considered an element of CDA and qualitative research, which can mean a potential contradiction is in the efforts of CDA to 'give people a voice', and through analysis also take it away again

(Widdicomb, 1995).

England (1994) critiques methods of negotiating the dilemma of (re)presentation, such as member checks, where participants feedback on texts produced by the researcher, or the use of long quotes in an attempt to 'give voice' to participants. England (1994) argues that the researcher remains in control of what is asked, what is said and who says it. Reflexivity can make us more aware of asymmetrical relationships, attempting to account for interpretation, but it cannot remove them. Moreover, Miraftab (2004) problematises the hierarchical relationship between researcher and researched, warning against the conceiving of research participants as powerless, noting how feminist writers have tended to position their participants as passive entities. Nevertheless, it is the researcher who predominantly retains power over the (re)presentation of research Others (Spivak, 1988).

Prior to beginning, the research ethical clearance was sought from the university advisory board, which meant pre-empting potential problems. Yet, whilst research may meet ethical protocols set out by ethics committees it may not meet an 'ethics of mutuality'. Ethical protocols set out by committees are often done so considering a positivist framework focussing on informed consent, deceit, privacy and accuracy (Ryan, 2005). Before carrying out interviews I sought ethical clearance, delineating my plans to gain informed consent. However, once I arrived in Tunisia this process of gaining written informed consent became a barrier to rapport and the research in general. Due to last minute changes to my research plans, I was unable to translate the standard informed consent form and as such in the first interview I had the interpreter translate the form, which was met with doubt. The participant in this context could not understand why she was being asked to sign (what she thought was) an official form and potentially worried that I might use this to her detriment. This situation led me to see that ethical principles should be founded on actual situations of context, relationships and issues of power in a reflexive manner (Bell, 2014).

After the first interview we (myself and the interpreter) utilised 'process consent' (Olesen, 2011), we explained the purpose of the research, both the interpreter and my role, privacy issues, approximate timing and the questions before beginning. At several points in the interviews we confirmed with the participants their desire to continue. My own role as researcher and the power dynamics between myself and the participants became a source of discontent, at the time of the interviews I was reading 'Hopeful

Tourism' (Pritchard, Morgan & Ateljevic, 2011) which focusses on the transformative and reciprocity of research. At the end of the second interview, the interpreter sought permission from the participant to take a photo of myself and the participant. Whilst the participant agreed orally, her image potentially shows her uneasiness and when I viewed the image, my position of privilege (see chapter 3) became clear. I find the concept of privilege problematic, and throughout the research, I felt varying degrees of privilege. Yet, for the rest of the interviews, this image became the impetus to act 'ethically on important research moments' (Olesen, 2011), which belonged in the relationships between the participants and myself. This demanded I become more self-aware and I believe became a transformative moment, but only for myself.

The notion of transformation (Pritchard, Morgan & Ateljevic, 2011) is contentious, one I felt I had to deal with. Working within a critical constructionist paradigm, guided by feminist thought and striving to meet the tenets of Hopeful Tourism, returning some value to the group became a desired outcome (Ryan, 2005). Yet, it also posed a problem, at the end of some of the interviews participants' sought my opinion on various aspects of Tunisian life, sometimes it was simply concerning the return of tourists after the recent terrorist attacks, but many women asked for my opinion on the situation of women in Tunisia (see also section: Becoming a critical discourse analyst).

As can be seen from the analyses provided in chapters six and seven, many of the participants engaged in Othering women who chose to cover (some consciously believing that this process of Othering was wrong), something that I believe to be wrong. At the time I did not know how to react when Nour asked me what I thought, so I discussed how I believed what she had said to be a discourse utilised by Bourguiba for political reasons to some extent. When Hela asked my opinion I kept quiet saying I did not know yet. I felt tied between constructionism, critical theory, and the feminist literature, trying to decide if I should or should not say something. My responses were also tied to the interviews, dependant on what the participant had said and the level of rapport – or even friendship. I remain uncertain about the 'right' thing to do, as do other researchers (Caton, 2013), as I also do not have the answers and cannot tell anybody how to live (Spivak, 1988).

Reflecting on this theme, I feel that my research would have been better positioned to meet the ideological aims of critical theory and the tenets of Hopeful Tourism and feminist research, in general, had it been more participative. By integrating participants

throughout the research participative methods can equalise power imbalances between the researcher and their subjects (Wicks, Reason & Bradbury, 2008), in many ways the issue of the ‘right thing to do’ can be shifted from researcher to the research group. This could be desirable as the research participants have local insights that the researcher is not privy to, but also because ethical moments can be reflected upon as a group.

Before starting the interviews I carried out an initial pilot interview with Eliana in English, we did this in order to check the sensitivity of the questions. It was also important Eliana understood that the interviews should be structured around the participants speaking. It was important we tried to avoid imposing our own beliefs or assumptions regarding gender and or gender equality, issues of ethical relativism (Freysinger et al., 2013), which is why the interviews were semi-structured and included photo elicitation. The research participants decided where the interviews would take place in order to ensure they were comfortable, even though this often meant that interviews were carried out in noisy environments and even led to some group interviews, where a participant wanted to be interviewed with a friend.

When I reflect on the ethics of this work considering the ethical protocols set out by committees, focussing on informed consent, deceit, privacy and accuracy (Ryan, 2005), I am certain the research would be considered ethical. Informed consent was sought before each interview (verbally), the aims of the research were explained so as not to deceive participants, participants have been anonymised and their data stored in a password encrypted device offline, and I have tried to portray their words faithfully and accurately. However, there are still some moments that prey on my mind, such as choosing to include comments that were spoken in Arabic and not intended for me (see section: Eliana, and insiders/outside). The comment highlights how tourism researchers can gain additional data by working alongside an interpreter, but whether or not it is ethical to include it, I am not sure. The act of questioning our behaviour and acknowledging that we do not always know is more important than always having the right answer.

Reflexivity

The banality of intellectuals’ lists of self-knowing, politically canny subalterns stands revealed; representing them, the intellectuals represent themselves as transparent’ (Spivak, 1988: 70)

The academic field of tourism has often neglected to acknowledge the role of the

researcher in constructing the research (Ren et al., 2010), but the researcher is the key tool and designer of the research as a whole. Independent of epistemological leanings or approaches to research, be they qualitative or quantitative, there is no value-free knowledge (Huang, 2011). All research is influenced, be it by the institution where this is carried out, funding, previous literature or ideological stances, and if those influences are made explicit the research may be more credible and potentially more ethical. Reflexivity has evolved through debate on these precise topics, (re)presentation and objectivity (Feighery, 2006).

The use of reflexivity is demanded by feminist research, CDA, and constructionism (as discussed previously), in order to question our own subjectivity in seeking objectivity (Jordan & Aitchison, 2008). Being reflexive demands the acknowledgement that a scholar does not speak for or (re)present the group of participants it is studying and perhaps the realisation that descriptions of positionality may never suffice (Spivak, 1988); after all the researcher is in control of interpreting somebody else's experience and discourse (Gill, 1995). Positionality is the term used to encompass the different positions we occupy in the field and how these influence both 'how and which narratives can be produced' (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2012:56). Whilst, the power of the researcher over research participants has been considered asymmetrical (Higgins-Desbiolles & Whyte, 2013), participants are not passive in the research process (Ryan, 2005). The different positions we occupy are built upon or constructed out of a gendered body, dependent upon the situation, giving way to the notion of multiple selves (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2012)

Being reflexive demands a consideration of the assumptions a researcher holds, and yet one of the most difficult ideologies to analyse is one's own (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Everything surrounding a western scholar belongs to the debate of Othering and the constitution of a western identity (Spivak, 1988). It has been said that 'the intellectual is complicit in the persistent constitution of Other as the Self's shadow' (Spivak, 1988: 75), this complicity demands criticality in order to become self-aware and responsive to bias. The researcher must impose criticality at every level of research and consider that 'Naming oneself critical only implies specific ethical standards: an intention to make their position, research interests and values explicit and their criteria as transparent as possible' (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 7). In addition, all researchers have been socialised in gendered identities and differences (Lazar & Kramarae, 2011). These issues call for reflection on influences and choices, reflexivity should make the researcher accountable

for their interpretations (Gill, 1995), and also ‘make their own positions and interests explicit while retaining their respective scientific methodologies and while remaining self-reflective of their own research process.’ (Wodak & Meyer 2009: 3).

Therefore, whilst I have aimed to be reflexive throughout the research, this section is dedicated to the articulation and exploration of my assumptions, positions and beliefs and those factors which I believe have shaped the research process. In the following paragraphs, I chart some of the key arguments concerning positionality, which is temporal, situational and relational. In order to describe and analyse the positions of both Eliana and myself I firstly consider insider/outsider positions, which at their most simplistic may be conceived as local/foreigner, but later drawing on the experience of the fieldwork I problematise these naive notions. I draw on the temporal context of the research to highlight how participants’ may have been influenced to participate, but also how this may have shaped both their responses to my questions and their positioning of me as ‘friendly outsider’. I then analyse the processes of recruitment or gaining access and, drawing on extracts from the interview transcripts, the generation of data. I consider these topics as I believe they shape the creation of knowledge contained in this thesis, as I acknowledge if the participants had been different, if the context had been different, if I had worked with a different interpreter, if I myself had been different then the answers found within this thesis would also be different. Moreover, by acknowledging the partiality of my interpretation I hope to address the asymmetrical power relations within the research (England, 1994), which have been the source of postcolonial feminist critiques, but which may stifle Western feminists who feel they cannot say anything about the Other even if they are sympathetic the Others cause (Peake, 1993).

Positionality and Insider/Outsider Positions

Positionality is used to describe the point where our own agency in social positioning meets social positioning by others in relation to a variety of social categories, such as gender, ethnicity, nationality, class (Anthias, 2008). The analysis of positionality is no easy task, it is in fact arguably impossible, especially when understanding identity as relational and performed ‘through mutually constitutive social relations, and it is the implications of this relational understanding of position that make the vision of a transparently knowable self and world impossible’ (Rose, 1997: 314). ‘Positionality is thus determined by where one stands in relation to ‘the other’’ (Merriam, Johnson-Bailey, Lee, Lee, Ntseane, & Muhamad, 2001, p. 411). The term positionality must be

conceived as more than the researcher's notion of self-identity to include their positioning by research others (Chereni, 2014). A further problem is the acceptance that power of the researcher is often delineated by the participant (Ryan, 2005), as the different positions we occupy are seen and understood in diverging ways dependent upon the situation, giving way to the notion of multiple selves (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2012). That is not to say that there is no material or discursive power in play, but that interpretations vary and the researcher is not alone in constructing relations of power (Rose, 1997). In fact, all positions that the researcher may hold are temporal, situated, relational, and intersectional (Fisher, 2015). Therefore, the position of the researcher is not a previously decided upon defined category, the research self is co-created in the process of the research.

Following Butler (1998, 1990) the self and all of its intersecting identities can be conceptualised as performance and within the research process, all actors are intimately involved in the process of (re)making each other (Rose, 1997). Therefore, positionality is a complex performative process of positioning, not entirely in the researcher's hands. Reflexive analyses of positionality complicate with the introduction of research others and intermediaries, but even without those Others, as Rose (1997) has argued the researcher's reflection is not a transparent reflection of positioning.

England (1994) suggests that biography and positionality influence the creation of knowledge in two ways:

different personal characteristics (be it that I am a white, straight English woman living in Canada or that I don't have a flair for quantitative methods) allow for certain insights, and as a consequence some researchers grasp some phenomena more easily and better than others.(...) At the same time, the everyday lives of the researched are doubly mediated by our presence and their response to our presence.

Terms for summarising positionality have traditionally been etic/emic, which have evolved to be considered as insider/outsider. Feminist scholars have been at the forefront of debates on etic and emic researchers and how characteristics influence research activity (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). Notions of etic and emic researchers in qualitative research have evolved to become known as insiders and outsiders (Chereni, 2014). The terms 'insiders' and 'outsiders' may reflect Bao, Chen & Ma's (2014) two categories of tourism researchers concerned with China: foreigners who research in and/or about another culture, and local researchers investigating their own culture either residing there or overseas. However, these categorisations are too simplistic when considering the variety of positions a researcher can take and identities they can form. For Anthias (2008: 8) the insider/outsider categories depend on Identity, which

‘involves individual and collective narratives of self and other, presentation and labelling, myths of origin and myths of destiny with associated strategies and identifications’ and belonging, which ‘on the other hand is more about experiences of being part of the social fabric and the ways in which social bonds and ties are manifested in practices, experiences and emotions of inclusion.’

The intersections between different social categories necessarily complicate notions of identity and belonging, in that categories such as ethnicity, gender or class cannot be taken in isolation. These intersections demand the consideration that a researcher may never be a complete insider or a complete outsider (Chereni, 2014). Insider and outsider status are entwined with notions of identity and belonging as highlighted by Anthias (2008), concepts which are constructed in part by what one is not and where one does not belong or that which is ‘other’. Debates on ‘otherness’ extend notions of classed ‘other’ to include various types, regarding the research process, Fawcett and Hearn (2004) acknowledge that to some extent all subjects/objects of research differ to the researcher and are therefore Other. Insider/outsider positions are far more complex and fluid than the dichotomous terminology expresses, far more than simple foreign/local binaries. Yet, the ability of the outsider researcher has been questioned due to the researcher lacking understanding of and access to the ‘sub universe’ of the participants and their experience of oppression (Anthias, 2008; Berger & Luckman, 1966; Chereni, 2014).

However, being an outsider can also have its benefits. Miraftab (2004) notes how Mexican women confided in her as they trusted their accounts would not be circulated in their communities. Jobbins (2004) experienced a similar situation in Tunisia, where responses were shaped by trust, participants responded differently to local insider interpreters depending on where they positioned them politically. Yet when it comes to the researcher self, there are many and in order to be truly reflexive, we must include the whole self. Crang’s (2003: 496) call for a move from work that “divides positionality formulaically into being insiders (good but impossible) and outsiders (bad but inevitable)” simultaneously summarises assumptions on insider/outsider positions within tourism research and calls for the inclusion of whole selves. Highlighting how participants situate the researcher, Miraftab (2004) notes that both engagements in the interview process and participant questioning show their active engagement in the field dynamics. Moreover, participants use ‘our’ or ‘us’ in order to show similarities between the researcher and themselves.

My Background

I am a woman, but whilst I have lived in Tunisia for a period of six months in 2012, I am not Tunisian and have only a basic level of Tunisian Arabic. Therefore, I consider myself an outsider in the Tunisian context and in the interviews, my participants never used 'us' or 'our' to suggest they considered us similar, but they did ask me questions (Miraftab, 2004). Reflecting on the participants' questions, whilst these questions show their engagement in field dynamics, I believe that they questioned me out of preoccupation for the situation of tourism in Tunisia. As previously stated, my responses to their questions were shaped by the rapport created in the interview and an uncertainty of how I should behave, caught between constructionism and critical theory. My uncertainty in response can also be related to the rising Islamophobia which is prominent in the media in the UK (Wodak & Meyer, 2009), or a lack of experience carrying out this type of research (England, 1994).

I describe myself as working class, neither of my parents has attended university, but I did attend a grammar school. My academic background is, in reverse chronological order: GCSEs at Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, vocational qualification from my time as a holiday rep, a certificate in teaching English as a foreign language, a BA in international tourism management at Middlesex University, and now studying for this PhD at Middlesex University. I feel this is important to the thesis because in a way I began almost blind to gender studies, feminism, and research methods. Had I have been more aware, I may have chosen to study something completely different. At Middlesex, my undergraduate degree was heavily skewed towards the social sciences as oppose to business, even though tourism now belongs to the business school. This undoubtedly influenced the research, as I viewed tourism as a particular social phenomenon.

My desire to focus on Tunisian women comes from my time living in Tunisia, where I observed differences in the status and identity of women residing in tourist areas and non-tourist areas. Moreover, when I lived in Sfax, Tunisia, I was very nearly assaulted on two occasions: once during the evening a taxi driver took me to his house instead of taking me home, and on a second occasion I was followed into the stairwell of my apartment block by a man who tried to corner me and touch me aggressively. When I spoke about these occasions to my manager or Tunisian friends, I was told it was my own fault for being out at night by myself. For me, this is not an acceptable response and this shaped my position towards my undergraduate dissertation (also on Tunisia),

where I believed that tourism was helping Tunisian men and women to 'modernise' (and this was good), but that Tunisian women remained a second-class citizen. When I began my PhD my views remained the same, but delving into the postcolonial feminist literature, this changed and I began to worry about what I could say and where my own assumptions originated from.

I am far more wary of my own potential ethnocentrism now, but my own assumptions remain almost hidden from myself, and as I write this section attempting to 'confess' I wonder how transparent my writing is when I remain uncertain about so much (Rose, 1997). I am unsure how much of my interpretation is shaped by the literature and how much is shaped by my own self-consciousness as I worry about my own role in Othering women who do not fit the 'modern' ideal. During the fieldwork, my self-consciousness shaped the questions that I had decided on. I consciously decided not to ask about veiling practices in Tunisia, as I believed this to be a very Western preoccupation. I felt ashamed at my own thoughts and assumptions and constantly worried about where they came from, perhaps my shame allowed for 'postcolonial potentialities' (Tucker, 2009: 448). As while I did not ask about veiling practices the participants discussed them, if I had have asked then it might have been understood as a colonial imposition. My participants discussed these practices without being questioned, they quite freely told me about differences in dress in different regions, or how tourists were surprised that they did not cover. The only time that I influenced the topic of veiling was after the initial questions when I showed the pictures and one of the pictures had a woman wearing a hijab in the background.

Eliana, and Insiders/Outsiders

When I arrived in Tunisia and Imed (a previous manager) introduced me to Eliana (the prospective interpreter), I have to acknowledge that I was particularly fixated with her modest dress and head scarf. I began to wonder how this young woman would be able to travel around the country with me on public transport and spend nights with me in hotels away from the family home. After a short chat, Eliana told me that she would call me to confirm the next day and I honestly did not expect her to call because I believed her family would not allow her to take part in the project. Eliana surprised me and the next day we were seated on a full, ramshackle train out of Sfax like a pair of sardines laughing to one another as Eliana confessed that she had never been on a train. At the time of the interviews, Eliana was a 21-year-old English civilisation student from a middle-class conservative family.

Eliana's collaboration not only made the research possible but also trashed any assumptions I had about conservative women, deepening my own shame at having these assumptions in the first place. Whilst, I previously stated that the participants situated me as outsider quite easily never drawing on commonalities, none of the participants drew on commonalities with Eliana either. This may have been because I was there, but it could also be because there simply were few commonalities. Eliana comes from a different region to all of the participants, she wore a hijab when many of the participants did not, she was educated when some of the participants were not, she was single when most of the participants were married, and the list of differences could go on. Interestingly, whilst most of the participants did not draw on commonalities, one participant did position Eliana as an accomplice or a compadre. Safa, who worked at a visitor attraction in the holy city of Kairouan and who wore a hijab, told Eliana not to translate some of her comments:

Safa to Interpreter: Don't say that I said 'No, she's not Tunisian because Tunisian women don't behave like that...' they behave like any European... they can behave like any European woman or like traditional woman... a traditional woman

Perhaps Safa had changed her mind after making a comment, or perhaps she thought as an outsider I would not understand, perhaps she wanted to tell me what she thought I wanted to hear as a tourist. I am only aware of this because the interview was later transcribed by the English teachers, Eliana did not tell me what Safa had said, and in some ways, I feel uneasy knowing something that Safa did not want me to know, and even more uneasy using her thoughts in the research. However, this one example highlights the nuances of both Eliana's and my positionalities, I think it is important as it evidences the partiality of the knowledge. Eliana's position and my position shaped access and conversation, and when we were together a complex nexus of positionality was created.

Context

On March the 18th, 2015 there was a terrorist attack in the capital of Tunisia, Tunis. The attack at the Bardo Museum appeared to be aimed at tourists and whilst it received messages of solidarity on social networks, it devastated the local population. At this time I had my trip to Tunisia booked and planned, I was to arrive in Sousse on the first of April, just two weeks later. Deciding whether or not to continue with my trip was particularly difficult, having previously lived in Tunisia and spurred on by the messages of hope in the social media, I really felt that if I did not go I would be disappointing my

friends and the country in some way. With just days to go, I decided to travel, but I also decided that I would try to carry out as many interviews as possible (this trip had not been planned as a data collection trip), as I was not sure I would be able to go back.

The timing of the trip I believe contributed to the participants positioning me as not just an outsider, but a friendly outsider. As whilst I was always viewed as an ‘outsider’, at that particular time this meant participants felt, in their own words, ‘solidarity’ with me precisely due to my position as an ‘outsider’, not because I was a woman, or white. This solidarity, I believe comes from the social media campaign #iwillcometotunisia, which followed the attack, and gave my relationship with the participants a depth and level of trust, which would not have been there otherwise. Having said that, I do not feel I could have asked the same questions if I had been male, or if my interpreter had been male, due to the cultural context. Even though difference (of gender) may create a lens which sees past what is normalised (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2009), in this case, I feel a difference in gender would have been a barrier to access and rapport.

This situation also influences my (re)presentation the participants’ interviews, as I feel a level of responsibility towards them and their words (for more on this see ethics section), in many ways I also want to portray Tunisia in a positive light. I believe my status as ‘tourist’ just after the Bardo attack in March 2015 also became an area that we bonded over as well as conditioning the interviews. Tourism forms a large part of the Tunisian GDP and the participants wanted to make me feel safe and welcome. I had originally planned to travel to Tunisia three times, the first a scoping trip (to see how feasible the research would be), the second was to be a pilot run (to meet my chosen interpreter and run through the questions with acquaintances in order to check their sensitivity and comprehension), and finally the third trip was to be concerned with the data collection (this trip never occurred).

The Generation of Data and Interpretation

Eliana did not only influence access to participants (see *Interviews* section), or what the participants said as examined previously in this section, but also the actual interviews as an interpreter. The subsequent extract from one of the interviews demonstrates how much I understood during the interview (in bold) (the interviews were later translated and transcribed by two translators in Tunisia, independently of Eliana). This extract is a good example of a loaded interpretation. I had originally asked who is in control of the household finances.

Eliana: Do they (wife and husband) help each other? Or, is the woman the one who is in charge of the family's finances?

woman: When she has (for example) 8 children, she helps. She gets up at dawn for the morning prayer... she gets up at four or five in the morning...

Man: she is, like we say, a jack of all trades... she weaves carpets, she goes shopping, she cooks lunch (then) she goes back to work...

woman: I have already told you... this is how we work (i.e. live)... we work... we continue working...

