Images of the World

How Norwegian travel magazines portray destinations and their inhabitants

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May 2016
Abstract

This thesis examines representations in Norwegian travel magazines. It focuses on the geographical distribution of described regions and nations, the inclusion of local people and their culture as well as the application of journalistic standards. The study follows Hanusch's (2011, 2014) analysis of newspaper travel sections of various countries. In order to find out how destinations and their inhabitants were portrayed, a content analysis of text and photographs of three Norwegian travel magazines was conducted. Findings show that Norwegian travel magazines often follow traditional representations by relying on stereotypical descriptions of mass tourism destinations. The analysis also demonstrates that the representations in Norwegian travel magazines differ for various parts of the world. This is the case for different aspects of the depictions. Firstly an imbalance of covered regions and nations was detected. While Western nations are frequently covered by the magazines, other regions are widely neglected. Furthermore, destinations are covered according to their traditional images. The travel magazines hold on to one-dimensional portrayals of destinations in text as well as photographs. Moreover do the findings point to stereotypical depictions of the host population. Even though local people are often found in the coverage, they are mostly seen as 'Others' and rarely depicted as equals to tourists.
Acknowledgment

The thesis is finished and I am looking forward to new challenges. It was not always easy to stay focused, but with the help and support of good people I arrived at the finishing line.

First I want to thank my supervisor Audun Bayer. Your constructive criticism brought me always back on the right track. After every meeting I felt that I got some new inspiration, orientation and new ideas to carry on. Also thanks to you you this thesis contains only a fraction of however's, I know that there is usually no comma before that and how to spell therefore.

A big thanks goes also to the editorial departments of all three travel magazines which I analyzed in this thesis. REIS, Reiselyst and Vagabond, thanks for providing all issues of the magazines I needed for my analysis. It made the coding process a lot less painful.

Further I want to thank my friends Werner and Lisa for proofreading the thesis on very short notice. You guys helped me through the last week!

I also want to thank my family and friends in Norway and back home in Austria for - I don't know really, mainly for being you!

And finally, I want to thank you Camilla, for always believing in me and supporting me the best possible way. I couldn't and probably wouldn't have done it without you. Thank you. You can now have the dinner table back.

Arnold Heim, May 2016
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1. Introduction

Tourism is regarded as the world’s largest industry. An expanding global middle class involves a growing market in travel and leisure activities (Hanusch & Fürsich 2014). In 2014, the ever increasing number of tourists traveling abroad reached over 1.1 billion (UNWTO, 2015). The ongoing globalization and more people on the move implicate a natural necessity for people to know about the world (Fürsich 2010). At the same time a decline of foreign news reporting and the preferences for conflict, cultural proximity and elite nations in its coverage, limit the pool of information about foreign countries and cultures considerably (ibid.). Meanwhile, information sources of travel- and lifestyle-related content are abundant. Resources reach from TV-shows to specialized magazines and the seemingly infinite sources on the Internet. The increasing interest in lifestyle journalism and the more than ever desire to travel may point towards an important role for travel journalism in representing the world to audiences (Hanusch 2014).

However, representations of places and their inhabitants through the media are not always unproblematic. Earlier research has shown that mediated representations of ‘Others’ often fail to portray foreign people in a fair way (Fürsich 2010, Hanusch 2011). This happens for example when the host destination and its population are depicted as different, exotic or undeveloped (Alfsen 2009). Such problematic representations can contribute to ongoing social and political inequalities (ibid.) and should therefore be investigated. While studies of the recent years have covered representations in various travel media in different countries, such studies are rather rare in the Nordic countries. This thesis therefore examines representations in Norwegian travel magazines. It will investigate how different places in the world and their inhabitants are portrayed by Norwegian travel journalists.