Man: Her husband is a mason, one day he finds work, and then nothing for ten days...

woman: There are women whose husbands are unemployed... completely (i.e. never work)... I have a workshop full of women (i.e. who are now working, and whom you can meet) but it is a bit far for you.

Eliana: Her husband is unemployed, so she has to... to work for their, for her children *many people speaking together at the same time* the man can work, he can buy some things, sometimes he cannot, so...

Heather: **But who's...? when...? when...?**

Eliana: I SAID there is no difference between men and women...

The extract highlights how in the moment of interpretation Eliana's background, emotions and the situation shaped the answers given to me. The conversation clearly shows that there is a difference between the woman and her husband, regardless of control over household finances, but Eliana's interpretation contradicts this. This may have been because Eliana herself wanted to portray Tunisia as a 'modern' country, or it might be because she was tired of this conversation (the translators later informed me that often the participants responses were grammatically incorrect), or simply because it was lunch time, or that she felt uncomfortable in the situation.

There were further instances where Eliana influenced the interpretation by including her own judgement, for example when one participant discussed politics, Eliana sarcastically interpreted:

Eliana: This is great. She thinks that Ben Ali has just... stolen the..er.. rich people... not the poor

Sometimes there were complete misinterpretations, in a group interview a participant said that they were sad due to the recent terrorist attack, but Eliana added that the participants were not terrorists (I still do not understand why!):

Eliana: They said they are sad because of the past events of 'Bardo'... the tourists

who were killed there, they are innocent, they have no relation to terrorists.

However, these misinterpretations were sometimes simply because of skills (simultaneous interpretation is not easy):

Heather: ... and what do the men do?

Eliana: what do the men like?

When the translators transcribed and translated the interviews they called me regularly to (angrily) discuss misinterpretations, but I believe that these misinterpretations are as interesting as the participants' responses. Eliana's understanding of the situation displayed in her interpretations adds an extra dimension to the research. Eliana was present for nine of the interviews and seven of those were conducted in Arabic, in the two interviews in English the participants' answers were short. I encouraged both participants' to speak in Arabic, but they chose to do it in English, one of the participants was a receptionist and the other a hotel manager. I believe that both felt self-conscious (in Eliana's presence) about their language abilities, which were very good, but they regularly asked Eliana for a word here or there and were quieter than when I had previously spoken to them (alone).

The interviews carried out in English, without Eliana, were both the richest and longest in length. These interviews were the interviews where I felt able to take on the role of supplicant, but this is also due to the positionalities of the participants. The participants had all attended university, they spoke English fluently, one of them had previously visited England, and none of them dressed 'modestly' (cover full arms/legs in a loose fashion). Here is where I felt closest to my participants and most able to create rapport, here whilst I was still positioned as an outsider, the participants drew on their own 'Mediterranean' identity, simultaneously suggesting some similarity with myself and difference to those who chose to dress 'modestly'. Arguably, and as will hopefully become clear from chapters five, six and seven, this rapport was created out of a very unethical discourse which excludes those who choose to dress modestly. Yet, the rapport was arduous when the participants did not speak English, which perhaps highlights how rapport can become a challenge for feminist research (Reinharz, 1993). Rapport is desirable for feminist researchers in the research project, but it might have negative consequences – inadvertently legitimising a discourse counterproductive to feminist ideals.

Notions of insider/outsider positionalities depend on far more than nationality, as whilst

Eliana was Tunisian there were many factors dividing her from the participants, such as dress, education, class, etc. Moreover, the experience reflexively analysed in this section is particularly antithetical to the traditional notions of ‘outsider bad/insider good’. As an ‘outsider’, participants were willing to talk to me, I know this as I was always present at the time of the interview. However, they were not always willing to talk to Eliana the ‘insider’ (see *Interviews* section). It is clear that the traditional categories of insider and outsider and their associations with good and bad are too simplistic. Ultimately I believe that the interviews I carried out alone and those with Eliana did not yield better knowledge but different knowledge, and perhaps another layer of knowledge. The temporal context has also shaped access and the conversations or data generation from the interviews, visiting so soon after the Bardo Museum terrorist attack positioned me as ‘friendly outsider’ in solidarity with Tunisia. If I were to carry out the interviews again, now, with a different interpreter, I am sure that I would not receive the same answers.

On Being a Critical Discourse Analyst

One of the aims of this section has been to make the conclusions that I come to in this thesis retroductable in line with critical discourse analysis (Wodak, 2001). I have not found it easy to perform this type of research, as meaning is cognitive it cannot be found within the pages of the brochures and I cannot press Ctrl F in the transcripts of the interviews. This has meant that my work is interpretive (as much scholarly work is). The problem with interpretation is that my perspective might not be ‘right’ (O’Regan, 2006). Critical discourse analysts have also been critiqued for analysing data with their own agendas in mind (Widdowson, 1990), but other scholars have utilised CDA in order to overcome the ethical issues inherent in ideological work (see chapter three) (Hermes, 2000). These scholars have dealt with these ethical criticisms by modifying their own political position in accord with what their participants have told them (Matheson, 2008).

My own assumptions regarding the status of Tunisian women have shifted dramatically since my first trip to Tunisia in 2012. When I began this thesis, I truly believed that tourism was a force for female empowerment and gender equality in Tunisia. Perhaps I would be forgiven for thinking this, as this perspective would appear to agree with the statistics. It was not until I began to question my own assumptions on what empowerment was and what an empowered woman might look like that I realised I might have been influenced by Western Islamophobic discourses. This occurred to me before visiting Tunisia to carry out the interviews and as I began formulating questions,

consciously omitting dress, but it was the one element that all of the participants wanted to discuss.

Moreover, Eliana's ability to travel and stay with me alone during the project challenged any preconception I had held about 'conservative Tunisian women'. My political position was modified (Matheson, 2008) from viewing tourism as good and all Tunisian women as subordinate (but empowered 'for the region'), to viewing the phenomena from a more critical perspective. I began to build an understanding of intersectional identities and the political use of tourism. I feel that this is where the 'right' answer has emerged, from this intersectional space. As I argue in chapter five, women and men are not all equal in Tunisia, but neither are all women equal. My political stance is one of solidarity with the women who have been denigrated by the past regimes in Tunisia, and what tells me that this is 'right' is that many of the participants choose the same stance (see section Miss Representation in chapter seven). Yet, these challenges have caused a crisis in my own thoughts, as I struggle to reconcile postcolonial feminism without being culturally relativist when it comes to women's rights. I attempt to be honest, but my honesty is undoubtedly shaped by what I think is right, challenging the notion that transparent reflexivity is an option or indeed even possible (Rose, 1997).

Conclusion

This chapter has considered the philosophical underpinnings of the research, which are associated with beliefs held by the researcher. It is important to address questions related to the philosophy of research as well as the positionality of the researcher as they influence the research, from its conception through to the analysis and (re)presentation of data. At the start of the chapter, I situate myself and the research within critical constructionism, and describe the conflict this creates when carrying out interviews. I found it difficult to reconcile a desire to state my own beliefs when participants asked and a desire to respect their own opinions without interfering, but ultimately my responses were shaped by both the participants' position regarding women in Tunisia and the rapport created within the interviews.

The data and the methods used to collect them are detailed, before introducing CDA as both a theoretical perspective and method of analysis. Whilst, there is no CDA way to analyse data, this chapter has described some of the possibilities, which were discarded either because of a deductive approach or because of their focus on linguistic elements. The analytical method utilised by tourism researchers Santos, Belhassen & Caton (2008)

was deemed most useful, as it allows the consideration of both linguistic and non-linguistic discourse, but here has been coupled with a content analysis of the images in the first data set and an in-depth consideration of context. The objective of CDA studies to provide a retroductable or transparent interpretation of the data, coupled with an understanding of the researcher's position within the study, has led to a more reflexive account of data collection methods.

I then delineate some of the ethical considerations I came across whilst carrying out the research, drawing heavily on ideas brought to the fore by postcolonial feminists. These ideas have also influenced what I view as the limitations of the study, which are also related to the situation of instability in Tunisia at the time of carrying out the interviews. It is thought that more participative research methods could have aided in the reconciliation of the issues emerging from the critical constructionist paradigm. This account is later followed by a reflexive analysis of my own position regarding the research and collaboration, where I problematise the notions of insider/outsider researchers and (re)position myself as 'friendly outsider' as I believe I was positioned by the participants.

5 Tunisia

A small country on the north coast of Africa, Tunisia's population was 10.89 million people in 2013 (World Bank, 2016) and yet political instability since 2010 and the beginning of the Arab Spring/Jasmine Revolution has attracted heightened media interest. The previous regimes of autocratic rulers Presidents Habib Bourguiba (1956-1987) and Zine el Abidine Ben Ali (1987-2011) had ensured a similar narrative enveloped the country since gaining independence from France in 1956. This narrative simultaneously focussed on women's rights and tourism in order to attack traditional society, and garner support for the regime both internally and externally. This has led to weakened opposition and even support from the West, which viewed the regimes as 'liberal' (Dalmasso & Cavatorta, 2010). Even some scholars described the early 1990s under the dictator Ben Ali as invoking a liberal atmosphere (Sinha, 2011). However, this chapter argues that from 1956 until 2010 Tunisia was not liberal, it was a country carefully controlled as were women's rights. Ultimately this context has created two groups - the 'in' (secular) group and the 'out' (religious) group, which are simultaneously entwined and implicated in human rights violations.

As argued in chapters two, three and four, context is important in any analysis of gender. Realities are constructed socially and as such vary not just from participant to participant, but from society to society (Berger & Luckman, 1966). The primary argument of postcolonial feminists is that there is no such thing as a monolithic woman, and women from developing countries experience being women very differently to the Western feminists who write about them (Mohanty, 1991). As such the local must be emphasised and indigenous knowledge not only elicited but contextualised. By discussing a brief history of Tunisia, before the development of tourism in Tunisia and women's work within the industry and country, in general, this chapter hopes to provide a context for the analysis to come. In the section the *Guardians of Tradition: Tunisian Women*, the role of women since independence is discussed and the final section *in the Wake of Revolution* not only describes contemporary Tunisia but provides a context to explicitly situate the interviews carried out for this research.

Tunisia: A Brief Background

Tunisia has a long history of invasion and colonialism, the country on the North coast of Africa has been at least a temporary home to the Phoenicians, Punics, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines and more recently Ottomans and the French. However, in spite of (or maybe even to spite) the influence of diverse cultures, Islam has been a predominant source of

cultural identity since Tunisia was Arabised in the seventh century (Marshall & Stokes, 1981). Tunisia became an Ottoman province in 1574 and whilst the Ottoman Empire extended across North Africa, they remained the longest in Tunisia (Rossi, 1967). In 1881, emerging from a European power struggle and enabled by financial difficulty among the Ottoman Empire, France took Tunisia and began what would become more than a century of uninterrupted authoritarian rule (Gray & Coonan, 2013). The local elite considered the French colonialists a symbol of modernity and the same nationalism that had helped France take over the Ottoman province was reduced, only to be reignited at the beginning of the 20th century due to a popular feeling of resentment (Rossi, 1967). Future movements would eventually free Tunisians of the French:

For Tunisia, it is evident that modernity is composed of everything that came from the period of the French protectorate (...) an occidental epistemological system imposed by the coloniser (Barnard, 2013: 74)

Feelings of resentment partly stemmed from France's position towards education, which focused on colonialist children benefitting very few Tunisians especially those outside the local elite. Moreover, by the first half of the 20th century Tunisia had become a small powerhouse, arable land and foreign trade had increased by almost 400% and olive oil production had augmented three-fold, but the spoils of these developments were retained by colonialists and almost 75% of the local population lived in peasantry (Salem, 1984).

In 1907 the French chose Tunisian representation to sit on the council, but these elites were allies of the French and feared an independent Tunisia would simply not work. Furthermore, almost 13 years later a local political party was negotiated, the Destour party, between local elites and colonialists, to compromise rather than revolutionise (Rossi, 1967). A decade later, the still cherished national hero, Habib Bourguiba joined the party, but due to a lack of popularity, he decided on forming his own political regime, the Neo-Destour (Murphy, 1996). Between the 1930s and 1950s, Bourguiba became heavily involved in politics across North Africa, including heading up the Maghreb Liberation Committee in Cairo. Bourguiba's political involvement led to several arrests before the Carthage declaration of 1954 recognised Tunisian autonomy and in 1956 Tunisia was granted independence (Rossi, 1967).

Habib Bourguiba self-identified as a member of the Tunisian peasantry, but official documents and his education in Paris suggest that he originated from an upwardly mobile middle-class family. Prior to Bourguiba's French education, he attended the

Sadiki College in Tunis, a French/Arabic bilingual school which aimed to lead the local elite along a 'modernising' path of assimilation (as was the aim of all schools in the French Protectorate) (Salem, 1984). In his personal life, Bourguiba not only figuratively, but literally married himself to the French, only to divorce and re-marry a Tunisian in 1962 (Hopwood, 1992). Yet, in order to gain popularity and foment a nationalist movement, in the years prior to independence under the auspices of Neo-Destour, Bourguiba drew on the most prominent cultural identity: Islam. The future President attempted to create a '*Tunisian personalite*' distinctive to the French identity of the colonialists, and within this project, he vehemently advocated for Tunisian women to cover their hair by wearing a veil and traditional dress (Salem, 1984). In 1956 Habib Bourguiba was elected President of a newly independent Tunisia and the very next day he visited a Mosque in order to further show and solidify his 'common spiritual allegiance' (Rossi, 1967: 47) with those who would become his subjects.

Bourguiba's push to create a '*Tunisian Personalite*' centred on an Islamic identity was short lived and once elected President, Bourguiba shifted tact. Tunisia, under the rule of Bourguiba, began to weaken the constraints on women's productive freedom and public participation, in contrast to other North African territories (Marshall & Stokes, 1981). Between 1956 and 1965, seven systems of laws were introduced and three of these were focussed on the local population: 1) the Code of Personal Status, 2) the Code of Property Rights and 3) the Code of Nationality. A newly introduced 'cultural liberation' programme in part delivered by the resurrected French education system, which was now aimed at delivering lessons in morality, supported the implementation of the new legal system (Rossi, 1967). Bourguiba wanted to challenge cultural traditions he considered irrational, folkloric and pre-modern, he did this by focussing on both the family (at this time the family was based on clan like kin groups) and religion. For the most part, this focus targeted Tunisian women, and for Bourguiba:

The women of Tunisia were, as is known, for a long time victims not of the dynamic Islam that the religion was when it was founded, but of an Islam distorted by decadence, and also of an obscurantism which was the fruit of under-development (Bourguiba in Rossi, 1967: 120)

Belonging within the 'cultural liberation' programme lay tourism, which was far more than a mechanism to gain foreign exchange and development, it was a vehicle to instil new habits on the local population. Bourguiba was relying on tourists, as his greatest

ally, to train the local population on what it meant to be a modern citizen (Rossi, 1967). The initial impetus for tourism was very much centralised and state-led, Bourguiba and his own brand of personalism; '*Bourguibism*', was evocative and eventually led to his ability to change the constitution in 1975 allowing him to become President for life (Salem, 1984), but also spawning a political regime which would be continued until the beginning of the 21st century.

Bourguiba's 'modernising' ideology, which excluded many and incarcerated those who could not embody the '*Tunisian personalite*' was the source of his downfall, and in 1989 an Islamist uprising, his own senility and concerns over state intervention led to his replacement by President Ben Ali (Hazbun, 2008; Murphy, 1996). However, while the leadership changed, the ideology, temporarily masked, did not. During his first year in term the new President liberalised the media and released many political prisoners, but Ben Ali was to ultimately maintain Bourguiba's modernising project, continuing to focus on tourism as a tool for development and attempting to secularise the nation (Louden, 2015). Both leaders used political Islam to justify their own policies, utilising a fear of jihadism to legitimise authoritarian rule and secular policies (Dalmasso & Cavatorta, 2010; Louden, 2015). Whilst, no exact figures are available for the number of political prisoners, they are estimated to be around 12,000 and of those, the number of women could be anywhere between 300 and 1500 (Gray & Coonan, 2013). Ultimately, corruption, rising levels of youth unemployment and poverty, along with regional inequalities, culminated in the Jasmine Revolution, beginning in December 2010, and the downfall of President Ben Ali (Barnard, 2013).

Tunisia has suffered a long autocratic regime since gaining independence in 1956 and yet both Habib Bourguiba and Ben Ali achieved social and economic advances. By 2005, the per capita income had increased two and a half times that of 1975, by the year 2000 the poverty rate had reduced from 40% to 4%, and by the mid-1990s almost all children attended primary education (The World Bank/ Islamic Development Bank (ISDB), 2005). Between 1970 and 2013, infant mortality was reduced from 122.2 to 13.1, and female and male life expectancy rose from 52.3 and 50 to 76 and 71.5 respectively (World Bank, 2016). One of the most notable areas of progress has been in gender equality, in which Tunisia has been hailed as leading the MENA region by Western media (Murphy, 1996) and by the women in the MENA region (Moghadam,

2011). Gender gaps in education are low, and the gender parity index for primary and secondary enrollment changed from 0.6 in 1971 (a disparity in favour of boys) to 1.01 (a disparity in favour of girls) in 2011 (World Bank, 2016). Tourism and women's rights have been pivotal in all Tunisia's development plans (Bleasdale & Tapsell, 1999; Hazbun, 2008). The relationship between women's rights and tourism is not one of cause and effect, but mutually constitutive. Bourguiba initiated a series of attacks on the family and religion, in the shape of both tourism development and the promotion of women's rights, in order to meet a wider goal of 'modernity' (Rossi, 1967). Moreover, the West has often forgiven Tunisian leaders a multitude of sins, such as torturing their own citizens or a lack of political pluralism, democracy and freedom of expression, simply because the Islamist opposition is perceived as being far worse (Dalmaso & Cavatorta, 2010).

Tourism in Tunisia

Tourism was a popular activity among the French elite during the colonial period, forming part of their '*mission civiltrise*' which was later continued by the Tunisian elite for the same purposes (Hazbun, 2008). From 1956, under the auspices of the French-educated President Habib Bourguiba's government, tourism became a vehicle for development and as such was pivotal in all of the country's development plans (Bleasdale & Tapsell, 1999). As previously noted, tourism was one tool used by the government to attack what they considered to be sources of traditionality (e.g. family and religion) but with the added emphasis on portraying Tunisia as a forward-thinking 'friend' of Western countries (Hazbun 2008). Initially, the accommodation sector was state-led and almost entirely controlled by the National Society of Hotels and Tourism, but in 1968 a dramatic shift to privatise the sector led to 83% belonging almost entirely to the Tunisian elite, by the early 1980s this was reduced with the increase in foreign direct investment to 32% (Hazbun, 2008). Between 1956 and 1965 tourist arrivals grew from 33,000 to 200,000 (Rossi, 1967), the intense development of the tourism industry supported by the government and foreign direct investment led to Tunisia becoming one of the fastest growing tourist destinations in the world by the 1970s (Poirier, 1995).

By 1972, 68% of all hotels were non-luxury and very much standardised, this led to governmental interventions five years later to 'diversify' the tourism product. The construction of the man-made tourist village, Port El Kantaoui close to Sousse, became pivotal within this project (Hazbun, 2008). Following Port El Kantaoui's lead, Yasmine-

Hammamet was created in the 1990s and is home to some of the most luxurious hotels in Tunisia. While both Port el Kantaoui and Yasmine-Hammamet have received criticism from Western authors, describing the resorts as ‘tacky’ (Poirier, 1995), they have become welcome additions to the Tunisian landscape among the Tunisian middle class. Domestic tourism is difficult to estimate due to a lack of official statistics but, according to Mintel (2012), domestic expenditure has consistently risen since 2005, stagnating only in 2011. Nonetheless, the Tunisian tourism industry has primarily been directed towards attracting European mass, beach tourists, with much of the tourist activity concentrated in the coastal area of Hammamet-Nabeul (see figure 5.1), which in the 1990s held over 70% of hotel bed capacity (Poirier, 1995), and in 2010 approximately 90% of all bed nights were spent in coastal resorts (Office National du Tourisme Tunisien, 2010).

Figure 5-1 Map of Rural and Touristic Tunisia



Sources: map taken from Ministère de l’Industrie, 2013; Tourism statistics: Office National Du Tourisme Tunisienne, 2010; Rural statistics: institute national de la statistique, 2012

As early as the 1970s scholars forewarned that the enclavic nature of development, leading to improvements in infrastructure for the tourist zones but not for local residents, could later lead to host-guest friction (Smaoui, 1979). Enclave tourism may have its benefits in reducing social impacts such as the oft-cited demonstration effect (Fisher, 2004), but in Tunisia, during the 1990s it only succeeded ‘in making the intercultural contact transitory but does not entirely limit the impact. In many beach enclaves, European values and activities reign supreme’ Poirier (1995:204). However, Poirier’s (1995) suggestion that there may be (or at least have been) a form of European

cultural hegemony transmitted via tourists is based on the dichotomous positioning of Tunisians against Europeans, potentially underestimating cultural similarities, consistently promoted by a secular government (Hazbun, 2008). Furthermore, whilst initial beneficiaries of development may have been tourist zones, rural electrification demonstrates that this was quickly extended to other areas (Cecelski, Ounalli, Aisaa, & Dunkerley, 2005).

Under French rule, the Tunisian economy seemed promising (even if the benefits remained out of the reach of Tunisians). More recently only 3% of arable land in Tunisia is irrigated, oil and gas reserves are depleting in both quantity and economic value, and textile production is facing increasing global competition (The World Bank/ISDB, 2005). Facing (but also perhaps creating) limited possibilities for economic growth; tourism has become a leading vehicle for both development and employment. By 2006, almost a third of the working population was employed by the tourism sector (ILO, 2011). Before the political instability following 2010, it was estimated that the industry employed approximately 96,611 directly and 289,833 indirectly (Office National du Tourisme Tunisien, 2010). By 2014, the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), estimated that the tourism industry was contributing (indirectly and directly) 15.2% to Tunisia's GDP, directly employing 230,500 and indirectly 473,000 workers, or 13.9% of total employment (WTTC, 2015). Measuring tourism employment is arduous due to the nature of jobs, with some being seasonal and many belonging to the informal sector, and the count is very dependent upon the definition employed for different sectors. However, the estimations offered by the ILO (2011), the Office National du Tourisme Tunisien (2010) and the WTTC (2014) all support the notion of the importance of tourism to the Tunisian economy.