1.1 Background and purpose

Travel magazines are an important source for travelers to find information about destinations and learn about their places of interest. Illustrated with professional, colorful pictures, they often seek to create an idyllic world far away from home. Exotic places with picture-perfect beaches and impressive nature scenery are standard travel journalism instruments and make us dream about traveling. As much as travel journalism is entertaining and informing its audience it is highly influential on the formation of the readers' destination image (Hanusch
Travel magazines and other media promoting the act of traveling can thus be seen as intermediaries for tourism and are involved into the decision-making process for holiday-seekers (Pan & Hsu 2014). These sources can influence our expectations and our perception of the desired destination (Hsu & Song 2014). In other words, descriptions and photographs of places in the magazines can help to decide if we want to visit a destination or not. These representations may thus be seen as factors to increase or decrease tourism and in this regard might contribute to change destinations, influence their culture and affect their inhabitants.

Travel journalism does not always hold up a high quality and is in reality often rather commercially interested than keen to retain a high journalistic standard (Alfsen 2009). It has therefore often been criticized, mainly for being more consumer-orientated than interested in displaying a well balanced and true portrait of a country or region and its people (ibid.). Critics point out that travel reports touch only the surface of a country and its culture when positive aspects prevail, while negative aspects of the destination are neglected (ibid.). Moland (as cited in Kongerud 2013), travel journalist for the magazine Reiselyst, explains that they choose to include destinations that they find exciting and interesting for their readers, but usually not for examining them critically. Moholdt (as cited in Kongerud 2013), author for the travel magazine Reiser og Ferie adds, that his task is not to write sad stories, but to inspire people. With regard to the overbalance of positive coverage, it is not surprising that travel journalism can be seen as unrealistic and close to fiction and thereby being addressed solely to tourism consumers and not to cultural enthusiasts or people interested in society (Alfsen 2009).

While some see the purpose of travel journalism in a merely positive coverage, others argue for a multifaceted coverage. Wyller (as cited in Alfsen 2009), editor-in-chief in Vagabond, sees the task of the modern travel journalist in fueling the dreams of the readers about foreign places and life-enhancing encounters with foreign cultures, without forgetting about the circumstances and life conditions. According to Fürsich & Kavoori (2014, p. 29), travel journalists “operate at the boarder between the foreign and the familiar”, which puts them in a “critical position of cultural translators”. Their professional task is to tell us stories about other cultures and distant places and hereby “package culture” (ibid.). Simonsen (2001, as cited in Alfsen 2009) adds, that the goal of a travel report is to increase knowledge and understanding of others' reality and experience. However, she also argues that in reality travel journalism often contributes to reinforce biased views and prejudices about foreign countries. Also Pan & Hsu's (2014, p. 77) examination of Chinese travel media show that travel
journalists rarely challenge and instead “reflect the dominant frames in their own culture”. According to them, those dominant frames become stereotypes when they persist long enough and “constitute the mental pictures for readers to understand the destinations” (ibid.). Travel journalists assist in extending and reinforcing those stereotypes by writing and telling what they believe the audience wants to read and know (ibid.).

According to Pirolli (2014), diversification of topics, a variation of points of view and the reinforcement of journalistic standards could help to address audiences' concerns better. She agrees that certain destinations will also in the future be favored in their coverage but argues that travelers on the search for the authentic experience challenge writers to attend to unique content. And although this is so far mainly done by unprofessional travel bloggers, it can be seen as a chance for travel journalism (ibid.).

Based on the preliminary discussion, the scope of this thesis can be specified. The focus of the thesis is on mapping the coverage of Norwegian travel magazines in regard to the diversification of the coverage, variation of points of view and utilization of journalistic standards. With the help of the theoretical framework I will establish an overview of what the different spheres of travel journalism involve and which effects they can have. Then I will analyze the content of the magazines by applying measurements that are based on earlier research. This earlier studies will be addressed in the following section, before I present the research questions for this thesis.