Europe has undoubtedly been the most important source of tourists for Tunisia, Europeans stay longer and spend more than any other tourists (Office National du Tourisme Tunisien, 2010; Poirier, 1995). In 2010, more than 82% of all tourist nights were spent by Europeans, and the key tourist generating countries for Tunisia were (in order of prominence) France, Germany, Britain, Italy, Russia, Belgium, and Poland (Office National du Tourisme Tunisien, 2010). Tunisia has fomented a productive relationship with the European Union: in 2005 it was responsible for 67% of capital flows into Tunisia, a large share of inbound tourists, and home to the largest community of expatriate Tunisians (The World Bank/ISDB, 2005). Nonetheless, such a dominant relationship undeniably leaves Tunisia vulnerable to external developments. The

relationship has not simply evolved organically, especially when considering tourist arrivals, which have been attracted to Tunisia in part due to heavy marketing campaigns. Historically the promotion of Tunisian tourism was organised by the Tunisian National Tourism Office (TNTO), which worked with other agencies such as Rooster in the UK (this has changed since the Jasmine Revolution). Confirming the explicit targeting of European tourists, a TNTO representative interviewed in 2015 for this research, explained that the organisation allocates on average over half of its marketing budget on Germany, the UK, Italy and France, and the rest of the budget is directed at secondary markets, mainly in Europe. Notably, while TNTO's promotional activities favour the predominant European markets, in 2011 the Middle East was one of the only regions showing growth in tourist arrivals to Tunisia (portail open data, 2016).

Women('s) Work

Even though it might appear that many rights have been granted to women in Tunisia, they still lack one fundamental right: the right to an occupation of one's choosing (Moghadam, 2011). Even though, legally, women are entitled to an occupation and discrimination is outlawed, in reality, there are many legal discriminatory mechanisms employers can utilise and gender equality is yet to permeate the home. Restrictions may exist at the recruitment stage, such as targeting only those who have completed military service (at present only men are required to complete military service), or by creating an exam that only men can sit, as is the case with 'postmen' (Chekir & Arfaoui, 2011). Female labour force participation in Tunisia although increasing from 25.4% in 1995 to 32.9% in 2009 remains low (Sinha, 2011). Divorced women constitute 41.5%, widows 10.1%, single women 34.4% and married women 18% of the female workforce. The extremely low rates of married women's work force participation are in part due to societal norms but also due to the lack of maternity protection offered to women (Chekir & Arfaoui, 2011).

There are several sectors that notably employ high numbers of women. One of these is the public sector where women form 55% of the workforce as socially sanctioned teachers and nurses with maternity protection (Karkkainen, 2010). One of the most feminised sectors is the textile sector, where 80% of the workers are women and almost 60% of contracts are temporary (ILO, 2011). However, numerical representation on the textile workforce has not translated into managerial or union positions for women and only one woman sits on the National Federation of Textiles Board (Chekir & Arfaoui, 2011). The textile industry is often supported by tourism as it creates demand for its

products, and Bleasdale (2006) has previously warned of the possibility of women's exploitation by the textile industry in Tunisia. Women who work in textiles receive no protection in cases of pregnancy and in January 2004 the Mazallat workshop of blind women workers earned just 40 dinars per month (Chekir & Arfaoui, 2011), which in 2004 was worth around US\$31.79.

In comparison to the textile industry, tourism employs relatively low numbers of women. In the hotel sector (most tourism jobs are hotel jobs in Tunisia) women comprise just 22.5% of workers, which was lower than the national average female labour force participation (26%) in 2010 (Karrkainen, 2011). Women's low participation in the hotel sector is partly due to legislation preventing them from working night shifts, but also because it is not socially acceptable for women to work with alcohol (Karrkainen, 2010). Yet, at the time of recruitment, this may also be a discriminatory ploy, as women are asked more than men if they are married or have children, for the large part veiling is also considered an impediment to working in public areas (Karrkainen, 2011). Under the previous regime, veiling was an illegal practice in public. There is also a lack of trained women as they comprise just 20% of the student body at the 10 public vocational tourism schools in Tunisia (Karrkainen, 2010). These factors have led to horizontal and vertical segregation within the industry, and approximately 70.4% women working in hotels can be found in reception and housekeeping (Karrkainen, 2011). The male dominated Tunisian tourism industry still has a long way to go if it is to support gender equality in Tunisia.

The Guardians of Tradition: Tunisian Women

President Habib Bourguiba began the specific and what was to become incessant targeting of Tunisian women by politicians. Tunisia has been revered by Western media and scholars as leading the way for gender equality in the MENA region (Megahead & Lack, 2011), which has arguably been wrongly linked to liberal values and has led to the overlooking of human rights violations (Dalmasso & Cavatorta, 2010). On the other hand, Muslim women have been the demonised face of Islam in the West, infiltrating the minds of many as an inseparable homogenous group, regardless of nationality (Gray & Coonan, 2013). It is the visibly Muslim women (those who cover, veil or wear a niqab) who become the face of Islam in Western media stories. Yet, in order to understand how Bourguiba's policies were aimed at attacking all he viewed as traditional or folkloric, it is important to understand how tradition has been borne by Tunisian women. With tradition weighing heavily on women's shoulders it is easy to

see how modernity also became a further demand of women. The penetration of European imperialism since the colonial period and the duplication of Western norms among the elite are said to have reshaped the role of women and feminine identity in Tunisia (Marshall and Stokes, 1981). Sinha (2011) has argued that the improvement in women's status in Tunisia is a consequence of kin-based social reform. Yet, arguably kin-based social reform may also be a consequence of Bourguiba's push for women's rights (Charrad, 2001) as women were the guardians of tradition - by transforming women, Bourguiba could transform society.

Yet, neither social reform nor a focus on women's rights began with Bourguiba, social reform has a long history of the Maghreb countries and is often founded in the colonisation process, which acted very differently upon countries within the region. Colonisation has been described as destroying tribal systems (kin-based families) and pan-Arabism in Tunisia, whereas these systems were only weakened in Algeria and Morocco, this has been described as an important factor in the success of modernisation (Sadiqi, 2008). Moreover, the often cited first text on women's rights in Tunisia was published in 1930 by Tahar Haddad (often entitled the first Tunisian feminist), which ultimately led to his dismissal from the religious institution *Zitouna* (Grami, 2008; Murphy, 1996).

The kin-based system has relied on women in order to achieve its goals and is arguably the source of the most visible elements associated with Islam in North Africa: the veil and the walled courtyard (Charrad, 2001). Both the veil and the courtyard can be linked to the demarcation of gendered space-the male space is outside, it is public, and men are free to wander in this space, but the woman's space is inside, it is domestic, and it is controlled (Barnard, 2013). Both the veil and the courtyard are mechanisms to control women and segregate based solely on biological sex (Murphy, 1996; Sinha, 2011) in order to ensure the honour of the kin group, which is dependent on the behaviour of the women who can shame the kin group (Charrad, 2001). The misbehaviour of the woman will hurt her male kin more than her husband and she becomes their charge, especially that of her brothers and father:

He has to guard her against herself because her actions are unpredictable. Since her very being as a woman may create temptations in other men, he also has to guard her from men who are liable to hurt the ird of the kin group (Charrad, 2001: 63)

This concern with honour has led to the wearing of the veil and enclosing of women in

courtyards attached to the home, where they are segregated. Ultimately this 'preoccupation with female purity and modesty is at the centre of social norms governing gender relations in the Middle East' (Charrad, 2001: 63). It might be said that for Bourguiba if he took away the source of the honour he could also take away the tradition of kinship (and any opposition to the regime), so he attacked the veil and promoted women's rights. Bourguiba's reforms demanded women inhabit both the male and female space, that they drop the veil, but they were never meant to undermine their position in the home which was reinforced by an education system restricted to training 'girls' in 'girl's' trades such as cooking, cleaning and sewing (Barnard, 2013).

Existing and surviving gender inequality in Tunisia is a consequence of patriarchal societal values (Beneria & Sen, 1981; Mashour, 2005; Megahed & Lack, 2011; Moghadem, 2005; Sadiqi, 2008; Sika, 2011; Sinha, 2011). Patriarchal values are implicit in cultural understandings and have survived in society even when policies and laws have been introduced specifically to challenge these values (Moghadem, 2005). These values have permeated religion as those responsible for Quranic interpretation hail from societies where men dominate and interpretation is biased to meet their ends (Megahead & Lack, 2011). Patriarchal values are a barrier to women's labour force participation and if some women do work, for many their salary is controlled by the male head of the family (Beneria & Sen, 1981; Sinha, 2011). There are even cases of court judges siding with husbands even though it contradicts both national and international law, further family law reforms are needed and advocated by both educated women and Islamic feminists (Moghadam, 2011).

The impact of reform in Tunisia is far from a fact, and statistics on gender equality are questionable due to a lack of knowledge and transparency among institutions (ECSWA, 2001). Tunisia is however still unique among Arab nations, as the only country to grant equal rights in the constitution (Sinha, 2011). Policies inciting dramatic changes to the role of the woman were seen in the Personal Status Code of 1956, initially outlawing polygamy, inspired by Turkey (Grami, 2008), and forced marriages, granting women citizenship and the right to vote. Other projects focussed on the inclusion (not by law but persuasion) of women in the education system and a campaign against the veil (Perkins, 1986; Brand, 1998). Additional reforms introduced may not have directly targeted women, but promoted a further move away from the extended family (Perkins, 1986; Sinha, 2011) and directly attacked religion by, for example, abolishing religious courts (Grami, 2008).

Although a stream of laws and reforms were established in 1956, which undoubtedly benefitted women, such as the banning of polygamy or the right of a father to force his daughter to marry, or even the setting of a lawful age to wed, other traditions remained such as the institution of the dowry (Grami, 2011). Furthermore, until 1993 Tunisian women were required by law to obey their husbands (Karkkainen, 2010). All reforms were initially justified referencing new interpretations of the Qur'an commissioned by Bourguiba (Sinha, 2011), and all reforms were introduced top down by male politicians (Charrad & Zarrugh, 2014). Further reforms directed at women included the 1965 liberalisation of abortion, the 1973 right to abort in the first three months of pregnancy, the 1997 law of patronymic name for children, the 1998 law of joint estate for husband and wife, but in the Tunisian Code the husband was still the head of the household (Grami, 2011).

men's attitudes, in general, towards their women relatives working and having a presence in the public sphere began to lift. Yet during times of political instability, economic uncertainty and especially high unemployment, some Tunisian men have desired 'a retreat into the culturally familiar realms of tradition' (Murphy, 1996: 139). This desire is partly related to a perceived 'crisis in masculinity', and the promotion of the perpetuation of traditional gender roles as fuelled by religious fundamentalists (Grami, 2011). Ultimately the personal status code and related reforms still favour men regarding marriage age, dowry, sexual harassment, rape and inheritance. Regardless of this, the Code did not permeate all households, perhaps because it was very much implemented from the top down and little was done to uphold many of the laws (Moghadam, 2011). Moreover, the motivations of Bourguiba (and later Ben Ali) to attack tradition by promoting women's rights, rather than an actual desire to achieve gender equality, is highlighted by subsequent reservations towards CEDAW (the 1979 International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women promulgated by the United Nations). These reservations concerned those articles which might challenge patrilineality (Gami, 2008; Moghadam, 2011) or the traditional role of women within the private sphere (Chekir & Arfaoui, 2011).

Tunisia might be praised for achieving female representation at a political level, as by the end of the 20th century 13 parliamentary seats belonged to women per 100 men (ECSWA, 2001). At face value, this may appear an accomplishment, but political representation is only meaningful when coupled with freedom of speech and women's

political rights in Tunisia have traditionally been nothing more than a 'democratic façade' (Grami, 2008). Bourguiba gained women's support by promulgating legislation, but he did not listen to them and they were not able to express dissent. The first women's political group, the Union Nationale des femmes de Tunisie (UNFT) was created by Bourguiba and for Bourguiba's interests in 1961 (Murphy, 1996). In 1988 Ben Ali lifted previous restrictions concerning women's representation introduced by Bourguiba (in essence limiting women's groups to the UNFT) and supported the founding of Association des femmes démocratiques. Again, the groups which formed under Ben Ali were not formed to promote democracy; their sole role was to support the regime (Murphy, 1996). Under the rule of Ben Ali, only secular women's rights groups could form and both women and men associated with religion were tortured and some made to 'disappear' (Gray & Coonan, 2013). Women associated with Islam were treated the worst and whilst a focus on women's rights in some ways tied the hands of the powers that be, many women were stalked and refused public services such as hospital treatment (Murphy, 1996). Observing Muslim women were kept for years in prison and tortured, again and again, these tortures were often of a sexual nature, and all were aimed at disgracing and silencing the women (Gray & Coonan, 2013).

Yet, since the end of the 'old regime,' there has been a dramatic shift in the previous 'top down' approach to women's rights evidenced by the public outrage directed at article 28 of the 2012 draft constitution which described women as complementary to men (Charrad & Zarrugh, 2014). While the article lacked inclusion in the 2014 finalised version of the constitution (UNDP, 2014), its opposition and support can say a lot about Tunisian society. Both opposition to and the exclusion of the article suggests gains in democracy and 'bottom up' politics (Charrad & Zarrugh, 2014), but the initial writing of the article and support among the Ennahda party (the leading party with most women) suggests some view women as less than men.

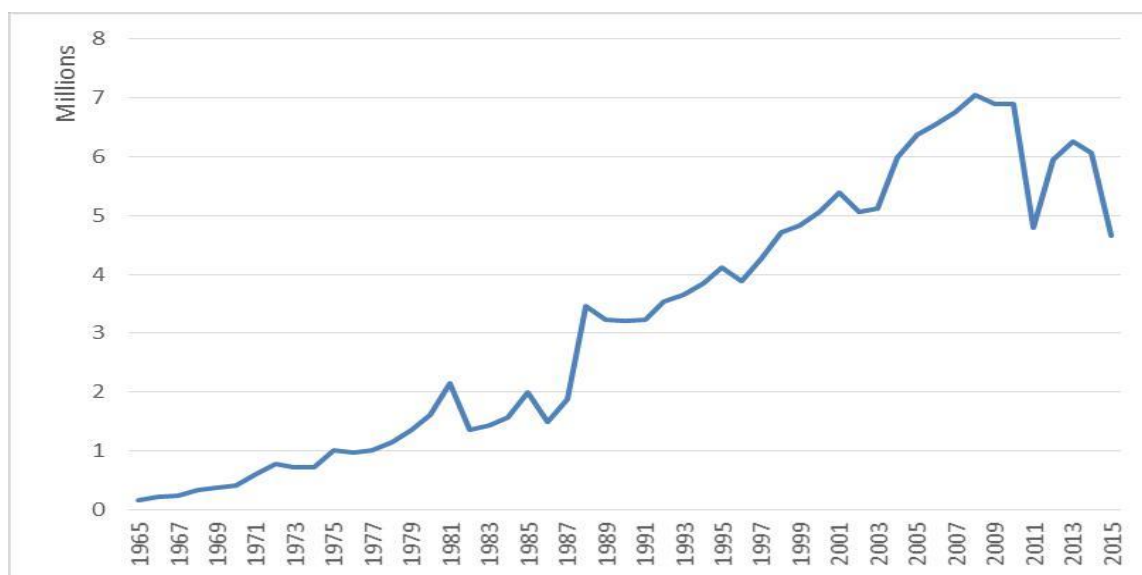
Islamic discourse is said to be growing across all Arab countries and in Tunisia more and more women are returning to the veil (Grami, 2011), and yet the explicit link between the veil and Islam is questionable, when women may choose to wear the veil for numerous reasons (Megahead & Lack, 2011). One of these reasons may be the popularisation of the even 'trendy' veil via Arab cable television available since the 1990s and growing internet access since the turn of the new millennium (Grami, 2011; Lefèvre, 2015). The growth in Arab media is linked to Islamic globalisation, often pitted as the antithesis of so-called Western, pro women's rights, liberal and democratic

globalisation, and yet religious political parties in Tunisia have shown more commitment to democracy than the 'old regimes' of Bourguiba and Ben Ali (Dalmasso & Cavatorta, 2010). In Tunisia, some women may choose to wear a veil in order to show opposition to the previous autocratic government or to Western imperialism (Grami, 2008). Poirier (1995) has even suggested that the return to the veil is directly related to a display of disapproval towards tourist behaviour. However, the separation of these supposed causes of a renaissance in veiling is complicated due to the political history of Tunisia, as is argued in this chapter. Both Bourguiba and Ben Ali have embodied Western imperialist values to meet their own political agendas and sustain power. Horrific human rights violations occurred under both regimes which targeted those considered visibly Muslim (Gray & Coonan, 2013), and a lack of freedom of expression has meant that any dissenting voice has been silenced (Murphy, 1996). So, perhaps more women are veiling in Tunisia simply because they can.

In the Wake of Revolution

An increase in unemployment beginning in 2008, attributable to job losses in the textile sector and a growing bottleneck on emigration due to the global financial crisis, contributed to the rise of dissatisfaction leading to the Jasmine Revolution beginning in December 2010 (ILO, 2011). Since the Jasmine Revolution, the impetus to the Arab Spring and the ousting of President Zine el Abidine Ben Ali in January 2011, Tunisia has been in a state of political instability and tourist arrivals have fallen dramatically (see figure 5.2). This has further exasperated unemployment, especially among Tunisia's younger population, related to further unrest (Charrad & Zarrugh, 2014). Between 2011 and 2014 the previously banned Islamist Ennahda party became the ruling party elected by popular vote, in part because it was the only party that could not be associated with the 'old regime' (Gray & Coonan, 2013). In June 2012, there were Salafist (a traditional Islamic group) riots against the availability of alcohol in Tunis, Sfax and other cities. In September 2012, the US embassy and American School in the capital were attacked by the terrorist group Ansar al-Sharia; in 2013, two secularist politicians were assassinated; in October 2013, a suicide bomb was detonated in Sousse; and in July 2014, fifteen Tunisian soldiers died in an operation on the Algerian border (Arieff & Humud, 2015). There have also been numerous smaller attacks, especially on the border with Algeria, but foreign nationals were not involved and international media was not attracted.

Figure 5-2 the Evolution of International Tourist Arrivals



Source: Created from data available in Portail Open Data, 2016 and the Ministry of Tourism and Handicrafts, 2016

In 2015 the tourism industry was further hit by terrorist attacks at the Bardo Museum in the capital city Tunis on the 18th of March and the coastal tourist resort of Port El Kantaoui on the 26th of June. The attacks resulted in the deaths of 23 people and 38 people respectively, around the world Twitter users showed solidarity by using the hashtags JeSuisTunisie (Sreberny, 2016), JeSuisBardo, and IwillcometoTunisia. There is a notable link between terrorism and tourism, and tourists may be strategically targeted in order to gain publicity, to disrupt the economy, and/or promote and highlight ideological opposition to tourism (Sönmez, 1998). Prior to the Jasmine Revolution, Dluzewska (2008) suggested that there was a level of host-guest friction in Tunisia and that this was due to the difference in cultural norms and values. However, it is too simplistic to blame Western tourism and its contrasts with Islamic values for recent terrorism in Tunisia, and such an analysis overlooks much of the specificities of the local and global political context. Ultimately, tourism has played an important role in creating a positive external image for Tunisia, based on women's rights, friendliness towards western powers and openness (Hazbun, 2008), but recent political instability demands the basis of that image be critically analysed.

Conclusion

The gains in women's rights delivered to Tunisian women since 1956 may at first glance appear to be significant. Yet these gains are difficult to measure as many

institutions lack both knowledge and transparency (ECSWA, 2001) and they have also come at a cost. The secular seeming reforms promulgated by both Bourguiba and Ben Ali silenced many in various ways. First, they garnered Western supporters who did not act on human rights violations; second, they led many women to believe that they had achieved something and so they could not ask for more; third, by creating a privileged discourse concerning secular women and simultaneously a demonised discourse surrounding religious women-religious women (and men) were muted. If discourse was not enough, dissenting subjects were tortured and nightmares were created.

Women's political groups were allowed to exist only if they supported the leader and there was no such thing as freedom of expression or speech. Reforms have been implemented from the top down and are often symbolic, evidenced by previous reservations towards CEDAW, and by existing patriarchal social norms. These norms survive today and were highlighted by article 28 of the draft constitutions, which although omitted from the final constitution some still supported the notion of women's complementarity to men. Moreover, it has been suggested that the right to be employed in an occupation of one's choosing still eludes many Tunisian women (Moghadam, 2011).

Whilst the tourism industry has been pivotal in Tunisia's development, it provides few job opportunities for women. However, the industry was not intended to be a major employer of women as many positions might require night work, which is still illegal for women. The intention behind supporting the tourism industry was to introduce Tunisians to a 'modern' ally, to shape the '*Tunisian personalite*' and gain international support for what appeared to be a forward thinking friend of the West, when in reality the regime was simply a dictatorship in clever disguise. This disguise lives on in the hearts and minds of many Tunisians, and Bourguiba is still a much cherished national hero. Tourism is not inherently good or bad, its role and power are demarcated by those who control the industry and this has primarily been the state in Tunisia. The shape of tourism is a reflection of the wider international politics.

6 (Re)presenting Tunisian femininities

It is difficult to deny the importance of pictorial images in both creating and selling tourist destinations, by (re)presenting places and spaces these images become a vehicle for discourses and can be situated within a power-knowledge framework (Foucault, 1980). As chapters two and three have highlighted, host populations may be (re)presented within a dominant discursive framework, which may reflect colonial power relations, or simply wipe the host from the destination performing a discursive act of symbolic genocide. This provides a partial rationale for the use of content analysis as argued in chapter four, and from a feminist stance, content analysis can assist in the elucidation of who (men or women) is represented and how this might be numerically representative.

The subsequent sections present both a content analysis, to quantify and categorise human presence, and a critical discourse analysis, to explore meanings, of the images utilised by the TNTO in the brochures: *Holidays in Tunisia*, *Tunisia History and Culture*, *The Great South* and *Sousse Port El Kantaoui*. However, even though these brochures have been in circulation for more than a decade, online content is becoming increasingly important due to its ability to reach a wider audience (see chapter two) and therefore the website DiscoverTunisia.com is also analysed utilising both methods. Whilst the analyses of both the brochures and website provide an answer to the first research question: How are Tunisian women discursively (re)presented by Tunisian promotional materials targeting a UK audience? The brochures and the website are analysed separately. They were produced in different temporal contexts and utilise various different mediums. For example, the brochures play a role in the discursive construction of meaning through the use of pictorial images and linguistic text, but the website while utilising both these also presents moving images. Comparisons made during the presentation of the results of the analysis of the website answer the first research question's sub-question: How do the (re)presentations of Tunisian women in printed brochures and websites differ?

The basic content analyses, which are displayed in the subsequent sections, find that Tunisia has been portrayed as lacking human presence, but where people are depicted the tourist appears more than the Tunisian host. Content analysis, however, cannot delve into the meanings and discourses that both create and are recreated in the images and text of the brochures. CDA has been utilised to explore the meaning and discourses that can be read from and in the brochures and the website, which (as shown following the

content analyses) become a vehicle for discourses that ultimately privilege a particular Tunisian femininity over others.

(Re)presenting Tunisian Femininities or Grooming Spaces?

The brochure *Holidays in Tunisia* is a 60-page booklet published in colour, which includes a total of 163 images. The content analysis initially classified the pictorial images utilising 13 categories, and yet where no images representative of a category were found, the category was removed. The initial 13 categories were: Tourist men; Tourist women; Tourist men and women; Tunisian (TN) man; TN women; TN men and women; Tourist man and TN man; Tourist women and TN men; Tourist men and TN women; Tourist women and TN women; Tourist men and women and TN men; Tourist men and women and TN women; Tourist men and women and TN men and women. Where people were included in the images, but were not the subject of the image and were too small to see or identify, these images were included in the ‘images without people category’.

Astoundingly out of the 166 images included in the brochure, 109 did not include people at all, as displayed in figure 6.1. This provides some support for Hunter’s (2008) ‘groomed spaces’ which are portrayed as empty awaiting the tourists’ arrival.

Figure 6-1 Content analysis results: Holidays in Tunisia

Category	Frequency of brochure images	% of total
Tourist women	9	5.42
Tourist men	10	6.02
Tourist women & men	12	7.23
Tunisian (TN) women	13	7.83
TN men	8	4.82
TN women & men	3	1.81
Tourist women & TN men	1	0.60
Tourist women & men & TN men	1	0.60
Images without people	109	65.66
Total images	166	100

Source: author’s own elaboration

In addition, to the overwhelming number of images absent of people, several other themes emerge from the content analysis. The tourist has been allocated more space within the brochures than the Tunisian host, and slightly more images depict tourist men and women together than apart, which may be a strategy to depict Tunisia as a family resort. This is exemplified by images on the cover page, page 28 and page 29 which all

include variations of the same scene: a tourist woman foregrounded, posing seductively on a sand dune in the Sahara either embraced by or next to presumably her partner. This may also be a strategy to reinforce the social sanctioning of heteronormative relations and, indeed, homosexuality remains illegal in Tunisia (Human Rights Watch, 2016). There were also no images of tourist males and Tunisian males together.

Tunisian women were not imaged with tourist men or women, which could be seen as a discursive strategy to remove the Tunisian women from relations with tourists altogether. Just three images depict Tunisian men and women together, which shows that overall there is a lack of gender relation depictions in the images as previously argued by Marshment (1997) to be a dehumanising tactic within the process of Othering the host. Two of these pictures are iterations of the same scene consisting of a musical group with a women singer (depicted on page 8 and again on the back cover), the other image is a marketplace where the woman is shopping and the men are workers. Of the 57 images depicting people, interactions between tourists and Tunisians are the least depicted, which could be a discursive move to depict the two as very different groups.

The brochure *Tunisia, History and Culture* is comprised of 36 pages. Within the 36 pages, there are 106 images and almost all of those images are formed of no people or the people are too small to be counted. Perhaps expectedly due to the theme of the brochure, there are no tourists portrayed in the brochure.

Figure 6-2 Content Analysis Results: Tunisia History and Culture

Category	Frequency of brochure images	% of total
Tunisian women and men	1	0.94
Tunisian men	4	3.77
Images without people	101	95.28
Total images	106	100.00

Source: Author's own elaboration

Three of the images depicting Tunisian men depict a lone man wearing traditional dress, two of these images have had the background removed leaving just the man divorced of context. The final image of Tunisian men is a large group of musicians and the image of Tunisians of both sexes is the repeated image of a musical group with a woman singer from the previous brochure *Holidays in Tunisia*. So few depictions of people suggest that history and culture belong only to the artefacts adorning the pages, but a divide between Tunisian men and women is also created. Images of Tunisian women and men account for just 20% of all images depicting people, and there are no images of Tunisian women alone. Moreover, the image including a woman is a copy from *Holidays in*

Tunisia, suggesting the only relationship women have with history or culture belongs within that one musical group.

The brochure *Sousse Port El Kantaoui*, comprised of 20 pages, displays the fewest images of Tunisians, especially in comparison to tourists. Tunisian women are not (re)presented in the brochure, but tourist women and men are a predominant feature within images portraying people. There are two pages dedicated to thalassotherapy, a water therapy treatment often found in health spas, which show the only picture of tourist women in a group, and two of the three pictures display a solitary tourist woman. These pictures are typical of the tourism industry, with the women performing a sexualised pose in bikinis (Sirakaya & Sönmez, 2000; Pritchard, 2001; Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b). The next two pages (12-13) are dedicated to golf, and in the two images showing a tourist woman and man together, the woman is passively waiting in the golf buggy or holding the flag so that the man can put the ball. These images resemble Goffman's (1979) category, function ranking, which shows the hierarchical roles portrayed between men and women by positioning the woman in a very passive role, complementing the man who is the active figure.

Figure 6-3 Content Analysis Results: *Sousse Port El Kantaoui*

Category	Frequency of brochure images	% of total
Tourist women	4	9.76
Tourist women and men	4	9.76
Tunisian men	1	2.44
Tourist men	1	2.44
Images without people	31	75.61
Total images	41	100.00

The final pages of the brochure offer instructions for the tourist in a similar vein to *Holidays in Tunisia*, but interestingly the last page displays the only picture of Tunisian men. In this picture the men are outside a coffee shop, in large groups around tables, there are no women. This is a typical scene in many Tunisian towns and cities, where men and women are segregated either by type of coffee shop or by rooms inside. Strikingly, women may have a dedicated room or 'salon du te', but men can still enter whilst women cannot be in the male spaces.

Tunisian women are almost entirely absent from the brochure *The Great South*, comprised of 20 pages and 34 images, only to be briefly mentioned on page 13 - 'women continue to produce incredibly sophisticated weavings'. Overall this brochure is notable for the absence of people in both text and image; it also differs from the other

brochures by not including instructions for tourists in the back pages. Instead on the back page, there is a timeline displaying the history of Tunisia from the founding of Carthage in 814BC to independence in 1956. Interestingly the foundation of Kairouan (a sacred Islamic place) is the only nod towards Islam in the timeline.

Figure 6-4 Content Analysis Results: *The Great South*

	Frequency of brochure images	% of total
Tourist women & men	3	8.57
Tunisian men	4	11.43
Images without people	28	80.00
Total images	35	100.00

Source: author's own elaboration

The images depicting tourists are perhaps reminiscent of colonial expeditions, where camel caravans navigate the desert, and camps (p.4 & p.5) are set up in the middle of oases. Tunisian men guide the camels (p.5), they are cobblers (p.11) and entertainers (p.11 & p.13) perhaps all to service the tourist. This result supports the Oriental category devised by Echtner and Prasad (2003), which is a discursive strategy found within tourism (re)presentations to (re)construct the binary opposites of modern tourist and primitive host, reminiscent of colonialism's modern colonialist-primitive native (Fanon, 1965; Said, 1978). Yet, whilst the category Oriental sees the host as an object to be gazed upon, the (re)presentations in *The Great South* portray Tunisian men in service roles to be found within the Sea/Sand category, but there is a lack of (re)presentations of women described in that category. One of the three images showing tourists (p. 7) consists of a tourist couple in the desert (previously seen in *Holidays in Tunisia*) and the other depicts a woman and her son and what might be her husband (p. 11), again suggestive of a heteronormative family unit. The brochure includes many different places encompassed by the notion of *The Great South*, which may deny each place its own individual identity in order to create a homogeneous Other to what might be presumably conceived as 'the Great North'.

Overall, the content analyses identified the lack of (re)presentations of people in the brochures, which may highlight a strategy to depict the country as a 'groomed space' awaiting the arrival of tourists (Hunter, 2008). Tunisians are imaged less frequently than tourists, and Tunisian women less than Tunisian men, and only tourists are pictured as couples. There are few instances of tourists captured with Tunisians, but Tunisian women are never placed next to tourists, reminiscent of both Marshment's (1997) thesis that host depictions lack gender relations in order to dehumanise and Other, and also Echtner and Prasad's (2003) Oriental category. This may be a discursive strategy to

construct Tunisian women as off limits to the tourist, to exclude them in some way from tourist activity. Yet, the most prominent character in *Holidays in Tunisia* is a Tunisian woman, which highlights a different discursive strategy that of the lone female (Schelhorn & Perkins, 2004) or perhaps a different typology of (re)presentation: Sea/sand (Echtner & Prasad, 2003). The brochure *The Great South* utilises a colonialist (re)presentational framework, crossing both the Orientalist and Sea/Sand categories devised by Echtner and Prasad (2003), but the title of the brochure *The Great South* directly engages in the (re)construction of the binary opposite: North and South, which suggests that the South is less developed, more primitive or even backwards when compared to the North and which will become a discursive strategy in (re)constructing Tunisian femininities from the South.

The Solitary Female

The depiction of Tunisian women, whilst only accounting for 7.83% of the images in *Holidays in Tunisia*, resembles the objectification of a solitary woman to sell a holiday as highlighted by Schelhorn and Perkins (2004). Five of the images depicting Tunisian women depict the same woman, who is also shown on the front cover of the brochure (see figure 6.5). This woman is pale skinned and is not noticeably Tunisian, but the reader is led to believe she is a local from her position and depiction throughout. The same woman appears on the first interior page too, becoming our guide to the brochure and the country, she appears in front of a blue and white building typical of the area of Sidi Bou Said near the capital city, Tunis.

Figure 6-5 Front Cover and Inside Front Cover Holidays in Tunisia



Source: *Holidays in Tunisia*

She is later pictured in traditional dress among Roman ruins (see figure 6.6), a further example of the ‘solitary female’ (Schelhorn & Perkins, 2004), as the model is pictured out of place within the context – she simply does not belong here. The model poses for the camera, touching her hair, her role is to be nothing more than decorative (Pritchard, 2001), perhaps mimicking colonialist (re)presentations of sexualised host females (Bandyopadhyay & Nascimento, 2010). However, the unnatural pose of the model could lead to a dominant reading that the image is staged and that some effort has been utilised in the creation of the brochure.

Figure 6-6 Roman Ruins



Source: Holidays in Tunisia

Our guide to the brochure is pictured again on page nine and for the last time on page 14 where she is depicted alone once more, seated drinking tea at a table outside another blue and white building, embracing a very Mediterranean café culture.

Foregrounding the Unveiled, ‘Modern’ Woman

Within *Holidays in Tunisia*, page nine (re)presents our guide to the brochure, this time to lead us through the winding streets of the medina (old town). Yet, in this image, the same woman overshadows a woman wearing a blue dress and head scarf or hijab, which may have been an accident at the time of the photograph. Yet, the staged nature of these pictures lends itself to the belief that this occurred accidentally on purpose.

Figure 6-7 Overshadowing of Veiled Other



Source: *Holidays in Tunisia*

As noted in chapter three, marketing images using the veil have been described as a symbol of primitiveness (Al Mahadin & Burns, 2007), and prominent in contrast to traditionally masculine dress Malaysia (Hashim, Murphy & Hashim, 2007). Yet, figure 6.7 shows that the marketing images produced by the TNTTO are utilising the veil in a very different way. The image positions the two women, arguably two very different ‘types’ of women, the ‘modern’ ‘Europeanised’ woman is foregrounded and the ‘primitive’ veiled woman is overshadowed. This privileging of women who meet the ‘modern’ ideal dates back to independence in 1956 as highlighted in chapter five. The model in these images appears to be straddling two worlds, whilst her dress suggests traditionalism, it is not typical dress today, in Tunisia, and this is the kind of dress sold to tourists in the medinas (see subsequent chapter). As our guide to Tunisia we could be forgiven for believing that she is local, but her dress, the way she wears her hair, her poses and the flowers in her hair do not fit, these are much more emblematic of European tourists.

Further analysis of the text in *Holidays in Tunisia* also highlights key themes such as modernity or a distancing from religion. On page 19 Yasmine Hammamet, a man made holiday resort (see chapter five) is purposely described as modern.

‘A wind of modernity is blowing through Yasmine Hammamet’ (p. 19)

On page six the prospective visitor is told that they will be surprised by the modernity of Tunisia, the brochure (re)creates binary opposites such as small and large, new and old

cars, or Italian fashion and traditional headscarves, again positioning the wearers of headscarves as Other to the privileged 'modern' ideal:

'What often strikes visitors to Tunisia is its modernity. In small or large towns, the juxtaposition of periods and lifestyles provides an entertaining sight: up to the minute cars alongside vans decorated with wrought iron, Italian fashion next to traditional headscarves, craft boutiques and mobile phones...' (p. 6)

The brochure discursively (re)constructs two different types of femininity, a 'modern' femininity which involves females wearing Italian fashion and a 'traditional' femininity encompassing the wearers of the melia and traditional dress:

'Country women wear a draped red dress, a melia, while those in towns still sometimes wear draped dresses of silk safari white' (pp.12-13)

Country and urban women are not the only identities to be both essentialised or Othered within the pages of the brochure and the South is depicted to epitomise tradition, a 'different world' of restriction and oppression in *Holidays in Tunisia*:

'The call of the Sahara sounds strongly as modern life becomes more and more restrictive and oppressive. The Tunisian South offers this unforgettable meeting with a different world' (p28)

The South is also pitted as Other in *Tunisia History and Culture*, as it is there where tradition is remembered suggesting that it might have been forgotten in the North:

'The extreme South retains the memory of the traditions of the Berbers and nomads' (p29)

And in *The Great South*, the South of Tunisia is described as:

'The back of beyond' (P7), and 'a place where tradition is still' (p11)

The brochures draw on essential characteristics to depict binary categories of 'modern' and 'traditional', these categories appear to apply to different types of women: urban and rural, uncovered and covered; and different geographical areas: the North and the South. The (re)construction of the South as 'restrictive', 'oppressive', traditional, or 'the back of beyond', whilst seemingly describing space and place, may be extended to its inhabitants. Indeed on page 29 of *Tunisia History and Culture*, tradition is borne by the Berbers and the nomads. On page 13 Tunisian women from the South are assigned the traditional role of weaver, as they are on page 11 of *Holidays in Tunisia*. In addition, the

positioning of the ‘modern’ Tunisian woman in front of the ‘veiled’ Other woman suggests a privileging of one discursively constructed identity over the other, as does the choice of model in *Holidays in Tunisia*.

Women as Other to Men

Whilst it appears that there are two categories of women, with those who embody the ‘modern’ ideal privileged over those who do not, women are also constructed as opposite and inferior to men. *Holidays in Tunisia* (re)presents Tunisian men and women as opposites, in very different positions within society:

‘Women excel in carpet-making’ (p10) ‘while the best craftsmen in souks and the countryside continue to make traditional designs and shapes, designer craftsmen innovate and create new trends. Weavings done by Southern women have become furniture coverings, Berber pendants have become part of modern jewellery, and ceramics and brown glass combine Tunisian taste with contemporary design...’ (p11)

The inclusion of ‘best’ might suggest that women are not the best that their activities are supplementary to those of the ‘best craftsmen’. On describing the South of the country in *Tunisia History and Culture*, the role of women remains unclear as history and survival are portrayed to be the domains of men only:

‘In all its diversity the Tunisian South is a fascinating region where the stamp of history is superimposed on man’s endless struggle to survive an inhospitable environment’ (p29)

The discursive erasure of women from history in the linguistic text of the brochure compounds the lack of prominence of women (re)presented in the images of any of the brochures. Taken together, with a lack of depictions of interaction between Tunisian women and tourists, the reader may be forgiven for thinking that women have not and do not play a prominent role in public life.

Disassociation with Arabian or Religious Context

Tunisian traditionalism and therefore traditional femininity has been tied to religion, and as discussed in chapter five, both regimes since independence have consistently sought to distance society from religion in order to ‘modernise’. The brochure *Holidays in Tunisia* evidences a discursive move away from association with an Arab or religious

context by describing the country as resolutely Mediterranean:

‘Like elsewhere in the Mediterranean, Tunisian hospitality is a secular value’
(P.14)

‘A town full of history but resolutely dynamic, where past and present are thoroughly entwined, Tunis has a seductive Mediterranean charm’ (p36)

‘An out of this world atmosphere in the heart of the Mediterranean’ (p44)

Finally, the back pages offer the tourist guidance on traditional and local ways of life:

‘Tunisians are happy to learn languages and communication is always easy in tourist areas. French is spoken fluently by many Tunisians; it is often used in the press, publishing and signs alongside Arabic, the official language. Road signs are entirely bilingual.’ (p54)

And French takes centre stage; Arabic is downplayed, as are more traditional customs and norms:

‘There is no strict dress code, but swim wear should not be worn outside of bathing areas. Avoid shorts and bare shoulders when visiting museums and religious monuments.’ (p55)

The previous statement is written next to an image of a family stood in the centre of Sfax, an industrial city, where the woman is attired in a sleeveless dress. A lack of culturally sensitive advice for tourists may lead to host guest conflict if the tourist does not behave in an acceptable way. However, as discussed in chapter six, the government has viewed tourists as an ally in their attempt to lead Tunisians on a path to ‘modernity’, and perhaps a lack of instruction is purposeful in attempting to leave tourist behaviour unchanged.

Frantz Fanon (1963) argued that while Arabism (a regional promotion of Arabic and Muslim culture) may have taken centre stage during the colonial period, it was not long before North African countries promoted a Mediterranean culture due to trade ties. Perhaps in Tunisia with a focus on tourism for development, this promotion of Mediterranean culture is heightened in order to attract and satisfy European tourists. In the brochure *Tunisia History and Culture* again the discourse of belonging to the Mediterranean is invoked:

“Tunisia is a country laden with history at the crossroads of all Mediterranean

civilisations”

Yet, in contrast to *Holidays in Tunisia*, the brochure mentions religion:

‘Evoking the dawn of Islam’ (p11)

However, on page 23 under the title of Spiritual life, the reader is assured of harmony:

‘A land of tolerance... Tunisia welcomes all forms of worship...’ (p23)

Harmony is also invoked in *Tunisia History and Culture*:

‘Eclectic and accessible to the world, Tunisia lives in harmony with cultural events that attract a large audience’ (p31)

This same discursive strategy was noted by Henderson (2008) in the case of Dubai, where in an effort to shift the destination image from sun/sea/sand the destination began to utilise religion and heritage, but always alongside notions of harmony. Figure 6.8 highlights the key themes page by page of the brochure *Tunisia History and Culture*. Islam has been placed on page 11, decidedly situated in the past ‘at the start of the middle ages’ (p11). After page 11 the brochure is empty of religion apart from page 23, which pitches the country as the harmonious home to many religions. This structure may lead readers to believe that Islam is no longer an important feature of Tunisian society.

Figure 6-8 Key themes of Tunisia History and Culture

Page	Theme
3	Phoenicians
5	Roman
7	Roman
9	Christianity
11	Islam
13	Mediterranean castles
15	Andalusian influence
17	Ottoman
19	Medinas
21	Palaces
23	Spiritual life
25	Art
27	Architecture
29	The Sahara
31	Culture

Source: Author’s own elaboration

The brochures might be understood as engaging and mobilising discourses on modernity and secularism, which reflect the policies of both Habib Bourguiba and Ben Ali, who utilised a fear of jihadism to attack tradition and by doing so garner Western support

(see chapter 5). However, it could also be argued that these discourses are employed to counter-hegemonic Western Orientalist discourses that have been utilised in order to wage war on Islam, but if this is the case the (re)presentation of Tunisian femininities mimics colonialist modes of self-(re)presentation – selling similarity rather than difference. However, irrespective of the reason for these discursive strategies, TNTO is engaging in processes of Othering, which appears to privilege and foreground a group of women which meet the modernist secular ideals promoted by the country since gaining independence.

Discover Tunisia and its Groomed Spaces Online

The internet is growing in prominence as a source of information for tourists. Web sites allow a more interactive experience than the brochures of the past, and the website Discover Tunisia (<http://www.discovertunisia.uk>) developed by the TNTO includes pictorial images, moving images (videos) and hyperlinks to external sources. The website was created specifically for the UK audience and includes 330 web pages, which are divided into the following 13 categories: Explore Tunisia, What to do, News, Beaches, Golf, Adventure, Luxury & Spas, Family, History, Culture, Religions & Cities, 4 star resorts, 3 star resorts, Practical info, and Gallery. Each page within the website has a large banner image across the top, which are the same two images shown on automatic loop: a scene of the Star Wars film set from *Onc el Jemel* and a golf course (Figure 6.9).

Figure 6-9 Banner Image from www.DiscoverTunisia.uk



Source: Tunisia National Tourism Office, 2016

The Star Wars landscape is a night scene absent of people, but the golf course (figure 6.9) is a re-touched photo that has had swimming pools superimposed on the course. The image pictures several men playing golf and foregrounds a blonde (presumably tourist) woman posing in an unnatural style in a swim suit. There are other men in the

picture, but the men all appear to be involved in an activity such as showering, bathing or playing, the woman, however, appears to be unoccupied, waiting, or even decorating. This use of women to decorate supports the findings of Pritchard (2001), who found from an analysis of brochures that women are utilised in a more sexual or decorative way than men. This might suggest that websites portraying tourists utilise the same discursive frameworks as brochures.

Unsurprisingly, a word frequency analysis (figure 6.10) of the web site identifies Tunisia, Beach, Tunisian, markets, Tunis, and Hammamet to be the top five most used words, Mediterranean is the 40th most used word, Arabs are 94th and Africa 170th. The more frequent use of Mediterranean to describe Tunisia as oppose to Arab or Africa follows the discursive move of the brochures to situate the country in close proximity to Europe. Surprisingly, tradition takes the 51st place and modern the 143rd, which might show a shift in discursive strategy as the brochures keenly engaged in discourses of modernity.

Tradition is used in the website to describe food, music, markets, falconry, architecture, fabrics, museums and hammams (Turkish baths). However, tradition is also used to describe two nightclubs, which might be conceived as modern; the Calypso nightclub and the Cotton Club. Modern on the other hand is used to describe spas, bars, architecture, Beja (a place), golf, and pop concerts. Modern is also used to construct places as Other, for example, Kerkennah is described as ‘far from the trappings of modern life’, it is used to describe Tunisian people, and it is used to describe the winner of Miss Tunisia. It appears that the TNTO utilise tradition in order to sell the country to tourists, but modern is still utilised to describe people. Yet, neither women nor men or any of their potential synonyms appear in the 200 most used words.