1.2 Previous studies

Generally, there does not seem to exist a lot of academic research on travel journalism. The existing knowledge is concentrated in a few important studies, with the majority conducting content analysis of travel stories (Hanusch 2009, as cited in Hanusch 2011). Some of the few studies about travel journalism in the Nordic countries are Ljungberg's (2012) study of Swedish travel magazines in her doctoral dissertation, the thesis of Kongerud (2013), containing qualitative interviews of Norwegian travel journalists and the thesis of Smaadal (2011) analyzing the travel section of the Norwegian daily Aftenposten. Hardly any literature exists when it comes to visual representations of destinations in travel journalism (Hanusch, 2011) and also travel magazines seem to be studied rarely. Exceptions are the studies of Hsu and Song (2013, 2014), who analyzed Chinese travel magazines. They found that destinations were represented differently in the travel magazines, and mostly portrayed according to their
already established image (ibid.). Their analysis of photographs in the Chinese travel magazines showed similarities to earlier studied travel media, as they were mostly devoid of representations of people (ibid.).

A large part of important research about travel and lifestyle journalism of the recent years was done by Hanusch (2011, 2014). In 2011 he analyzed travel sections in Australian newspapers and concluded that these travel sections prefer to focus on tourist-centered experiences and miss some significant engagement with local cultures. He further found geographical imbalances regarding the visual representations of the destinations and the host population. This was shown by stereotypical depictions of places and locals of developing countries, who were often portrayed as servants, but rarely depicted as equals to tourists (ibid.). In a different study Hanusch (2014) examined newspaper travel sections of different countries (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United Kingdom) on their geographical coverage. His findings show that the selection of destinations in travel journalism is influenced by similar factors as the coverage in news reporting:

[. . .] the geography of travel journalism is strikingly similar to the geography of foreign news, and aspects such as regionalism, powerful nations, cultural proximity, the role played by big neighbours and the diversity of coverage are important criteria in each of the two areas. In travel journalism, the presence of certain popular tourist destinations does play a role, but it often does not make up for the broader imbalance towards proximate and powerful countries. (Hanusch 2014, p. 63)

In my analysis, I will use the concept of Hanusch's studies (2011, 2014) and apply it to Norwegian travel magazines. The application of his measurements, which will be discussed in more detail in the chapter 4, also allow for a direct comparison with his findings.

1.3 Research questions and scope of the study

Out of the preliminary reasoning in section 1.1 and the presented earlier studies of similar interest, I developed the following main research question:

*How are destinations and their inhabitants represented in Norwegian travel magazines?*

To answer the main question, several aspects must be taken into account. First, to address the
diversification of the coverage of the Norwegian travel magazines, it has to be investigated which countries or regions are covered. It will be examined whether travel magazines show a balance in featuring destinations, or if they favor specific countries, regions, or continents. This will illuminate if Norwegian travel magazines use similar criteria for the selection of their coverage as newspaper travel sections analyzed by Hanusch (2011, 2014). Additionally, this question asks for the image of the destinations. This image will be shown through tourism experiences ascribed to the places by the magazines and their visualization in the photographs. Whether the portrayal and accordingly the image of a destination is presented versatile, as it deals with various aspects of a place and does not only feature 'touristic highlights' (e.g. sights, relaxation, recreation), is in question. This part of the analysis will also show if parts of the world are treated differently in the magazines. Negative representations and imbalances in the coverage can have consequences for a country or region as they might steer away potential visitors. The first research question is thus as follows:

RQ1: Which countries and regions are represented in the Norwegian travel magazines and how are they portrayed?

The next step is to ask if travel magazines cover aspects on a local and cultural level. Thus the presence of locals and local voices in the magazines have to be measured. A large inclusion of local people in the coverage can indicate the interest in the host culture and a versatile use of sources. It can thus show a variation of the points of view in the magazines. The inclusion of the host population and cultural aspects of a destination can also demonstrate a deeper engagement of the journalist with the destination (Alfsen 2009). It can help to explain a culture and aid in intercultural understanding. This part of the analysis also looks at the visual portrayal of the host population of foreign destinations. The depiction of domestic (Norwegian) destinations and their locals will also be studied. This is important as it allows for a comparison of representations of 'foreign locals' and 'domestic locals'. The analysis will show, what role local people get ascribed in the photographs of the magazines. An examination of the depiction of the host population in photographs can uncover stereotypical representations. Such problematic representations can be implied by the media to reaffirm the readers' cultural expectations (Cocking 2014). Thereby, they keep readers interested and achieve their commercial goals (ibid.). On these grounds a second research question is introduced:
RQ2: To what degree are locals and their culture included in the coverage, and how are they portrayed?

Third, in order to investigate the implementation of journalistic standards in the magazines, stories will be examined on the inclusion of certain elements. As much as it is important to involve local people in the coverage, journalist should not leave out critical perspectives and include also drawbacks of destinations (Alfsen 2009, McGaurr 2014). The question whether such critical content or typical 'hard' news content can be found in travel magazines will be addressed in the third part of this study. Such content can reach from bad quality of a touristic product to environmental or sociopolitical issues. A critical examination of a destination and the inclusion of negative elements in the coverage add to a realistic representation of a place. It can demonstrate a deeper examination of the current situation of a destination by a journalist and provide the reader with a better insight (Alfsen 2009). A one-sided focus on certain hard news elements can, however, lead to stereotypical representations of a place. Additionally, this part means to identify typical elements of 'soft' news journalism. The analysis will look for informing as well as entertaining and motivational factors in the coverage. This is to show whether the articles focus merely on storytelling, providing useful information or motivating the reader. The third research question thus is:

RQ3: Do the articles include other elements than the traditional 'soft' news elements of travel journalism?

All these proposed research questions will be answered with the help of a content analysis of text and photographs in Norwegian travel magazines. After the analysis is carried out, findings will be discussed and analyzed with the help of theoretical perspectives and the background given in the first chapters of the thesis. The purpose of the thesis is to interpret the images the magazines ascribe to the various parts of the world. By addressing the proposed research questions, representations of places and their inhabitants in travel magazines should be made visible. The greater question is then, whether travel magazines manage to portray destinations and the host populations in a well-balanced and fair way, or if unbalanced and stereotypical representations predominate.
1.4 Thesis structure

In chapter 2 the background to the subject of the thesis will be elaborated. Definitions of important terms, which will be used throughout the thesis, will be discussed and defined. Then I provide an overview of the historic development of travel writing to point out the genre's historical significance. This will be complemented by describing the importance of travel journalism today, and supported by the claim of a foreign news decline. At the end of chapter 2, the genre of lifestyle journalism will be introduced. Travel magazines, the object of this study, and their development and content will be described. In chapter 3 the theoretical perspectives are presented. Travel journalism's tasks, possibilities and challenges are discussed in the first part. Then four different spheres of travel journalism will be elaborated. First, the role of travel journalism in creating a destination image is described. The importance of the media as image creator and factors that influence this image are discussed. As the second sphere of travel journalism, its informative and reporting function will be analyzed. Then entertaining and narrative functions follow as the third sphere. The fourth sphere and at the same time the final part of the theory chapter is the representational function of travel journalism. I will explain the importance of representations of places and people and point to problematic representations of 'the Other'. Measures to identify representations and representational strategies of the media are discussed at the very end of chapter 3. In chapter 4 the scientific method used in this thesis will be presented. I will state the process of sampling as well as describe the variables and categories used in the content analysis. The procedure and quality of the analysis are addressed at the end of the method chapter. Chapter 5 is dedicated to the analysis. It is split up into three parts, which each deal with one separate research question. The first part is concerned with the geographical distribution of the articles as well as the tourism experiences, which are connected with the places described. The second part deals with cultural terms of the destinations and the representation of locals in text and photographs. The third and last part of the analysis chapter is dedicated to the story orientation as well as critical and hard news content. In chapter 6 I conclude over the findings of the analysis and reflect over the value of the findings as well as limitations of this theses.
2. Background

2.1 Defining travel writing and travel journalism

Travel journalism and travel writing can mean different things. While travel writing often includes fictional accounts, travel journalism is connected with journalistic principles such as telling the truth. Therefore it is usually concerned with non-fictional content. However, scholars do not always agree on these distinctions. This section will look at the terminology of travel journalism and travel writing as well as the different forms of travel texts found in the various genres. This section will show that the differentiation of the terms can be challenging, since some terms are ambiguous and are used in various ways by different scholars. The discussion of the two terms, with their commonalities and differences serves as a starting point and clarification of the terms used in this thesis. The terms which are used in this thesis will be presented at the end of the section.