Figure 6-10 Most Frequent Words in www.DiscoverTunisia.uk

Words	Count
Tunisia, Tunisia'	248
beach, beaches	154
Tunisian, Tunisians	152
market, markets	126
Tunis, Tunis'	116
Hammamet, Hammamets	107
nation, national, nations	99
restaurant, restaurants	88
tourist, tourists	88
visit, visited, visiting, visits	81
world, worldly	81
Djerba	79

Figure 6-10 Continued

Festival, festivals, medina, medinas	79
home, homes	79
centre, centred, centres	76
golf, golfe, golfing	76
street, streets	76
town, towns	73
hotel, hotels	72

A lack of prominence of women or men in the text may be partly due to the informative style of the website, in contrast to the more descriptive, narrative styles of the brochures. As previously stated the banner image is at the top of every page, but apart from the banner more images can be found in the gallery section of the website. The gallery is divided into 9 categories: adventure, beaches, culture, family, golf, history, luxury & spas, Tunisia campaign 2014, and Tunisia campaign 2015.

Figure 6-11 Content Analysis of www.discovertunisia.uk

Category	Frequency of website gallery images	% of total
Tourist women & male and TN women	1	1.20
Tourist women, men & TN men	1	1.20
Tourist women & men	3	3.61
Tourist women	9	10.84
Tunisian men	5	6.02
Tourist men	4	4.82
Images without people	60	72.29
Total Images	83	100.00

Source: author's own elaboration

Similarly to the brochures, the website gallery is dominated by images absent of people portraying a 'groomed space' (Hunter, 2008), but diverging from the brochures there are no images of Tunisian women alone. In the Tunisian woman's place is the tourist woman who dominates the galleries beaches, and luxury & spas. Again, there are no images of 'host' gender relations, which may Other the 'host' (Marshment, 1997). The category culture diverges from the brochure by including an image of a tourist men and woman at a market stall and the vendor is a Tunisian woman, whereas in the brochures the role of the vendor is assigned to Tunisian men. The website also refrains from relegating women to the role of weaver suggesting 'lots of families make a living by producing and trading carpets' in Gafsa market. However, the language utilised is often biased towards men and the noun craftsmen is referred to numerous times in the website.

The category beaches has three images where the focal point is a woman posing unnaturally in a bikini (figure 6.12 is one example of these images), but whilst one of the images in this gallery is of a tourist boy (a child fishing), he is active in contrast to the women who are depicted passively and decoratively. The use of women to decorate web pages mirrors the use of women to decorate brochures (Pritchard, 2001). There are no recognisable Tunisians in this gallery.

Figure 6-12 Image From Beaches Gallery



Source: Tunisia National Tourism Office, 2016

The gallery luxury & spas is the only gallery to include tourists pictured alongside a Tunisian man. All three of the Tunisian men pictured in this gallery are depicted in service roles, the dominance of service in this category highlights the discursive connotation of service and luxury. Again, this gallery is representative of an Orientalist-Sea/sand discursive strategy (Echtner & Prasad, 2003), which (re)constructs primitive host as Other to modern guest whilst highlighting aspects of servility to be seen belonging to the host. This also seems to suggest that service workers are host men and not women, and tourist women as passive and decorative (see figure 6.13).

Figure 6-13 Image From Spas & Luxury Gallery



Source: Tunisia National Tourism Office, 2016

In the final galleries, which depict past marketing campaigns, the gallery Tunisian

campaign 2014 is formed of five images absent of people and one image of a boy fishing. The Tunisian campaign 2015 has two images, but both feature tourist women prominently, the first image is the photoshopped golf course utilised as the banner (see figure 6.9), the second is an image of the beach with a tourist woman looking on to a statue of Neptune rising out of the water.

Discover the Hybrid, but Similar Tunisia

Whilst neither women nor men were frequently used words in the website, women can be found in three instances, once in relation to golf handicaps, once in relation to women's only hammams, and interestingly once in relation to Habib Bourguiba:

‘Habib Bourguiba. A progressive who furthered secular ideas, Bourguiba introduced some of the most advanced women's rights in the Arab world. Reluctant to relinquish power he was eventually ousted in a 1987 bloodless coup.’

The website supports the notion of the past political regime's commitment to women's rights, arguably with the intention to highlight the predominance of 'liberal' or 'Western' values in Tunisia. Interestingly, Henderson (2008) had also identified this discursive move in past versions of the website, which suggests that this particular strategy is persistent, even after the Jasmine revolution. This may be utilised in order to portray Tunisia as Other or even superior to other countries in the region, which are commonly grouped together (Schneider & Sönmez, 1999). Whilst, the promotion of a common Arab culture might have been a discursive strategy to challenge colonial (re)presentation at one time, arguably due to trade relations the website evidence the promotion/growth of a Mediterranean identity (Fanon, 1963):

‘As a result, Tunisians are truly Mediterranean, being a "bridge" of peoples between Africa, Europe and the Levant for over 3,000 years.’

‘With its heart in the Mediterranean region, Tunisian cuisine is a melting pot of culinary influences’

‘Verve and heritage of Southern and Northern Mediterranean’

Surprisingly, whilst the website (re)creates discourses of similarity with the target market by utilising women's rights and a Mediterranean identity, the website in contrast to the brochures does mention religion:

‘Once one of the Islamic world's greatest and wealthiest cities (12th-16th

century), Tunis is easily explored on foot and has 700 monuments including madrasas, palaces, grand residential quarters, crypts, mosques and fountains that testify to its remarkable past'

'As Tunisia's most religious city, Kairouan is bestowed with numerous mosques and is a UNESCO World Heritage site as one of the oldest places of Muslim worship in the world'

Yet, by coupling religion with history and heritage, it is discursively constructed as a temporal element that belongs in the past. Religion is not used to define the local population when again discourses of modernity and hybridity are (re)created in depicting the Host:

'As descendants of indigenous Berbers and a colourful mix of umpteen civilizations, modern Tunisians are a mix of ethnicities that have invaded, migrated to, and been absorbed into the population over three millennia.'

Discover Miss Tunisia

In the news section of the website an article has been dedicated to Miss Tunisia, and her participation in the Miss World competition, the article includes three images of Miss Tunisia. In all of these images, she is uncovered, wearing 'modern' dress, in the first image she strikes a pose poking her leg out of her split dress. The pose appears to be quite stereotypical of a sexualised or decorative woman (Goffman, 1979), which would not be out of place in a magazine produced by the UK or the USA. In another image, Miss Tunisia poses wearing an off the shoulder mini dress. The final two images are of Miss Tunisia with children, in the first, she is holding a child while a dentist peers into the child's mouth and in the second she is surrounded by a large group of children. The picturing of Miss Tunisia in a caring role furthers the stereotype of women as caring or mothering types (Sirakaya & Sönmez, 2000), but the style of her dress is a dramatic shift from everyday Tunisian dress and even occasional wear.

The news story is not directly concerned with tourism, but it is on the website and it is definitely concerned with the construction of Tunisian femininities. In the article Miss Tunisia is described as understanding:

'Her participation as an opportunity to reassure the world of the welcoming image of Tunisia and its continued endeavour for a positive development, and also for showing the beauty of the country **and inevitably presenting the**

modern Tunisian woman through her promoting the culture of the country.'
(Taken from www.discovertunisia.uk, emphasis added)

Other news items in this section are primarily concerned with portraying Tunisia as a safe country to visit after the terrorist attack at the Bardo museum (10 articles) or on cultural festivals and events (10 articles). The article on Miss Tunisia is the only article that focuses on a Tunisian celebrity, here it appears that the TNTO are utilising Miss Tunisia to portray Tunisia as a country which shares 'modern' values with the West.

Discover the Moving Images of Tunisia

The website is not only home to still images, but also moving images. Four videos have been embedded (from Youtube) in the Gallery section of the website. These videos have not necessarily been produced by the TNTO, but their inclusion in the website suggests these videos have been chosen to (re)present Tunisia to the British audience. The first video is an interview with the tourism minister Salma Elloumi Rekik for sky news on the two terrorist attacks of 2015. Salma discusses the economic impact of a lack of tourists on Tunisia and says that 70 hotels have closed, she suggests the 360,000 people employed in handicrafts, and the 400,000 people employed in tourism have been directly influenced by the decline in tourist arrivals. Salma is then criticised for not publicising Tunisian efforts to make the country safe by a US conservative commentator. Salma then states neutrally what the country has done, she is later defended by a democrat commentator who accuses the other commentator of victim blaming and the minister goes on to suggest that the government is trying to make airports more secure, but that hotels should be the responsibility of the hotel owner. The host and the conservative commentator then attack Salma and tell her she is not spending enough on security, she tries to respond saying that it is not Tunisia's responsibility alone, but the interview finishes.

Salma is the second female tourism minister, she was preceded by Amel Karboul, and although women only account for approximately a third of the parliamentary seats, the government have displayed their commitment to getting more women into politics (see chapter five). The interview with Sky news appears to be quite typical of western media (Klos, 2013), the host and both commentators are male and two of them attack the minister of tourism. However, the choice to include this video on the DiscoverTunisia website is difficult to understand. Whilst Salma does try to highlight measures put in place to create a safe Tunisia for tourists, she is constantly criticised for not doing

enough, the video does little to portray Tunisia positively or as a safe destination. Salma does, however, fit the discourse of 'modern' Tunisian woman as (re)presented in the brochures and website. Salma has highlighted, uncovered hair and she speaks English with a strong French accent, and she is dressed in business attire.

The second video was filmed in part at a trade show, an Irish woman is the narrator of the video and we hear her voice but do not see her face throughout the video. The Irish female voice asks a Tunisian man at the trade show where tourists should visit and he replies that tourists go to Port el Kantaoui because of the thalassotherapy. Behind the man there is a woman presumably stood at the desk of the trade show stand, the stand is constructed around a typical traditional Tunisian blue door. The woman has short brown hair, she is uncovered, and she wears business dress, again fitting the discourse of a 'modern' Tunisian woman. The man's English is quite broken and I wonder if perhaps the younger woman stood at the desk would be a better communicator. However, the choice of the man as the speaker and the woman as decoration resembles similar portrayals found in the brochures and website and plays into traditional gender stereotypes (Sirakaya & Sönmez, 2000; Pritchard, 2001). Images of the man representing from the National Tourism Office are interrupted with different moving images, predominantly of the Port el Kantaoui landscape absent of people. There are several shots of tourists walking around (both men and women), one of a Tunisian man selling jasmine on his head, and another of a man cobbling. There are no images of Tunisian women.

The third video differs in language to the previous two, this video is in Spanish with English subtitles, and a Spanish man called Ruben is the host of the video. Ruben introduces us to the video, stood in a typical street in Sidi Bou Said, Ruben's oral narrative is continuous, but visually interrupted with scenes from different regions in the country. Ruben draws on both similarities and difference in constructing the narrative, for example in El Jem Ruben notes a resemblance of Rome. Yet, in contrast to the rest of the website and the brochures, Ruben does not hide Islam; in Tozeur he explains that Tunisia is the 'best example of the Islamic conquest of the Maghreb', and a 'fascinating example of Islamic architecture', he is seen leaving mosques, and openly discusses both Islamic architecture and world heritage site status. Whereas few depictions of Tunisian women and tourists, especially tourist men, are to be found on the website or the brochures, Ruben is depicted with a Berber woman trying to grind cereal, when he tells the audience the Berber expression 'if you come into my home you are more than a

friend, you are a brother'.

Figure 6.14 presents the results of a content analysis of frames used in the video; all frames were quantified except those where the host of the show was the only subject.

Figure 6-14 Content Analysis of Frames in Spanish Tourism Video

Man riding camels in the desert	1
Landscape scene (no people)	78
Three men, one woman (covered) at a market stall	1
Berber woman (covered)	6
Mosque	2
3 women walking (2 covered)	1
Uncovered woman, bare shoulders walking	1
Tourist group	1
Two Tunisian women (one covered) walk past men working/loitering	1
Man on scooter in medina	1
Woman (covered) walks through medina	1
Men and children greet eachother, woman (covered) passes by	1
Man passes troglodyte courtyard	1
Host of the show with a Berber woman	1
Men swimming in oasis	2
Host of the show with Tunisian men outside a male only coffee shop	2
2 men walk in Sidi Bou said	2
2 men outside shop	1

At 9 minutes 11 seconds, this video is the longest. The video is dominated by images of landscapes absent of people, similar to the rest of the website and the brochures, presenting a groomed space (Hunter, 2008). Yet, in contrast to the brochures and the rest of the website, when people are (re)presented, they are predominantly Tunisian. Again in contrast to the brochures and the rest of the website, in this video, there are more covered Tunisian women (wearing some form of headscarf) than uncovered. Potentially, the video works within discourses of contrast and difference, attempting to exoticise Tunisians, which has been noted as a dominant discursive strategy in the tourism literature (Echtner & Prasad, 2003; Schellhorn & Perkins, 2004; Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b; Al Mahadin & Burns, 2007; Duffey et al., 2015).

Yet, rather than all women being (re)presented homogeneously, evoking a monolithic Other category, as noted in other tourism (re)presentation (Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b), there is some diversity among the women (re)presented here. Women have been (re)presented alongside men, veiled women have been (re)presented, they have even been (re)presented alongside non-veiled or 'modern' women. This is a notable

discursive shift from the (re)presentations found in the rest of the website and brochures, which may be because the discourses surrounding the practice of veiling in Spain might be different to those in the UK and in Tunisia. However, it is interesting that in this process of Othering Tunisians focussing on Tunisian women, the video is more inclusive than the publicity materials produced by the government. The process of Othering which is habitually viewed as negative within the tourism literature (Galasiński & Jaworski, 2003) may actually be positive in this particular video. Indeed, videos may hold greater potential to (re)present host communities in a more inclusive, even realistic way (Yan & Santos, 2009), and different cultures or nations may (re)present hosts utilising very different discursive frameworks, which is an area for future study.

The final video in the gallery was produced by TNTTO as a promotional video, the video begins with the words ‘the other side to Tunisia’, followed by ‘the North where it all begins’. Similarly to the Spanish video, this video is dominated by landscape images absent of people. The only images of people are: men outside a café, a tourist group outside a heritage site, 3 different shots of a medina with people walking through, a tourist man and child walking past a blue door, two tourist men pointing at a door, an uncovered woman inside a hotel, a man looking at a pool, a busy street, a medina with people shopping, 2 images with lots of people 1 uncovered and 1 covered woman, 1 image of tourists, and a man walking in the distance.

Three minutes in the audience is presented with the title ‘the South the land of mysteries and adventure’ and the music changes noticeably to something more sinister sounding. It is then one minute 40 seconds before we see a person, but that person is reduced to just hands opening a food dish. The video then shifts to the inside of hotels until four minutes 56 seconds, when images of the desert are shown. One man rides in a jeep with his face partially covered, a man shows a Tunisian girl child and Tunisian covered woman his very large camera, Tunisian boys play next to a pool, a man looks at an oasis, a man hang-glides, a man rides a scooter through sand dunes, women (covered) watch a ferry pass, men fish in boats, a tourist couple walk in a troglodyte dwelling, a man on a scooter and two men on foot pass through a narrow alley, a man makes ceramics, two tourist women walk on a beach in bikinis.

There are noticeably fewer Tunisian women represented in the second part of the video, it appears that the South is dominated by men. Again, throughout the video, there are

few women (re)presented, but there is a slight discursive shift in that covered women are included in the video. Yet, the video is a clear example of the (re)creation of a North/South binary, which Others the South. The South is discursively constructed in the video as less developed than the North, working within the same discursive framework as both the rest of the website and the brochures.

Conclusion

The content analyses of both the brochures and the website support the notion that the tourism industry (re)presents places and spaces as empty, ready for the tourist to leave their mark (Al Mahadin & Burns, 2007; Hunter, 2006). Yet, it is also evident that there is a discursive move to remove Tunisian women from host-guest interactions if Tunisian women are (re)presented at all, and tourists are privileged over Tunisian hosts. In addition to a lack of (re)presentation of Tunisian women/tourist interaction, there is also a lack of (re)presentations of host gender relations, which has been noted as part of the process of Othering the host to the guest (Marshment, 1997). When tourist women are (re)presented, they decorate the pictures leaving space for an active man, resembling findings of studies based in the West (Pritchard, 2001; Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b), which may suggest those who created the brochures and website mimicked a western discursive framework.

The South has been linked to traditional or even 'repressive' values in the brochures and there is also some evidence of extending this discourse related to place to women and men. The Othering of the South continues on the website and the video created by TNTTO. The brochures attempt to draw on discourses of similarity in positioning Tunisia and its culture in the Mediterranean and this is also continued in the website, as is the discourse of a 'modern' people. Within the brochure *Holidays in Tunisia*, a covered woman is overshadowed by a 'modern' woman, which highlights a very different use of the veil to that noted by Al Mahadin & Burns (2007), who suggest the veil might be utilised to promote an 'exotic' Other country. In the brochures, two femininities begin to emerge; the 'modern' femininity, belonging to the North, which is uncovered and wears Italian dress, and the 'veiled Other' femininity, belonging to the South, which is covered and weaves.

These discourses are also evident on the website, as with the brochures the 'modern' femininity is privileged over the 'veiled Other' as it is embodied by Miss Tunisia, the tourism minister, and the helper at the trade show. The only dramatic discursive shift in the (re)presentation of Tunisian femininities is to be found in the Spanish video, which

in an attempt to depict an exotic Other by including and even putting veiled women centre stage, creates a much more inclusive (re)presentation. A lack of a discursive strategy to homogenise women as one particular type or discourse of femininity, and the depiction of both 'modern' and 'veiled Others' together, culminates in the Othering strategy becoming far more ethical than might have been previously thought. The analysis of the touristic (re)presentation of gender by various countries and cultures could lead to further insights into the global discourses which work to (re)construct masculinities and femininities.

7 Daughters of Bourguiba

Two distinct and arguably opposing femininities are (re)presented in the promotional materials published by the TNTO: the ‘modern’ Tunisian woman, and the ‘veiled Other’. Drawing on the interviews, the ways in which Tunisian women discursively (re)present Tunisian femininities, which appear to reflect the discourses found in the promotional materials, are presented in the first part of this chapter. This specifically addresses the second research question: How do Tunisian women engage with discourses on femininities (re)constructed by Tunisian promotional materials? The findings might appear to suggest the pervasive nature of tourism’s discourses, but the references made to Habib Bourguiba lend themselves to the thought that discourses permeating society since independence are (re)constructed within both the promotional materials and the women’s interviews.

The identities (re)presented within promotional materials are ambiguous, only to be understood as Tunisian due to their context – belonging within a tourism brochure, their pose or stance, dress, relation to Others. One way of attempting to reveal the nationality of those pictured here has been to ask Tunisian women if they thought the women were Tunisian, coupled with my own dominant ‘tourist’ reading of the images, and asking a representative from TNTO (found in the second part of this chapter). This reveals that the model, who formed the large part of female presence in the brochure *Holidays in Tunisia* was and is Tunisian. However, asking Tunisian women their opinion on these (re)presentations serves another purpose, as it provides an understanding, however partial, of how the host views themselves. This is directly concerned with the sub-questions: How do Tunisian women interpret the (re)presentation of Tunisian women in Tunisian promotional materials? And how do Tunisian women discursively construct Tunisian femininities? Although host (re)presentation has been the focus of some analysis within tourism studies, little research has delved into the understandings of those representations among the host community (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000) or the influence of those (re)presentations on the lived experiences either hosts or guests (Jordan & Aitchison, 2008).

The Southern Other

Throughout the interviews participants engaged in Othering Southern women. All of the participants did this, regardless of job, education or veiling practices. This (re)positioning of Southern women as Other, is coupled with discursive strategies which simultaneously pit the Other as inferior to Northern or coastal women. Eliana, my interpreter, who grew up in Kerkennah, an island off the coast of Sfax, conceded that “in the South people are really so very conservative” (re)creating an essential Southern

Other by referring only to this potential characteristic (Mohanty, 1988; Jack & Westwood, 2009). Yet when probed as to the differences between women in the South and women in the North, Eliana suggested that the differences were diminishing as women were beginning to work outside the home. Eliana engaged in the process of Othering Southern women, by situating them discursively in the shadow of those from coastal and Northern regions (Said, 1979; Spivak, 1988):

I said that you can find those who are conservative in the South, but **they really want to change their minds, they really want to go out and see how life is**, they are going to do it, but in Sousse, in Sfax, Tunis the capital, you can find, er it's true that there are people that are open minded, they accept everything.

The process of Othering is also evident from Azhar's interview as she too draws on discourses of cultural difference to (re)construct Southern women. What is interesting about both Eliana and Azhar is that neither has travelled to the South of Tunisia, so when describing the South they are drawing on prominent stereotypes rather than personal experience, evidencing epistemic closure (Borgerson & Schroeder, 2002: 577). Azhar clearly describes a traditional South, where women must be obedient:

The South is more or less attached to their traditions and stricter about women you know, very stricter. Even the clothing for women for starters, the type of clothing in the South, I think there are areas where women aren't allowed to wear trousers and if they wear trousers it's a very large thing that covers. In the South if a girl gets her period in the house and if her father notices or something it's a shame you know, cover yourself, you're not being respectful you know something like that, you're leaking all over the place what are you doing you know, for me it's like in Ramadan when I have my period and I have my holidays from fasting I'm like I'm open about it, and my father is even like yeah drink, drink up eat up it's your vacation you know, it's different. I have friends who are ashamed of it even my age and my entourage, even in the same place you know when we are speaking about this in Ramadan I eat in front of my brothers and my father and no problem whatsoever maybe an outsider I would be discreet about it, but it's no shame in front of my brothers and my father.

In Kairouan, one of the only places able to resist Bourguiba's modernising mission (see chapter 5), Salima a carpet weaver and her colleagues (re)construct themselves as Other to coastal people, the use of the word 'only' or the expression 'they know nothing else' imbues a sense of inferiority:

Man: The difference... in Sousse, there are 'modern' people who work in travel agencies, in hotels... in offices. Here, they only make carpets.

Another woman: They are specialised in making carpets, they know nothing else.

Salima: We make carpets... we (are in the) craftsmanship business... Kairouan is specialised in the production of handicrafts.

Yet, later when discussing one of the photographs Salima positions herself and other people from Kairouan as 'normal', but not modern:

Salima: *Interrupting the question* Yes, we are normal... and especially in Kairouan... In Kairouan, (people are) normal.

Safa, who works at a heritage tourist attraction in Kairouan, agrees that women in Kairouan might be considered different to women on the coast:

We always say that people from Kairouan are more conservative.