2.1.1 Differences and commonalities

In this part, I will present different definitions of the two terms travel writing and travel journalism. The definitions show the main areas of interest of the terms and point to a possible differentiation between them.

Fussel (1980 as cited in Thompson 2011) understands travel writing solely as what is expressed in travel books. To him, travel books, usually classified in bookstores as travel literature, are first person accounts of travel, read for pleasure, their aesthetic value and the useful information that are provided (Thompson 2011). In Fussel's (1980, as cited in Thompson 2011) definition of travel writing, the emphasis is on the narrative self, while illustrative material, like pictures or maps are given less space than the main prose narrative. He adds that personal experiences of the author, highlighting his or her responses, impressions, thoughts and feelings at a certain place is what specifically distinguishes the travel book from the guidebook (Fussel 1980, as cited in Thompson 2011; the term guidebook will be clarified in the following section). The fact that the travel book is not only functional and practical but style and aesthetic are playing major roles, assign it a literary dimension (Thompson 2011). The claim of “literal validity” and a “constant reference to actuality”, are important characteristics of the travel book and thus the events narrated in the travel book are
said to be real and first hand, experienced by the author at the location of the depiction (Fussel 1980 as cited in Thompson 2011 p. 14).

McGaurr (2013, p. 42) defines travel journalism as “the print or online texts of staff or freelance newspaper or magazine writers, who travel to destinations to write signed (that is, by-lined) accounts primarily for audiences of potential travellers”. By using the term “signed accounts”, she links the journalistic imperative of counting as true to the attribute of travel writing as an autobiographical account, rather than to the journalistic ambition of objectivity (ibid.). In other words, travel journalism is not necessarily concerned with objective descriptions, but greater importance is given to the first-hand experience of the author. The expression of subjective opinions, thoughts and feelings can thus be seen as elements of both travel writing and travel journalism and shows similarities between the terms.

Also Thompson (2011, p. 24), following Borm's (2004) definition of travel writing, tries to find commonalities within the different terms: “A novel just as much as a non-fictional travelogue may present a highly informative account, born of the authors first hand experience, of an unfamiliar people or place”. Hanusch and Fürsich (2014) see the interchangeable use of travel writing, or travel literature and travel journalism leading to problems distinguishing those terms. Additionally, travel writers who work both as authors of travel books and travel journalists blur the boundaries between these distinctions (ibid.). According to Hanusch and Fürsich (2014), travel journalism is bound to professional journalistic values such as truthfulness, accuracy, fact and ethical conduct in its representational function of foreign places and people, which distinguishes it from the other terms (ibid.).

2.1.2 Travel writing as a form of travel journalism

While some scholars demand a clear distinction between the terms, others choose a different approach. The Encyclopedia of Journalism includes all forms of travel writing into the definition of travel journalism (Dundas 2009). Accordingly, Dundas (2009) splits travel journalism up into four different types: destination pieces, exposés, guidebooks, as well as novels and travelogues.

The destination piece appears mostly as a feature in magazines or newspapers and focuses on a specific journey. While these features are regular parts of major newspapers' travel sections, they also appear in specialized travel magazines and additionally in magazines devoted to
other topics such as politics, fashion, or music (ibid.). Destination pieces are written for both 'armchair travelers' and active travelers, as they require no previous knowledge of a place, but provide the reader with new insights on a place, its culture and people. Dundas (2009 p. 1403) points out that the intention of the destination piece may be unclear, especially when it is published in a magazine of another genre than travel, and has therefore “no expectation of providing unbiased reviews”. This can be in regard to advertisement and sponsored content, which the reader might not be aware of.

The exposé is often an investigative piece, which focuses on a specific issue in a foreign country (Dundas 2009). This form of travel journalism does not encourage its readers to travel, but rather informs about problems around the world. As they are often political in nature they are mostly aimed at hard news consumers and appear in weekly magazines such as Time or Newsweek (ibid.).