When asked why this might be the case, Safa relates the hijab to conservatism, but also freedom to modernity, perhaps repeating rather than (re)presenting colonial discourse (Bhabha, 1984) and Tunis to modernity:

The mentality of old people who teach young ones is conservative... In Tunis, even when you walk in the streets and see, the number women wearing the scarf here (in Kairouan) is more important... The number of mosques here is, I wouldn't say more important, but the people who go pray in mosques is more important in Kairouan... even if they have more freedom, even in the clothing style... In Tunis, the capital, they say they're more modern

Interestingly, Safa who herself wears a scarf relates this to conservatism. Mounira and Salwa, two informal workers who design and draw henna tattoos, also suggest that work is the cause of difference simultaneously discursively (re)constructing women from Tozeur as Other to themselves:

Mounira: Yes. For Tozeur, the woman (women) stay at home.

Salwa: In the countryside too (women stay at home).

Mounira: (In the) town, they... er... can... er... the woman work (works). It's okay. In Tozeur, no. (i.e. women can't work.). They stay in the home. They...

er... they have women work doctor, and er... *seeking help*

Salwa: Also agriculture.

Mounira: Er anything. (But) work for here, no. (i.e. the women from Tozeur can work as doctors, or any other kind of job except for the job we're doing here, which is tattooing people.)

While the participants seem to contradict themselves, by stating that the women of Tozeur must stay at home, but later suggesting that the women can work, they both agree that women cannot do the kind of work that they do. From the rest of the interview, it is understood that this kind of informal work in the public space might be viewed as shameful. Azhar also suggests that the different types of work available may have a relationship with the role of women in the different regions:

I don't know you know er the coast there's beach, there's ports so we need to work on that to develop that to have money to get tourists to have money you know, but the er the inside oh they're only good for olive oil and er dates and er nuts that's it, that's what we need and we need people who are willing to work there who are willing to work with their hands so we don't need them to be intelligent and open and we don't need them to see the world, what its really like, cos we need er body workers.

Noha, perhaps one of the 'modern' tourist workers spoken about in Salima's interview, a quality manager for a hotel chain, similarly discursively divides those who work in tourism from those in the South or the interior:

Yes, it must be a difference because it was a difference between Tunisian women who studied and Tunisian women who stayed at home, erm the difference between er the one she's working and the one she stayed at home. There is a difference between the regions also, for example, those who work in tourism they're normally open, much more open than the ones for example from Kessarine from er the interior (...) because they are not in relations with the tourists, they are not open to the external world, so she has ideas fixed that she's married, that she has to look after the children, to cook you know. For example going to have a coffee is something er that looks external for her.

The theme of modernity was another prevalent discourse called upon during the interviews, and modernity was regularly coupled with tourism and freedom, whereas

covering, the hijab or veil were considered traditional or conservative. Noha drew on this idea in order to show herself as different from women from the interior. Another hotel worker, Emma, described all Tunisian women as desiring modernity, and Azhar stated how she desired to be like tourists and how Tunisians tend to privilege foreign people and tourists even to their own disregard. The privileging of tourism workers has also been identified in other contexts, such as Xishuang Bana in China (Li, 2003).

The Modern Tourist Worker

Emma, a hotel receptionist explained that all Tunisian women desire modernity. Emma relates modernity to dress, but states that modernity has a price:

Tunisian women change? no I don't think so, cos this er Tunisian women need to have erm new things every time need new things, even the dresses even the many Tunisian women need to have er modern, but not all (Tunisian women) need to be like be like modern people if she has money but if she hasn't she cannot

In some ways, Emma's statement discursively constructs 'modernity' as something that is only attainable by the elite in society, due to the price associated with being 'modern'. Nour, a luxury hotel guest relations manager, suggests that this desire to be 'modern' is related to more than just cost while concurrently highlighting that women from the South may have limited freedom:

they prefer to keep their traditions more than to be more modern, I mean to wear modern clothes or to act like tourists or to go to the city and change the look and wear clothes modern clothes so for them, (...) I mean liberty, they are free to do whatever they want, but in limits you know

This notion that 'modernity' is a discursive identity bestowed upon tourism workers and linked to ideas of freedom is also expressed by Hela, an English teacher at a tourism institute:

They do, but it has nothing to do with er being like the tourists no, it's just a kind of they think this kind of women, that when they will wear like you dress like you just make their hair like you, they will feel more erm emancipated, you know and they will feel more free it's just an idea, but in fact they are not emancipated, it's just about clothes they think that when they will smoke, it's a kind of emancipation, it's just about mentality and that's it has nothing to do with you feeling at ease and comfortable with someone who is dressed like you

it's just these girls most of them even here the students they come from the interior places like the South or Kessarine, these places are very conventional traditional right they are a little bit stressed over there they don't have anything to do, girls in this kind of place they stay home, they watch TV, and that's it, and they prepare food and that's it they clean the house they help their mums and that's it because also in these places they don't have a lot of entertainment ok so when they come here, in the institute I'm talking about my students now, so it's another world, it's like a paradise for them, the sea, the sun, the boys and er they may see their teachers wearing nice clothes and they just want to look like these women who live in Sousse and in Tunis and smoking and riding cars and so on right, so they just want to look like these women more than look like the tourists.

Hela describes how her own students relate clothing and certain practices like smoking to 'modernity' and freedom as they attempt to mimic their tutors, but she decides that these things do not lead to any real emancipation. In contrast, Azhar, suggests that women in the South are happy being different to the tourists, which she suggests they view as colonisers, perhaps even choosing this strategy to formulate an oppositional identity, rejecting the coloniser's culture (Fanon, 1963):

The Northern yes, the Southern are more or less satisfied with how they are, women in the South tend to think of tourists excuse me for the word, bitches, you know and er they are here we exploit them we get their money and they go away, that's what we want, we do not want your culture, we do not want your style, your clothing no nothing you know, and even think that these are the people that 60 years ago were exploiting us you know (...) yeah you people hurt us and now you want to be friends? that's not cool.

Nour, a luxury hotel guest relations receptionist, suggests that being 'modern' assists her in work duties:

So as I told you erm, I have erm a more modern background, a modern perspective and ideas in order to help me in my life, with tourists (pause) and with even Tunisian people

Nour pauses when she proposes that a 'modern' perspective could assist her with Tunisians, almost as if she expected me to be shocked at the idea. Perhaps, she thought that as a 'tourist' I could not conceive of Tunisians being 'modern'. In contrast, Hela suggests that being modern creates its own set of challenges for everyday life:

When you visited the medina you are really harassed and it's very disappointing to go over there even me as a Tunisian woman when I go there, I choose what I wear really I cannot wear something very cool and modern and so on and so forth, so I try to be with sneakers and jeans and something very sober you know so that I can move quickly first and then don't be erm somehow attacked sometimes not attacked touched

For Hela wearing 'modern' clothes would put her at risk of being 'touched', sexually harassed, highlighting how 'modern' women might be physically treated by others in society. Azhar again (re)constructs Southern women as Other to Northern women, but also as a group who are showing resistance to the ideas and images of modernity that accompany tourists (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2001; Fanon, 1963; Spivak, 1988). Interestingly, Azhar continues to describe how Tunisians view themselves as less than tourists, who are mobile, she describes her own feelings of jealousy of this mobility and privilege that tourists enjoy in Tunisia:

When I see tourist women, I say you know I want to go to other countries and be like that, if I go to another country will they worship me like we do to tourists- know Tunisian people overall think that tourists are better than them, you know they tend to underestimate themselves they tend to want to look like tourists and erm you see all the blonde girls and the red heads and stuff you know this is complicated.

When discussing romantic relationships between foreign women and Tunisian men, Hela compares these to Tunisian relationships, (re)constructing tourist women as Other, bestowing upon them a freedom that appears unattainable for many Tunisian women:

I don't know what happens in their minds, it may be about customs because his mother or his always about family you know because his neighbours his relatives all these people they will think about this Tunisian girls you know, but if it is a foreign one blonde hair green eyes, no it's fine for them it's ok, she's like that, it's her culture and yeah it's fine (...). I do know people working in tourism in hotels and so on that do not accept that their wives work with them in hotels it's the mentality

Safa, on the other hand, explains that women who are thought to be more conservative might feel pressure to change in order to work in the tourism industry, but she also describes how she herself and her boss resist imitation (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2001; Fanon, 1963; Spivak, 1988):

There are people who would imitate, who would change and say I have to change in order to be able to work... those who work in the Tourism industry, they would say they have to change in order to attract tourists... and there are people who would say no I will stay as I am and they (the tourists) will still come... just like us, our boss is keeping the customs and traditions, the original ones as we say... and the Islamic (traditions) and all, he didn't change a thing...

'Modern' women are privileged over 'traditional' women, and notably, there is evidence of this privileging even among women who consider themselves 'traditional'. The tourist is also conceived of as 'modern' and whilst some of the women discursively (re)constructed themselves as belonging within this notion of 'modernity' in order to progress at work, for example, other women described the pressure this puts on their everyday lives. Although dress is (re)constructed as a deciding factor when it comes to embodying the 'modern' identity, women may be constrained in their decisions concerning 'modern' dress by fear of sexual harassment. Though there may be pressure to appear 'modern' for some tourism workers, some Southern Others are (re)constructed as utilising tradition to oppose tourist imperialism which is described as colonialism. The notion of 'modernity' is linked to freedom, but shame is linked to the repression of Southern women, who are deemed to be unable of discussing or showing signs of menstruation (which is difficult to hide during the time of Ramadan when menstruating women should break fast), or working in certain jobs – especially those involving interaction within a public space in the informal sector.

The Veiled Other

Eliana, in (re)constructing Southern women as Other, discusses the practice of veiling, and she herself wears a hijab. Eliana suggests that women in the North, regardless of their veiling practices, are open and able to interact with tourists. Her comment suggests she thinks the same may not be true of women in the South.

Erm, even if the woman are wearing the scarf, they accept everything, they can meet men, they can go out with tourists

Nour, who does not cover, discursively (re)constructs women who veil as a homogenous category, supporting Andsager and Drzewicka's (2002) notion of Othering as consistently calling upon essentialist ideals, and viewing members of a group in a simplistic, homogeneous manner. In contrast to the construction offered by Eliana, Nour positions veiled women as hiding away from tourists:

Because maybe (tourists) they fear they are afraid of conservative and veiled and er hidden faces so I totally understand them because as you know in the whole world there's a bad image of Muslim people especially those who wear conservative clothes, yeah maybe for them for tourists that issue reflects er bad er image and bad er idea about er veil, but in reality they are so kind and so I mean erm respectful, they don't for example harm anybody so they are doing practicing or living their lives away from especially touristic I mean erm touristic areas

Nour also suggests that she is aware of discourses circulating external to Tunisia which depict Muslims negatively. She proposes this is acute when the person wears conservative dress and expresses her understanding of the tourists' beliefs rather than her empathy toward the Southern Other. Safa, who covers, also agrees with the association of covering with discourses of Islamophobia:

We, the other girl and I, are Hijabis. And the woman who owns the place is also a Hijabi... and living in France... and when they come, you kind of sense that they stare at us... There's this English woman who came and she took a picture of us, my friend and I, inside the hall, and she said, she said that she's teaching her students that a Hijabi woman can work in her country and the mentality isn't enclosed and that they (her students) mustn't think that they (people in countries like Tunisia) don't let women work or go out or something...

Safa, who describes becoming the object of the tourist gaze (Urry, 1990), went on to explain that being photographed did not worry her, but at the same time she suggests that women in Tunisia are very different to England:

It (the inquiry of the British lady) didn't bother me... It's unlike there (not clear where!) where women feel a bit harassed... They wanted to demonstrate that we, in Tunisia, can work together... a Hijabi woman working with a man is not a problem... Our religion is Islam and we live together... and they too, can do it...

In describing her experience with the British teacher, Safa Others British people, Safa is the only participant to noticeably situate the tourist in her own shadow (Spivak, 1988). She describes British women as 'feeling harassed' and by stressing 'they can do it too', she discloses her own idea that not only can women and men not work together in the UK, but that with time they may be able to achieve what has been achieved in Tunisia. On the other hand, Hela highlights how these discourses of Islamophobia do not only

exist externally to Tunisia but internally as she herself is subject to these discourses:

Even yesterday I was drinking in a nice bar in front of the sea we were drinking with my husband talking and it was a nice weather and I saw a woman with niqab walking and then she walked on the sand and er I was looking at her and thinking and if she were a terrorist and if this woman come and just blow herself.

The niqab becomes associated with a fear of terrorism in Hela's narrative, which to some extent could be said to reflect Habib Bourguiba's use of a fear of jihadism to attack tradition and conservatism (Hazbun, 2008). Safa, however, ensured that Eliana and I understood that the tourists were not scared of her:

They're not afraid of us... on the contrary, you can see them look at us and smile and when they finish watching the film, they get closer to you and say 'thank you' and they ask you stuff like about how do you make the carpets...

When asked about the publicity campaign for Tunisia after the Bardo attack, Anissa a publicity manager for TNTTO could not help but refer to women who chose to wear a hijab:

We are Muslims but we never see, we never see no, but er maybe 80% of girls don't wear the the hijab, in my family you will find 0 women wearing the hijab because we are not accustomed to that, but after the revolution these people they emerged from nowhere they are there they are part of the society, we cannot ignore them, but they have to accept us as we have to accept maybe them. I'm not talking about the terrorists of course.

Anissa refers to women who wear the hijab as '*these* people', she discursively constructs an in-group and an out-group by stating that they 'cannot ignore *them*, but they have to accept *us*' (Machin & Mayr, 2012), and her suggestion that they must be accepted in society was far from certain. Moreover, the director of a tourism institute stressed that 'open, pretty, smiling faces' were what hotels requested at reception desks, which relegates those deemed 'un-open' to the bedrooms, supporting Karkkainen's (2011) statistics on women's employment in the tourism industry (see chapter 5). The director clarified that hotels did not want covered women front of house, nor did they want men in the bedrooms – as men cannot be trusted to be around women tourists. Hela explains that her sister wears a hijab, and in describing her father's reaction to this event she suggests that supporters of Bourguiba oppose the hijab or veiling practices:

Even I do have my sister wearing a hijab and my father is a Bourguibist, the first time my sister came wearing a hijab, cos she's married and lives in Tunis she visited here and he told her oh god that's not us he said come on what are you doing it's not our customs we are not like, that's what he said and I said oh dad come on it's her choice and he said I know but I didn't raise her like that so you see it's a generation gap.

In recounting her sister's decision to wear a hijab, Hela (re)constructs Tunisian women who veil as Other to those 'modern' women who do not, she suggests "our parents are more modern than us now that's really strange it's the other way and it's disappointing". Nour also reconstructs women who veil as conservative, and clothing becomes a signifier of modernity and conservatism when explaining what she thinks tourists expect of Tunisian women:

Maybe they thought that we are all of us veiled mean with veil and erm conservative and we don't have foreign people, foreign traditions to enter our lives so once they are in here they are surprised at the country, women in here, modern women, like me I'm Muslim but I wear a skirt

In a similar vein to Hela, Azhar explains that more women veil now and in doing so she relates veiling to marriageability and double standards concerning sexual activities of women and men:

More people wear a hijab now, but a lot of women put on a hijab just to satisfy their partners, I don't know how many, boys tend to have all the fun and they do whatever they like, but then when they want to settle down they say oh my god these girls that I had lots of fun with, they had multiple partners and I don't want someone like that to raise my children, so I want someone new and clean you know, so they tend to search for a woman or a girl who is wearing the veil or they insist that she wears the veil after marriage

When I asked Azhar if she thought there might be a difference between tourist and non-tourist areas, she discussed how her own friends accepted that women might be able to gain control over their own bodies:

Yeah, I have many friends now that say virgin or not, I don't care, you know it's your choice, it's your life, being a woman isn't gonna make you any less, it's your life, but I choose to be a virgin it's my choice, but I accept my friends might not do the same.

The veil is (re)constructed by the participants as an artefact of tradition, and women who wear the veil are Othered by those women who do not. Eliana (re)constructs two groups of covered women, those from the North and those from the South. Those from the North are considered 'open' perhaps because she views herself belonging to that group. Interestingly, Safa, who covers, Others tourist women and describes the UK as behind Tunisia when discussing gender relations. Participants were aware of external discourses of Islamophobia and relate them to covering, but these discourses exist within Tunisia as highlighted in Hela's fear of the woman wearing a niqab. A relationship between Southern and veiled Others appears both groups are (re)constructed as 'traditional' or 'conservative', and evidence of discourses of Islamophobia suggests that the discursive framework promoted by Bourguiba is still dominant.

The internalisation of this framework behaves as a regime of truth (Foucault, 1980) among participants who may have had little interaction with women from the South. Othering here privileges the 'modern' Tunisian woman who becomes the normalised self, engendering epistemic closure, which (re)creates a recognisable, 'authentic' Other based on essentialism and stereotype (Borgerson & Schroeder, 2002). The participants' responses not only evidence epistemic closure, but a lack of heterogeneity among (re)presentations of Southern and veiled Others suggests 'epistemic violence' (Spivak, 1988), when one discourse becomes so normalised it reduces the possibility of others (Jack and Westwood, 2009). Perhaps, the only outlier is Salima, who situates herself as 'normal', but also as Other and inferior to 'modern' tourist workers.

The Daughters of Bourguiba

Hela drew on her feelings of disappointment towards the number of women veiling in Tunisia today, she described her father's reaction towards her sister's decision to veil as one of dismay. She related these feelings to the support of Habib Bourguiba, who had championed the unveiling of women across Tunisia (see chapter 5). Bourguiba had promoted discourses of modernity since gaining independence from France, and this was continued by his successor Ben Ali, but the promotion of modernity included the punishment of traditionalism. Some participants openly discussed their position within this discursive framework.

Nour, who had previously (re)constructed both Southern and veiled women as Other to herself, simultaneously describing how being 'modern' helped her in her everyday life, described what she called a preference for 'modern' women:

We can't hide it, there's er not racism but there's er preferences for women, er modern women more than er traditional or conservative women

After having discussed her father, the Bourguibist, Hela shows her feelings of marginalisation:

We are a minority now, I think women without the veil.

Before (re)constructing herself as a daughter of Bourguiba, politicising the wearing of the veil or perhaps the rejection of the veil as a symbol of support for a particular political regime:

For me as a daughter of Bourguiba, because I am very proud to say it, to see this amount of people these women wearing this veil, it's a pity.

Hela continues to stress the importance of Bourguiba's influence by contrasting Tunisia with Somalia, and subsequently situating Somalia as the inferior Other in Tunisia's shadow (Spivak, 1988).

Here in Tunisia if Bourguiba didn't give us the freedom, if he didn't educate women we'd be worse than Somalia.

The informal workers, Mounira and Salwa, also highlighted their appreciation for Bourguiba by relating his opposition to the veil with freedom:

Since the days of Bourguiba... Bourguiba rid women of the 'Sefsari' [A 'Sefsari' is a large scarf that covers the entire body of the Tunisian woman]. He gave us (women) our freedom".

This essentialising element is pivotal in the creation of knowledge of the self and the participants all engage in the process of Othering Southern, veiled women. Perhaps, all but Safa from Kairouan, who draws on discourses of difference when describing people from Kairouan, but who also attempts to highlight that whilst discourses of Islamophobia exist, tourists are not scared of her. The self may claim knowledge of all there is to know about its inferior Other, allowing epistemic closure, which is supported in part by these interviews as many of them have never visited the South (Borgerson and Schroeder, 2002; Spivak, 1988). The lack of experience with the Southern Other, and yet the ability to describe 'them' so well, is also due to dominant discourses concerning women from the South.

Veiled women have also been (re)constructed as a homogenous category by some

participants, yet Eliana who veils decides that veiled women from the South are the inferior Other to those from the North. The women themselves discursively connect the veil to conservatism, and tradition, while tourism and the tourism worker (even those who teach in tourism institutes) are entwined with ‘modernity’, which in turn is related to freedom. All that is deemed ‘modern’, the tourist, the tourism worker, those who dress ‘modern’ are privileged and ‘modernity’ is depicted as desirable for most (even though Hela describes a fear of sexual harassment for wearing ‘modern’ clothes). Except for those who might oppose this notion of ‘modernity’, which belongs to the previous colonisers, to Bourguiba, and to Ben Ali – those who punished women for being Other to their ‘modern’ ideal.

(Re)viewing Tunisian Selves in Tourism Imagery

The front cover image of *Holidays in Tunisia* (fig. 6.2) was shown after a few questions had been asked, and I asked participants if they thought the model was Tunisian, to mixed responses. Safa, the visitor attraction manager from Kairouan was quick to say a decisive ‘no’, but Eliana thought that the model’s clothes gave her away as Tunisian, the tattooists were as quick as Safa in deciding and they thought she was, but Azhar could not be sure:

Erm (laughing), you know, I honestly don't know, I really don't know, is that supposed to be Tunisian typical dress it's not, I don't think so, no

Nour decided that the model was Tunisian, but suggesting that she was not stereotypically Tunisian for tourists:

Yes she is yep I think she isn't typical for occidental people isn't the archetype profile of Tunisian woman

For Salima, the depiction of the woman carrying something on her head meant that she must be Tunisian:

Tunisian... (since) she has a basket on her head, (she must be) Tunisian.

Out of Place in the Roman Ruins

Again, after this image had been shown, I showed participants the image of the model in front of the Roman ruins (fig. 6.3). Safa interpreted the image as a reconciliation of tradition and modernity:

(In) this picture, (we can see) the ruins (of Tunisia)... and this one, according to what I see, she's Tunisian, her clothes are Tunisian... this one wants to show that

she's up-to-date with the old civilization and the new one

Similarly, Eliana interpreted the model's clothes as fashionable in contrast to the old ruins, and decided the image conveyed freedom and both past and present:

It represents maybe the freedom, maybe something old, the woman is wearing in a fashionable way so past and present, maybe...

Interestingly, freedom was also utilised by Mounira and Salwa to describe the image, but rather than relating freedom to clothing, they discuss the freedom to be photographed in this way – later suggesting that they could not and would not be the subject of this kind of picture:

The purpose is clearly get the world to know Tunisia. How do I put it...? The woman represents freedom, that she is free, to be photographed in that way she must be free.

Azhar uses clothing to decide on the model's nationality, suggesting that because the model is wearing a djeba (a type of Tunisian dress) she might be Tunisian. Azhar furthers her interpretation by suggesting that she does not understand why the woman has been positioned in the image, highlighting that it is clearly staged:

It's kinda cool, but I don't see why it has to be a woman there you know, why isn't it a child or a man, or just the view, why should it be a woman (..) you wouldn't find a woman posing there so it's just for publicity

In agreement with Azhar, Emma emphasises that whilst she thinks the woman is Tunisian because of her clothes, the woman is out of place in the picture and that:

If we take her out it will be better, perhaps putting a group of tourists and a Tunisian rep will be better

When considering the history of the site, Hela also decides that the woman is irrelevant, but in contrast to Emma and Azhar, Hela takes issue with the clothing of the model:

Irrelevant, the woman is irrelevant in this place or at least how she is dressed, it has nothing to do with this place, because it's normally Carthage I think or Dougga, so if its Dougga, Dougga has a very important impact in history in Tunisia, and it is one of the most important archaeological places in Tunisia and I think a woman walking like that in that place is irrelevant

Again, Nour believes the woman is Tunisian, but not stereotypical:

I think she's Tunisia, not traditional not with jewellery not with accessories (...), it's more oriental and just behind her its Roman (...) I mean the clothes doesn't fit to the place if you see what I mean, the clothes doesn't fit the place...

Nour continues by stressing that the clothes are not typically worn outside:

I have the same ah, dress but in green, green colour, I wear it at home, so we have this kind of djellaba clothes (...) yes, and tourists ah I mean when they come they come here they buy these clothes from I mean shopping centres

The Woman in the Shadows

Participants, for the most part, had to be directed to the woman in the background of figure 6.4, perhaps they were used to this particular scene, or perhaps the woman in the shadows blends into the background. Discursive arrangements can influence mental (re)presentations (Van Dijk, 2016) and potentially by foregrounding the 'modern' woman, people may see her as the most important or the subject of the picture, ignoring the Other woman. Eliana, stating that the model was wearing Jasmine behind her ear so she must be Tunisian, interpreted the picture as symbolising family:

It's old building, it used to be like that, it represents connection between people and how they used to be, they used to be all of them well connected, every child or every man who marries a woman, he has to bring her to live with his parents, yeah, this picture shows relationship between family and families.

When I directed Eliana's gaze to the woman in the shadows, she suggested that the woman depicted the past, which is surprising as she herself veils; perhaps, Eliana does not see herself as sharing the same category as the woman in the background:

Maybe it was an accident, I don't know really, but this is the past and this is how it will be in the future maybe

Interestingly Salwa and Mounira decided the woman in white was a tourist, they did not realise she was the same model they had previously labelled Tunisian:

Yes. (A) tourist. Because of the face (her facial features are those of a foreigner). I mean... you can tell from her face.

Again when directing their gaze to the woman in the shadows, both tattooists suggested

this might have been an accident:

Salwa: Maybe... er... when they (the photographer) were about to snap the picture, she stood there (i.e. the Hijabi woman appeared all of a sudden).

Mounira: I think so too.

Azhar, on the other hand, expressed her happiness to see the woman, but this quickly dissipates when she further considers the meanings conveyed by the image:

A woman with the veil that's more like it, you know that's the typical Tunisian woman, this is a more open lady you know (...) Maybe it's promoting the lady in the front and like out casting the lady in the back, which is not good, they're supposed to be on the same level they are representing Tunisia they're supposed to be on the same frame of the picture you know not in the rear

Similarly, Safa does not seem sure that the woman foregrounded is Tunisian, but when she sees the woman in the background (without direction) she is quick to say that this woman is Tunisian:

She doesn't look Tunisian... but her clothes... This is a Tunisian woman... do you see her? That's the Medina. This one... it doesn't matter if she's Tunisian or not, she's taking a photo in the Medina which means she's proud of it

Nour, suggests that the image may be attempting to depict the different stereotypes of women in Tunisia:

To show the difference between modern and traditional woman (...) maybe to the picture I mean the image says that ok I'm free, but the woman behind me it's, I mean, it's still dominated or er conservative, maybe, maybe to show to I mean er stereotypes, you can say of woman in Tunisia modern and traditional, and modern of course is the first one and the other one is, but it not true we have veiled women who work, even in our hotel

Emma appears quite angry when she realises there are two women in the image:

Yeah but I think this photo is completely out, completely out, because as you say it might be an accident, but it can't happen an accident when you are taking photos to introduce Tunisia in England

Yet, for Hela the image is quite natural:

I think it's nice, yeah it's typical, my neighbour dresses like that so it's not very weird for me, I can be posing like that and one of my neighbours is just standing over there it's normal for me

The 'Free' Embrace of the Saharan Couple

The participants were shown an image of a tourist couple embracing on a sand dune in the Sahara, partially to contrast the depictions of the Tunisian model. Safa was quite convinced that the couple were not Tunisian, but she wanted to ensure that I understood that her decision was not based on their pose, which she does not deem acceptable:

Not because the picture is taken like this... because a Tunisian woman can have such a lifestyle and **even worse than that...** (To Interpreter: Don't say that I said 'No, she's not Tunisian because Tunisian women don't behave like that... they behave like any European... they can behave like any European woman or like traditional woman... a traditional woman)

Safa was keen to show that Tunisian women are able to behave like European women, which might be at odds with her previous comment suggesting gender relations in the UK may be at an inferior stage to Tunisia. Yet, her disapproval might betray her own ideals concerning gender relations, and in Tunisia, public displays of affection are severely frowned upon. Eliana, on the other hand, fixated on the facial features of the people pictured:

Tourists they are tourists, especially the guy, he looks like French, no Italian maybe (...) they represent freedom and the Sahara as well, it's a free space, they can do whatever they want, yeah

Again, the notion of freedom is used to describe the tourists, which is perhaps unsurprising as Tunisians posing like this might be frowned upon in society, an idea furthered by Salwa and Mounira:

Salwa: Tourist! If she were, Tunisian she would not do that.

Mounira: (If she were Tunisian), she would be embarrassed... Salwa, she would be embarrassed, right?

Salwa: Er... she would be embarrassed, and that's that.

Mounira: Er.... unlike tourists they have freedom. Everything, freedom. (Tourists are free to do whatever they like)

Salwa and Mounira interpret the image as representing freedom and therefore the people imaged must be tourists. Dress and the bikini are specifically given as symbols of freedom, which are perhaps more constraining in Western society than they think. The embarrassment or shame they describe is due to the social construction of Tunisian femininity and the control of male relatives:

Mounira: *Interrupting* Swimming two 'pieces' [Eliana used the word in French]... everything, freedom (i.e. Women tourists are free to swim in a bikini). In Tunisia, women, not everything freedom (i.e. Tunisian women don't have enough freedom to do whatever they want).

Mounira: Too much gossiping (about women who wear revealing things). Fathers and brothers are always interfering, and keeping us from wearing such things. Unlike tourists, it's normal for them to wear (revealing clothes).

Mounira also suggests that Tunisian women are constrained by society:

English mentality is not like Tunisian mentality. here for example if the tourist is naked in front of Tunisian man they accept it because she's or she's tourist, but we suppose that I am Tunisian I am naked for er Tunisian men they look at you with er with strange eyes like they don't accept it

Azhar finds the image hysterical; she suggests that it would not be possible to sit in the Sahara wearing these clothes:

If they are they are really stylish (both laugh) erm that's not how you dress to go on a Sahara ride (laughs) I don't know this is with an engagement ring too, this is promoting for honeymoon, yeah, this is too artificial, when you go to the Sahara you have to wear black and white on top so you don't get sunburn because the white reflects the thing and the black absorbs it before it reaches your body no, and this picture is totally publicity, this is not Tunisia in the South, no, the scenery is, the couple is not you know

Nour was of a similar opinion, but for Nour, the couple were tourists due to the ridiculousness of the context, not because of the embrace:

Nour: They are not Tunisian even if you ask anyone here they will say the same thing

Heather: but do you think you can find a Tunisian couple lying like this?

Nour: on the beach... yeah

Heather: in the Sahara?

Nour: No I don't think so because in Sahara we do camping I mean erm fire er a group of people not a couple alone in Sahara it's a bit strange for us, but ok maybe it's an exception (laughing)

For Hela, the giveaway that the couple is a tourist couple was again their facial features, but not their pose. Hela suggests that she herself poses in a similar way with her husband, but she suggests she does this in Dubai, not in Tunisia:

No they aren't er I'm talking about faces they don't look like they are tourists, but er we may find Tunisian posing like that, I do pose like that with my husband and friends I have too many pictures from Dubai like that and wearing very nice in a very modern way, but they aren't because they don't look like Tunisians especially her maybe she's Russian

Miss Representation

Some of the participants commented on the brochure, stressing what they thought tourists would think about the women (re)presented in its pages, for Safa she believed tourists would think Tunisian women are the same as them:

They're going to consider her like their women... She lives the way she wants and does what she wants. When you see this magazine, it only gives you an idea about women who don't wear the scarf... This is how I see it... Other women, European women or even women from other Arab countries... women who are not wearing the scarf are the only ones who get out of their houses, who work... but women who wear the niqab or the scarf don't get out of their houses... but here it's the opposite, we have women with niqab wandering in the streets... Hijabis work in the administrations, or hospitals, or companies like this, or any other place

Safa understood that there was value in being (re)presented in the pages of the brochures, for Safa the brochure supports a 'specific sexism' (Gianettoni & Roux, 2010), which entwines with Islamophobia to Other veiled women by excluding them from the brochure. Drawing on a pre-revolution Tunisia, Hela suggests that freedom is actually something to be found in the UK:

In Britain you are more free than here in Tunisia, even I'm talking about religion and clothing, ok because when I went to London or Britain I was in Derby at that time when Ben Ali was ruling here erm, I saw a lot of niqabi women and men with a long beard and Afghani kind of dress, and it's really strange for me to see this kind of people walking in the streets because, I'm coming from Tunisia we don't have this kind of people dressing like that at that time, of course, and it was really weird and I was afraid of those people too, but er when I came back home I said to myself ahh its good they are better like that but now it's changing here too, but its ok I respect I'm very tolerant but I cannot understand how a person a woman can dress like that how can she feel or see herself as a body I dunno I cannot even for the hijab

Hela shows herself to be aware of the discourses surrounding Islamic dress by acknowledging that retrospectively she reflected that an ability to wear a niqab in the UK was a sign of more freedom than the invisibility of people wearing Islamic dress under Ben Ali's regime. Yet, the fear of seeing people dressed this way while she was in the UK evidences a regime of truth in Tunisia, which associated jihadism with traditionalism and privileged 'modern' people.

Conclusion

An understanding of the discursive frameworks utilised to (re)present Tunisian femininities can lead to some insight into the pervasiveness of tourism discourses and the 'circle of tourism representation' (Jenkins, 2003). The first part of the chapter delved into the discourses utilised and (re)produced by participants, which identified two dominant discourses on femininity found in the previous chapter: 'The modern daughter of Bourguiba' and the 'Southern Other'. Yet, within these discourses exist tourism and veiling. Tourism workers and tourists are both constructed as 'modern', whereas women who veil are predominantly conceived of as 'traditional' or 'conservative'. It is clear that participants utilise the same dominant discourses as the promotional materials, which provides an answer to the second research question: How do Tunisian women interact with touristic discourses constructed by Tunisian promotional materials?

Yet, rather than these discourses being a product of the brochures and website, the referencing of Habib Bourguiba in the interviews would suggest that these discourses have been in circulation since at least 1956. They are so dominant that they circulate in the materials produced by TNTTO and the participants' own responses. Participants

openly acknowledged a privileging of all that is ‘modern’ including women who meet this ideal, but ‘modernity’ comes with a cost. The symbolic association of clothing with being ‘modern’ means that for some this identity is unattainable, and those who can afford to dress ‘modern’ are constrained by a fear of sexual harassment as to how and where they can express this identity. Some participants (re)presented a homogeneous veiled Other category engaging in both ‘epistemic closure’ due to a lack of interaction with the people they were describing, and ‘epistemic violence’ by reducing any opportunities for other (re)presentations.

Interestingly, one of the only participants who did not (re)present a homogeneous veiled Other category was Eliana. Eliana who veils herself, dichotomously (re)presented two categories of women who veil – those from the North who are open, and those from the South who are ‘traditional’. Though some participants explain that there may be pressure to appear ‘modern’ for some tourism workers, others believe that Southern Others might strategically utilise a traditional identity to oppose tourist imperialism which is described as colonialism. The notion of ‘modernity’ is linked to freedom, but shame is linked to the repression of Southern women.

Freedom is also a concept found within some of the interpretations of the images in the second part of the chapter, which presented the results of the photo-elicitation in order to answer the sub-question of the second research question: How do Tunisian women interpret (re)presentation of Tunisian women in Tunisian promotional materials? Participants were far from unanimous when deciding upon the nationality of the model depicted in three of the images, suggesting that whilst the model was Tunisian few women identified with her. Interestingly, the tattooists suggest the simple ability to be photographed in this pose suggests she must be free, a theme which emerged again when discussing the tourist couple in the desert. Tourists are depicted as enjoying a freedom that Tunisian women are unable to enjoy, but for Safa, it appears that this is the other way around. Participants did not easily find the woman in the shadows, but when directed some asserted that the covered woman was the ‘typical’ Tunisian woman. Others explicitly commented that she epitomises ‘tradition’ when the foregrounded woman was ‘modern’.

8 Conclusion

Tourism employment is not a panacea for gender inequality or the disempowerment of women, as discussed in both the introduction and second chapter of this thesis. The under-researched area of gender and discourse is an important area for future tourism research that strives to account for the influence of the industry on femininities, as discourse shapes both gender and tourism. This chapter aims to summarise the key arguments articulated in chapter two Tourism and Gender, chapter three Tourism, Discourse and postcolonialism, chapter four Methodology and Research Approach, and chapter five Tunisia. The research questions and their answers are then discussed, before limitations and areas for future research. The contribution to knowledge is presented in advance of a final reflective note.

Chapter two of this thesis charted the literature on (re)presentation within the tourism industry, introducing the concept of the Other, and analysing studies centred on the (re)presentation of women in tourism promotional materials. This review of the literature found several dominant thematic foci such as the shaping of the (re)presentation of women within promotional materials by exotic and erotic discourses. There is also a tendency for extant research to focus on tourist women (re)presentations and utilise a deductive approach.

The theorising and analysis of cross-cultural power relations are more usefully explored utilising postcolonial theory, which can be critiqued for a lack of consideration of gender. Postcolonial feminism, as explored in chapter three, is particularly useful for exploring discourses on femininity due to the proliferation of concepts such as essentialism, Othering, epistemic closure and violence. Tourism in Islamic destinations has received little attention, but the extant literature highlights how these destinations may struggle to create positive destination images when organic images portray Islam and Muslims negatively. Muslim women's rights are often portrayed by Western media as an area of concern, similar to colonial discourse, and a discourse which can lead to racism but also ignorance towards sexism 'at home'. The Muslim woman has been Othered since at least the times of colonialism, and this is often evidenced by the appropriation of the veil as a symbol of subordination. Within the academic field of tourism little is known about how Tunisian Muslim women are (re)presented, but in other Islamic contexts, the veil has been utilised to symbolise the exotic and primitiveness.

Postcolonial feminism has not only informed the conceptual framework of this thesis, but also the methodological considerations. Postcolonial feminists such as Gayatri Spivak and Chandra Mohanty have critiqued scholars for their (re)presentations of research participants and ultimately drawn attention to both the importance of giving voice, but also the Western researcher's limited ability to give a voice. These discussions shaped how I approached the research and the questions that I chose to ask. This is discussed in the reflexivity section of the thesis, where I describe how a sense of shame influenced my beliefs towards veiling and, ultimately, meant that I did not directly question the participants on this topic. In the reflexivity session, I also discuss working with an interpreter and how even misunderstandings, which might be considered as a limitation of cross language research, are added layers of the data.

Tunisia has been shaped by multiple waves of colonialism and in order to perform a critical discourse analysis, an understanding of the context is paramount. Chapter five not only considered the historical background of the country but also more recent events. Since the beginning of the new millennium, Tunisia has been in a state of political instability, with the ousting of the last autocratic regime at the beginning of 2011 and terrorist attacks targeting tourists in 2015. These events have meant a reduction in tourist arrivals and have shaped the interviews carried out for this thesis, as participants positioned me as a friendly 'outsider' and attempted to show me the best of their country. Both men and women who were visibly Muslim risked detainment under the previous regime in Tunisia which has shaped discourses on femininity.

Chapters six and seven have presented the results of the content analysis of the brochures and website and the critical discourse analysis of those and the interviews. These chapters almost wrote themselves, this is not to say that a lot of work did not go into the analysis or the data. The abductive approach adhered to meant that I was constantly oscillating between theory, literature and data. I moved back and forth between the data sets and theories that might explain what I was seeing, and reflexive practice made me question my own assumptions. I felt very close to my data at the time of writing, I felt as though I understood the story both it and I wanted to tell. Discourses on femininity emerged through the process of analysis, which are discussed in more detail in the following section with regard to the initial research questions.

The Discursive (re)presentation of Tunisian women

The first research question asked how Tunisian women are discursively (re)presented by

Tunisian promotional materials targeting a UK audience, and chapter six aimed at specifically answering this question focussed on the analysis of brochures and a website produced by TNTO. This first research question evolved in part from the literature and in part from my own experience in Tunisia, as I wondered how past research that had shown women to be habitually sexualised in tourism promotions might explain the (re)presentation of women in Muslim contexts. From the analysis different, but related discursive strategies were interpreted: the removal of Tunisian women from host-guest interactions and from gender relations in general, the construction of the South as 'repressive', the privileging of the unveiled woman, a general distancing from religion, the drawing on similarity and geographical situating of Tunisia in the Mediterranean as oppose to North Africa, and the distancing of Tunisians (most specifically Tunisian women) from history and tradition, as well as the (re)creation of binary opposites to construct a modern-tradition dichotomy – 'Italian fashion next to traditional headscarves'.

From the brochures there is a notable emergence of two different and competing discourses of femininity: the 'modern' femininity, belonging to the North, which is uncovered, and the 'veiled Other' femininity, belonging to the South, which is covered. Even though the brochures are over a decade old, the same discourses persist in the website. The 'modern' femininity embodied by Miss Tunisia, the tourism minister, and the helper at the trade show is privileged over the 'veiled Other'. The inclusion of the first two videos in the website is questionable as they appear unrelated to tourism promotion, and so it might be conferred that their role is to (re)present Tunisian women. Moreover, figure 6.4. the Othering of the veiled, Southern woman resembles colonial discursive strategies in (re)presenting the foreign Other, which sought to discursively construct the veiled woman as a signifier of all that was 'backwards' (Hoodfar, 1992). Yet, perhaps it is the unveiling of the foregrounded woman that is most telling of the perseverance of these discourses. European colonisation of the Muslim world was constituted by and constitutive of a desire to unveil women, who were (re)presented as exotic Others, which if to be known had to be uncovered (Zine, 2002).

The necessities of certain political discourses shape and give form to (re)presentation (Gianettoni & Roux, 2010) and the political regimes in Tunisia have consistently attempted to repress religious values, primarily the practice of veiling. This privileging of modernity appears to copy Western discourse on the privileging of modernity (McCintock, 1995). In an effort to meet the fantasmatic 'modern' ideal introduced by the colonisers, the local elite worked within the same discursive framework attempting to undo all that had previously been considered 'backward', initiating processes of unveiling (Fanon, 1963, 2003). Yet, perhaps these discourses were so pervasive that any possibility of counter-discourse was

annihilated (Spivak, 1988), but what is true is that there was (and is) no ‘pure’ discursive space from which an authentic identity could be constructed (Zine, 2002). In Tunisia, the privileging of either discourse on femininity could be read within the colonial discursive framework. The privileging of the veiled Other could be strategic essentialism (Spivak, 1988) and the privileging of a modern femininity could be mimicry (Bhabha, 1984).

The (re)presentations belong to promotional material produced by TNTTO, so they may also be understood as a counter-narrative to the dominant and persistent Orientalist (re)presentations that the Other is ‘backwards’ and ‘veiled’ intimately entwined with capitalism. After all, these (re)presentations have been created in order to sell tourism to the West, in this case, the UK, and within the West dominant negative discourses surround both Muslims and the veil (Khaksari, Lee & Lee, 2014; Morakabati, 2013). Nonetheless, these competing discourses or at least the discourse which privileges the unveiled ‘modern’ woman are the continuation of ‘Bourguibism’ (see chapter five). Bourguiba, who inflicted a modernising project upon Tunisians, might be termed a Bhabbian ‘mimic man’. Bhabha’s (1984) notions of mimicry are evident in Bourguiba’s ‘appropriation’ of the French Other as he assimilated all that he deemed modern (see chapter five). His strategic use of the tourist, alongside policing, to be later continued by Ben Ali is evidence of intensified surveillance – the tourist with their gaze and the police with their prisons. Bhabha’s mimicry concept sees the Other disavow their own Otherness, whereas for Fanon (1963) assimilation is merely a masquerade hiding the Otherness identified by the colonisers. In this case, Bourguiba disavowed his Otherness, as could be seen by his total disregard for all that could be deemed traditional, for example fasting (or at least the public masquerade of fasting) during Ramadan (Ghumkhor, 2012). Leaving aside explanations of the discourses on femininity, both (re)presentational practices, that of the ‘modern’ Tunisian woman and that of the ‘veiled other’ tend towards very essentialist (re)presentations. Both are reductionist, portraying each as a homogeneous category (Jack & Westwood, 2009), evident from for example the persistent assignation and generalisation of the role of weaver to Tunisian women from the South.

The discursive move to foreground or privilege the unveiled, ‘modern’, Tunisian woman contradicts the findings of past tourism research. Previous studies found that in promoting other Muslim countries, such as Malaysia and Yemen, the veil became a device to promote the exotic and ‘backwards’ (Al Mahadin & Burns, 2007; Hashim, Murphy & Hashim, 2007; Jafari & Scott, 2014). Overall, the findings of this thesis can contribute to the tourism literature by suggesting that discourses of the ‘exotic’ and the ‘erotic’ (Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b) may not explain gendered host (re)presentations. Tourism research on this

area should fully contextualise the study in line with postcolonial feminist theorising to enable a focus on intranational as well as international discourses. This thesis furthers methodological approaches for the study of gendered host (re)presentations by highlighting a deficiency in deductive approaches, such as the use of Goffman's (1979) framework. These approaches may overlook the context dependent gendered discourses such as those identified in this thesis. Ultimately, rather than depicting familiar stereotypes, which has been noted as a discursive strategy in tourism brochures (Henrici, 2002; Marshment, 1997), TNTO has chosen to depict similarity to the target market and this similarity is a heavy burden on the shoulders of women. This discursive privileging of a 'modern' Other can and has directly impacted the lives of those women who cannot or will not embody the discourse as can be seen in chapters five and seven.