Guidebooks assist the traveler in planning and undertaking a trip. They usually include specific information like pieces of advice of where to go and what to do, reviews of hotels and restaurants, as well as maps and prices. Guidebooks are mostly positive in tone, as it is preferable to the publisher that people travel (Dundas 2009).

Novels and travelogues are another form of travel journalism. Compared to the step-by-step purpose of the guidebook, novels cater to a readership at home and often tell more about the authors' experience, than the place visited (Dundas 2009). They do not necessarily tempt someone to travel, but serve its audience on a literary level (ibid.).

2.1.3 Terms used in this thesis

In the previous sections, the terminology of travel writing and travel journalism, as discussed by different scholars, was addressed. I will now give a short explanation of how those terms are used in this thesis.

Since this thesis examines travel magazines, it deals mainly with what we understand as travel journalism. The travel texts appearing in those magazines are mostly what Dundas (2009) calls feature or destination piece. Accordingly, these terms will be used in this thesis, together with the terms travel report, travel article and travel story as equal terms. It is, however, difficult to find one term that fits all historical forms of travel texts, like the following chapter will show, because many different versions of travel texts emerged and developed into different directions. For the purpose of this thesis, travel writing will therefore be understood
as a process and not as a genre. In other words, travel writing in this thesis can be seen as the process of creating travel content, for all kind of different media, whether it is books, magazines, blogs or other forms. Thus the terms travel writing and reporting will be used interchangeably for all types of travel text.

2.2 Historical importance of travel reporting

This section provides an overview of the historical development of travel writing and reporting. It will point out the importance of travel writing, and illustrate some of the purposes of the mediation of travel experiences and encounters.

2.2.1 First travel related reporting

There is no distinct point of departure for travel reporting. Taking into account not only written, but also oral transmission of travel tales, the beginning of a form of travel reporting reaches some thousand years back in time. Thompson (2011) suggests that people have probably always spoken about their travels and their ancestors' journeys. He mentions the so called 'songlines' of the Aboriginal peoples of Australia, which still in use, tell about directions throughout the land combined with spiritual observance along the route (ibid.).

In ancient times, several reasons why people traveled can be mentioned. While some went to war, others escaped it, traders moved on land and sea, and early forms of pilgrimage made people travel to shrines and oracles (Thompson 2011). The first traveling for recreational purposes can be dated back to 1500 BCE (Casson 1974, as cited in Thompson 2011). Those forms of travel resulted in various forms of travel-related text, at first mainly navigational documents for sea as well as overland directions (Thompson 2011). Alfsen (2009) points out, that many historians see the Greek Herodot (born at about 490 BCE) as the first person to write a travel description. His texts tell about his journey to exile, through Egypt, Italy and the Ukraine (ibid.). The travel reporting of the ancient times is usually limited to sole descriptions of information gathered by the author and only rarely conform to the first-person narrative of the modern travel literature (Thompson 2011).

2.2.2 From fictional stories to eyewitness reports

In medieval times there was a lot of travel related content produced. Facts and fiction were often mixed, as authors did not typically write about their own experiences, but rather used
information gathered through many intermediaries (Thompson 2011). Additionally, the fascination of the foreign continents of Asia and Africa resulted in speculations triggered by European fears and fantasies (ibid.). In the late thirteenth century, the tales of Marco Polo's journey to the Mongol empire and his description of the Chinese wealth and sophistication, written down by Rustichello da Pisa was distributed in Europe (ibid.). In the medieval period, travel literature also rose in other parts of the world as for instance in China and the Islamic world. One example is the Moroccan judge Ibn Battutah who tells about a 75.000 mile journey through North Africa and Asia (ibid.).