Brochures and Online (re)presentations

The sub-question of the first research question sought to explore how (re)presentations of Tunisian women in printed brochures and websites might differ, which was analysed in chapter six. This question is important as online information sources grow in popularity, the printed brochure may become obsolete, and there is a dearth of studies focussing on gendered host (re)presentation online (see chapter two). This question sought not only to investigate differences in the discourses across mediums, but also to add a longitudinal perspective, as the brochures were produced more than ten years ago, but the website can be updated each and every day.

In the web pages of the website, there was evidence of a modern-tradition dichotomy and only modern was utilised as an adjective for Tunisians in general. Modern was used to describe Tunisian people, and it was used to describe the winner of Miss Tunisia. The same discourses as highlighted above were evident on the website, but in a dramatic shift from the brochures, there are no images of Tunisian women alone. There was also one (re)presentation of a Tunisian woman market vendor, whereas in the brochures the role of the vendor was assigned to Tunisian men. In addition, the website introduces the notion that carpet weaving in the South is a family activity rather than just a female activity.

Perhaps most strikingly in relation to the discussion above, is the mention of the first President Habib Bourguiba, as the website utilises women's rights to portray the President positively. Interestingly, in a study of the promotional materials (brochures and websites) of six predominantly Muslim countries, Henderson (2008) found that Tunisia was the only country to mention women's rights. This is perhaps unsurprising as Tunisia has been hailed globally as a success story for women's rights and the country's leaders have used this to

garner support from the West (see chapter five). The persistent use of Bourguiba and women's rights in touristic promotional materials does suggest the government believes this to be an attractive discourse for their target market. The interactivity of the website allows much more content than the pages of the printed brochures and some news stories appeared quite irrelevant to tourism in Tunisia, such as the Miss Tunisia news item. The news item was however directly concerned with the (re)presentation of the privileging of the 'modern' woman.

The most remarkable difference between the website and the brochures is found in one of the embedded externally created videos, which in contrast to both the brochures and the rest of the website privileges Tunisians over tourists by (re)presenting them more. The Spanish video also shows more covered or veiled women than uncovered, perhaps aiming to show contrast and difference, drawing on discourses of the exotic Other, a dominant strategy in the tourism industry (Echtner & Prasad, 2003; Schellhorn & Perkins, 2004; Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b; Al Mahadin & Burns, 2007; Duffey et al., 2015). Yet, the video refrains from discursively constructing a monolithic Other (Mohanty, 1988) by picturing both 'modern' unveiled women and veiled women, in Othering the exotic this video appears to be more inclusive than the promotional material produced by the national tourism board. The process of Othering which is habitually viewed as negative within the tourism literature (Galasiński & Jaworski, 2003) may actually be a positive force for inclusion in this particular video. Again, here it is a contextual understanding of the destination that has led to this argument which contributes to theories of Othering by problematising the notion of Othering = negative colonial discursive imposition.

The modern and the Other

The second research question was concerned with exploring how Tunisian women engaged with touristic discourses constructed in the Tunisian promotional materials. One of the sub-questions was concerned with how Tunisian women discursively construct Tunisian femininities, and both questions are answered in the analysis of the interviews provided in chapter seven. This question was imperative to this study because without Tunisian female voices the study would be incomplete, it is the voices of the participants presented in chapter seven that highlights the pervasiveness of the discourses of femininity identified in chapter six.

Strikingly within the interviews the participants engaged in (re)constructing the same discourses highlighted in the analysis of the brochures and the website the 'modern' unveiled Other and the 'traditional' veiled Other. Within these discourses, they included

the 'modern' tourist worker, the Southern Other, and the 'daughter of Bourguiba', but all are interrelated. Many of the participants engaged in essentialising the South and Southern women without ever having visited the area, but by relying on dominant discursive stereotypes they evidenced epistemic closure - the reduction of a person to their stereotype without ever knowing them (Andsager & Drzewiecka, 2002; Borgerson & Schroeder, 2002). Interestingly one participant showed what might be considered as strategic essentialism (Spivak, 1988), Safa who covered and worked in Kairouan only thinly covered her disdain for the tourists when she asked Eliana not to translate what she had said. Safa was also keen to explain how tourists wanted to be able to live like her, in many ways while Safa performed the role of Other – she constructed her own identity as different from the Modern tourist worker and the tourist – she never managed to perform an exact Other. Safa works, she leaves the home, her job demands she interacts with foreign tourists, her Other identity is hybrid (Bhabha, 1994).

The 'modernisation' of the woman tourist worker is not only evident in Tunisia, In Xishuang Banna, China, there is a situation of conflict between the staged self, the actual modern self and internal orientalism (Li, 2003). Women working within the tourism industry perform in order to meet tourist expectations, but modernise away from the tourist gaze and then proceed to Other those who do not meet the 'modern' ideal. Yet, from the participants' interviews in this thesis, there was little evidence of a staged self solely performed for tourists, but perhaps a staged self for the market, for the everyday. One of the participants commented that there were places where 'modern' clothes simply could not be worn, and indeed arguably all selves might be staged. There was, however, a distinctive discourse on the Other, but while Li (2003) focussed on 'modern' women, some of the participants in this thesis could be considered their Other.

Interestingly one of the participants who might be considered as 'traditional' tended towards privileging 'modern' tourist workers, but also described herself and people from her area as normal, but not 'modern'. This might both suggest the pervasiveness of the colonial discourse as the 'modern' tourist workers are privileged, but also a potential counter-narrative. Whilst, the 'modern' is privileged, her own position is normalised. Interestingly, it was not only participants who chose not to veil that discursively constructed veiled women as Other by relating veiling practices to conservatism and tradition. The use of such similar discourses by those who could be conceived of as Other perhaps suggests 'strategic essentialism' (Spivak, 1988). By appropriating the same cultural practices that situate the women as Other, the participants may be attempting to resist assimilation (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2001; Fanon, 1963). One of the only participants who did not (re)present a homogeneous veiled Other category was Eliana,

ultimately resisting creating a monolithic essentialised Other (Mohanty, 1988). Yet, Eliana who veils, dichotomously (re)presented two categories of women who veil – those from the North who are open, and those from the South who are ‘traditional’. The use of this dichotomy might be mimicry (Bhabha, 1984), as it is almost the same discourse, but slightly different – the use of this discursive Other also allows Eliana to situate herself in the dominant category. In (re)presenting the Other, Eliana is able to construct a sense of self (Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988).

The discourse of modernity and the modern-traditional dichotomy was constantly used by participants to discursively construct both self and Other. Participants explained how many Tunisian women want to imitate modernity, and modernity was discursively linked to freedom. However, even the ‘modern’ Tunisian women cannot be modern all the time, and one participant explained how she could not dress in a ‘modern way’ to visit the market for fear of sexual harassment. The tourist worker was not the only person to be discursively constructed as modern and one participant explained how Tunisians view themselves as inferior to the tourists who (re)present ‘modernity’. Another explained that there were double standards concerning the acceptable behaviour of tourist women and Tunisian women. Both the privileging of ‘modern’ Tunisian women and ‘modern’ tourist resembles Fanon’s (1963) evaluation of the total denigration of colonised populations during European colonisation, it might also suggest that tourist presence is a factor in the continuation of this denigration. Even if tourists are unaware of their role, it appears tourism is a continuation of colonialism (Hall & Tucker, 2004).

Within the interviews, there was also a suggestion that southern women do not want to become modern and that in fact, they might oppose it vehemently, which could be an observation of strategic essentialism (Spivak, 1988). However, it could also be a repetition of discourse utilised to legitimise colonialism, a discourse legitimising the exclusion of the Other. The participants’ engagement with the discourses does tend to suggest there is a subtle, accepted racism which excludes all women who do not meet the ‘modern’ ideal. On the other hand, Safa was the only participant to Other the tourists negatively, she suggests that she might be ‘freer’ than women in the UK and in another instance shows her disapproval of tourist behaviour. This is a clear example of a counter-discourse to the dominant discourse privileging all that is deemed ‘modern’. As Safa is from the religious city of Kairouan, the only city to succeed in opposing Bourguibism, her counter-narrative might originate from religious discourses.

Other evidence of counter-narratives were revealed in the interviews, for example, Azhar suggested that many women wore the veil in order to display ‘purity’ to attract a husband,

which suggests that there might be some desirability in the veil. Yet, this differs among women, even siblings, this is not the case and one participant described fearing women who choose to wear a niqab, as she associates the niqab with terrorism. This could be due to the temporal context of the interviews, taking place in the wake of a terrorist attack. Interestingly one participant almost repeated Spivak's (2003) words identically, in commenting on difference Azhar stated:

we need people who are willing to work there who are willing to work with their hands so we don't need them to be intelligent and open and we don't need them to see the world

which evidences that the importance of cultural difference is no longer confined to national difference between the coloniser and the colonised Other, but also intra-national difference, related to class and education – ‘the ones who work with their heads are taught in one way (...) and the ones who are going to work with their bodies are taught in another way’ (Sharpe & Spivak, 2003: 617-618). This intra-national difference is exasperated by official governmental sanctioning, as even the representative from TNTO and the director of a tourism institute Othered veiled women. It is the referencing of Bourguiba though that tends to suggest a specific origin for both of these competing discourses on femininity.

Tunisian Women (re)viewing Tunisian Women

The final sub-question: How do Tunisian women interpret the (re)presentation of Tunisian women in Tunisian promotional materials? Was asked in part to respond to a need to investigate how ‘hosts’ view (re)presentations as identified by Pritchard and Morgan (2000) and to make an empirical contribution to the tourism literature. Interestingly not all participants identified the model portrayed in *Holidays in Tunisia* as Tunisian. Throughout the interviews, the notion of ‘modernity’ was linked to freedom, but shame was linked to the repression of Southern women. The photo-elicitation also led to associations with freedom and shame and two of the participants suggested that the ability to be photographed suggests freedom, a theme which emerged again when discussing the tourist couple in the desert. Tourists are depicted as enjoying a freedom that Tunisian women are unable to enjoy, but as previously stated for one of the participants it was clear that she did not agree with the tourist behaviour.

Traditionally, women were controlled by the kin group as her ‘misbehaviour’ could bring shame on the entire group. This meant women were restricted spatially, and socially, who

they could see and what they could do or wear was imposed socially (Charrad, 2001). From the interviews it is clear that this practice lives on in contemporary society, the henna tattooists thought that a Southern woman would not be able to do their work as it would be shameful and the couchsurfer host believed women in the South felt ashamed of menstruation. Shame appears to be an emotion assigned to Southern women by the participants; whereas freedom belongs to the Northern tourist workers and their guests. Shame contributes to the discursive practice of Othering, but it might also highlight the survival of traditional kin based culture, perhaps especially in the South. Yet, shame might mean that women who are thought to feel it are not included in (re)presentation or tourism work at all. The dominance of a belief that Southern women would be ashamed could become part of the reason why they are excluded.

The covered women in figure 6.4 was identified as the 'typical' Tunisian woman, and this image allowed the clarification of the discourses of 'modern' and 'tradition' as the shadowed woman was said to epitomise 'tradition' when the foregrounded woman was 'modern'. At the end of the interviews, two of the participants suggested that the (re)presentation of Tunisian women in Holidays in Tunisia was unfair and one suggested that there was a lack of freedom in Tunisia for women who choose to veil.

The interviews evidence the circulation of the two discourses of femininity identified in the brochures and website in Tunisia, a discourse privileging the unveiled 'modern daughter of Bourguiba' and another Othering the 'Southern veiled Other'. Both discourses are pervasive, but there is some evidence of potential counter-narratives utilised by at least one participant. Interestingly, this counter-narrative is found in the one city that resisted Bourguibism and the existence of a counter-narrative might suggest that the city is still resisting denigration, a spillover from the European colonial era, continued (inadvertently?) by tourists. Tunisia is at a stage of transition, the old regimes of Bourguiba and Ben Ali appear to have come to a close, and we are yet to see the continuities and discontinuities of the current discourses on femininity.

Recommendations for Future Research

This research has investigated both how Tunisian women are (re)presented in Tunisian touristic promotional materials and how Tunisian women view their (re)presentation. This thesis evidences the utility of discourse as both theory and method for gender and tourism research. Tourism is yet to show its ability to contribute to gender equality or women's empowerment (Ferguson & Alcaron, 2015), but discourse may be an approach that aids

researchers in gaining a contextualised understanding of localised gender constructions. This, in turn, can aid in a more political project of challenging gender inequality, after all the identification of discourses that constitute gendered identities can be a first step in discursively undoing positions of subordination (Riach, Rumens & Tyler, 2016). A discourse analysis of (re)presentations should be at least one element in research on the potential of tourism to empower women. However, this type of research is context specific and as such much more research on the discursive (re)presentation of 'host' women is needed.

Discourse can also be utilised to analyse (re)presentations of tourist women and within the brochures and website analysed in this thesis, there appears to be a reliance on Western discursive frameworks to (re)present tourist women as passive and eroticised objects. Whilst the (re)presentation of 'guests' was beyond the scope of this thesis, further research in this area may provide additional insights into how the 'host' discursively constructs tourist women. Sexual harassment targeting tourists is not unusual and can be related to discourses circulating among the host society. Gender and tourism research still equates gender to women (Khoo-Lattimore & Mura, 2016), which is a legitimate and necessary political endeavour but which excludes half of the population. More research is needed not just on (and for) women in tourism, but also on (and for) men and masculinities, but research that breaks the binary and begins to formulate wider conceptualisations of gender is pertinent. A distinct strategy to discursively construct a very heteronormative family was identified in the data, and as noted homosexuality is illegal in Tunisia. There have been cases of tourist arrest on the grounds of homosexuality, and there is also a growing Tunisian LGBT activist movement, which suggests a need for LGBT tourism research.

This thesis has not analysed tourist interaction with the (re)presentations or the role of tourists in (re)presenting (in this case) Tunisian women. As has been argued in chapter two, the digital era has changed the role of tourists, they can also create (re)presentations of their own and these (re)presentations can be accessed in the same way as DMO publicity. Tourist (re)presentations online provide a wealth of data concerning audience reception and production of (re)presentations, potentially providing further insight into the 'circle of representation'. This online source of data is yet to be accessed by gender and tourism researchers but could open a variety of research trajectories, such as the (re)construction of solo female tourists.

As noted in the section on interviews in chapter five, my privilege and assigned identity of 'friendly outsider' or tourist often aided in the recruitment of participants, but this

positionality has ultimately influenced the construction of the research and its findings. This potential bias exists in all research, and I have attempted to create a reproducible or transparent study by including my own voice and by giving space to reflexivity. However, this can only do so much and I am sure my reflection will shift and change over time as I return to my days in the field and the process of constructing this thesis in my head. In order to meet the aims of a more Hopeful Tourism approach and to negotiate the issue of cultural relativism found at the crossroads of critical theory and constructionism, more participatory methods might have been better positioned within this research. Participatory methods, such as working with peer researchers, could have been more inclusive and could have broken down the language and cultural barriers to building rapport with the participants. Future cross-cultural research on gender and tourism in Tunisia or other contexts may choose to employ more participatory methods.

Finally, many of the participants interviewed for this research were potentially upwardly mobile. Only three of the participants might have had no potential for upward mobility (subaltern) and this has meant that perhaps the most marginalised in society have still not been 'given a voice', which is both a limitation and an area for future research. The main finding of the research is that there are two dominant and competing discourses on femininity: the privileged 'daughter of Bourguiba' and the 'Southern Other', but for the large part the 'Southern Other' remains mute. This is an important area for future research on gender in Tunisia, especially given the current national and international political climate.

Contribution to Knowledge

By the close of the year 2016, no one country had achieved gender equality, women face discrimination, violence, gender pay inequality, and poverty more often than men (World Economic Forum, 2016). Yet, even though the tourism industry has been hailed as a vehicle for women's empowerment and a route towards achieving the Millennium and sustainable development goals (UNWTO & UN Women, 2011; UNWTO, 2016), studies on gender and tourism remain marginal (Domecq et al., 2015; Small et al., 2017). This thesis has made an empirical contribution to the tourism literature in its exploration and analysis of the politicised nature of the gendered (re)presentation of Tunisian women by TNTO. In many aspects an uncritical study could find tourism to further gender equality in Tunisia, it has after all been coupled with tourism in the nation's development plans, and Tunisian women are often cited to enjoy more 'freedom' than other women in the MENA region. However, the critical approach subscribed to here has helped to elucidate very

different discourses and material realities associated with them. Rather than Tunisian women enjoying ‘freedom’, they are constrained by two polarised discourses on femininity: the ‘daughter of Bourguiba’ and the ‘veiled, Southern Other’. In agreement with postcolonial feminist theorising (Spivak, 1988) it could be said that Tunisian women in this thesis find it difficult ‘to speak’ as all that has been said is wrapped up within (post)colonial discourse.

This research is a timely addition to research on Muslim contexts and international politics, as it highlights how one group of women and one discourse on femininity has been excluded and denigrated within the Tunisian context. Moreover, there is a paucity of research at the intersection of gender, religion and tourism where this thesis is located. In Tunisia, it is the modern ‘daughter of Bourguiba’ who is privileged in the papers of both the brochures and website of the governmental body charged with tourism. The identifiably Muslim woman lacks almost any (re)presentation, but when she is (re)presented she is Othered – she is the binary opposite to the modern ‘daughter of Bourguiba’. This finding contradicts previous studies, which have highlighted how visibly Muslim women have been used in tourism promotion as an attractive ‘exotic’ Other (Al Mahadin & Burns, 2007; Hashim, Murphy & Hashim, 2007; Jafari & Scott, 2014). This finding can have an implication for future theorising as it highlights how there are discourses outside the ‘erotic’ and the ‘exotic’, which are framing the (re)presentations of women in promotional materials. In addition, the thesis evidences the importance of the intra-national as well as the international.

The findings of this thesis problematise the negative connotation of Othering found within much of the tourism and postcolonial literature (Caton & Santos, 2008; Dicks, 2004; Echtner & Prasad, 2003; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Kothari & Wilkinson, 2010; Said, 1997; Spivak, 1998), subsequently contributing to both postcolonial theory and the tourism literature. The thesis finds that some (re)presentations which draw on discourses of the exotic Other are more inclusive than those drawing on discourses of cultural proximity or similarity to the tourist generating region. Whereas the (re)presentations promoted by the Tunisian state discursively construct a similar ‘daughter of Bourguiba’, privileged in space and occurrence, an external Spanish (re)presentation linked in the website utilises the discourse of exoticism, which is far more inclusive. However, it does so because it does not create one monolithic woman, but (re)presents different discourses on femininity, sometimes simultaneously. This also suggests that while host ‘self’ (re)presentations are intimately entwined within a system of both local and global politics, cross-cultural

(re)presentations are removed from at least some of these. In the case of Tunisia, this is very evident from the video produced by Spanish producers when compared to TNTOs own (re)presentations.

As highlighted in both the introduction and chapter two, little is known about how those (re)presented view and understand the (re)presentations (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000). In order to address this gap in research, photo elicitation was introduced in the interviews, the method enabled participants to develop an opinion even if some of the interview questions had been misunderstood or misinterpreted. While Photo elicitation is an increasingly popular method for tourism researchers it has been used less for research on tourism and gender, and this thesis highlights its utility in cross-cultural research. Yet, the main methodological contribution that this thesis makes is in highlighting the suitability of abductive approaches to cross-cultural gender and tourism research. As noted in chapter two research on gendered (re)presentations and tourism has been dominated by deductive approaches, applying frameworks to data, but as these frameworks were developed in the West they were deemed unsuitable for postcolonial Other contexts. Here an abductive approach facilitated the oscillation between theory and data, the researcher was not testing a theory or framework, but exploring the data and theory iteratively in order to produce an in depth interpretation.

The complex methodology utilised was difficult to negotiate (as explored in the reflexivity section), partly because discourse and abduction are under utilised in gender and tourism research and partly because published journal articles on the intricacies of doing research are marginal. This has meant that there was little to guide me in the use of the methods and theory, but the methodology has yielded thick descriptive insights. Working with interpreters is another area that has received little attention in the tourism literature, but this thesis highlights how working with an interpreter can add an additional layer of data. Eliana, the interpreter worked within her own discursive frames to construct a response which is not unbiased. Although the results of this thesis are not generalisable, the methods may be reproducible and could aid future cross-cultural gender scholars. Considering these aspects, the current project not only contributes to gender and tourism scholarship but also to postcolonial studies and conceptualisations of 'othering'.

Finally, tourism studies are still dominated by positivism, and quantitative methods, or what has been termed elsewhere as the malestream (Heimtun, 2007) – but I hope my thesis is the exact opposite. I hope the main contribution of my thesis might be that other PhD students in business schools might one day pick up my thesis, as I did with those of others,

to see that there are other ways of writing one.

* * *

This thesis only ‘came together’ upon the analysis of the participants’ interviews, but it remains incomplete, I am not sure it could ever be complete. There are stories that remain to be told. There is no final conclusion, only we must do more. More research is required and I fear it will never be enough.

As this thesis comes to a close, I feel it is important to address a comment I made at the beginning. When I began writing this thesis I was not a feminist or at least a self-identifying feminist. Through reading and researching I quickly realised that we are not equal now, not yet, not anywhere. I began slowly to call myself a feminist, to attend protests and even blog about women’s issues. I call myself a feminist because for me it is a title I can rally around, an empowering title; it is the name of the community that I belong to and a demonstration of my commitment to gender equality. Without this title, I am not sure I would ever submit this thesis, but with it, I know this research is important regardless of my fears and anxieties.

Thinking back reflexively through the research, the biggest hurdle I have had to struggle slowly over has been cultural relativism. I struggle now to finish and submit this thesis full of the stories and remarks that are not my own, but I hope and believe that my Tunisian friends who have so warmly received me will understand that this thesis began and has continued to be written from a place of solidarity.

Solidarity does not assume that our struggles are the same struggles, or that our pain is the same pain, or that our hope is for the same future. Solidarity involves commitment, and work, as well as the recognition that even if we do not have the same feelings, or the same lives, or the same bodies, we do live on common ground.

- Sara Ahmed (2004: 189)

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Begin interview by asking participant to discuss her job, or a typical day, or interaction with tourists.

What do you think UK tourists expect of Tunisians?

What do you think they expect of Tunisian women?

Is there anything that surprises UK tourists about Tunisian women?

Can you tell me about the role and status of Tunisian women?

Are there any differences among regions?

Follow up with probing questions, such as why do you think that? Or, can you describe a situation where that happened?

Show participants images from the brochures, accompany with vague questions, such as 'what do you think?'