Inspired by Marco Polo's journey, Christopher Columbus sailed westwards in an attempt to get to Asia, when he eventually reached America. According to Thompson (2011) this 'mistake' lead not only to a new world-view and thereby from medieval to the early modern attitudes, practices and conventions. At the same time it entailed “a new emphasis on the act of eye-witnessing, of seeing for oneself and establishing facts through empirical enquiry rather than through reference to the great authors of the past” (Thompson 2011, p. 40). Moreover, this importance of being on site, seeing for oneself and reporting as an eyewitness can be seen as starting point for a new way of travel writing (ibid.). After Columbus more explorers followed, and with them many travel-related texts and documents. Travel information gained importance as it was vital for further expeditions, therefore large scale collections of travel accounts and documents were published. This became known as the 'voyages and travels' area, where the focus was primarily on the eyewitness report (ibid.).

In the 18th century, technical improvement regarding mobility (steam engine) as well as the expansion of the print culture lead to a further increase of both travel and travel writing (Thompson 2011). Traveling was seen as “information-gathering exercise” and travel books were read “for intellectual profit and for literary pleasure” (Thompson 2011, p. 45). Travel-related newspaper articles already appeared in the press in its early stages (Alfsen 2009). Its reference to reality due to the journalist being on-site was also the starting point for a new journalistic genre, the reportage. In Norwegian newspapers, the first articles conforming to this genre were travel reports, such as a printed article about pygmies in Madagascar from 1779, written by an unknown author. This report was still based on somebody else's travel report (Roksvold 1997, as cited in Alfsen 2009). The first travel report with true Norwegian origin was written about a century later by the author Aasmund Olavsson Vinje, in which he wrote about his trip from Christiania to Trondheim. His observations and conversations led to the description and analysis of the Norwegian farming society and he thereby gave birth to the
2.2.3 The author as the center of the story

The 18th century gave birth to the first 'tourists', which was at first only a privileged elite, but soon included the emergent middle classes (Thompson 2011). As in Britain, domestic tours became fashionable, a bigger part of the British society engaged in travel and popular literature, such as the Ossian poems of James McPherson, which attracted many visitors to the Scottish Highlands. These highly influential poems generated a fascination for the picturesque and created a greater appreciation of landscape. Therefore the publication of travelogues flourished in the late 18th century (ibid.). However, the increase of travelers and travel writers led to a decrease of 'new information' about the popular destinations. Since the traditional purpose of travel writing of that time, to report useful knowledge, was therefore unsustainable, the personality of the author got more into the spotlight. It was now the subjective view of the traveler and to a lesser degree the places visited that amounted to the center of the narration (ibid.). Thompson (2011) explains this new way of writing:

These 'sentimental' tourists sought emotional adventures that could demonstrate both their own sensibility and the fundamental benevolence of mankind; their accounts, meanwhile, pioneered new techniques for writing about the self, and for expressing the flux of inner thoughts and feelings. (p. 49)

With the Industrial Revolution, society turned towards consumerism and commercialization, a larger number of people began to travel for recreational purposes, and tourism itself appeared to be an industry (Thompson 2011). While Thomas Cook for the first time sold package holidays, publishing firms like Baedeker in Germany and John Murray in Britain produced guidebooks for tourists (ibid.). In the USA, after the country had declared its independence, inhabitants started to explore their country and produced accounts, which were important to create a sense of nationhood and cultural identity (ibid.). Travelogues of that time were also reflected in contemporary romantic poems as well as in fictional literature as in novels like Robinson Crusoe, or Gulliver's Travels. While the former is an imitation of the spiritual-autobiographical shipwreck narratives, the latter can be seen as a parody of the voyage narratives (ibid.).

In the nineteenth century, along with the expansion of the European power and the US including additional states in their union, countless travel-related writings were generated
As much as the authors' occupation varied (from explorers, sailors and soldiers, to missionaries, diplomats and journalists etc.), so did the types of travel texts produced (memoirs, literary travelogues, newspaper reports, functional documents for scientists, economists and policy makers) (ibid.). Arguably the most important genre of that time was the exploration narrative, as numerous explorers of different origin headed out to bring back new geographical, natural historical and ethnographic knowledge of distant parts of the world to Europe and America (ibid.). Explorers like Darwin, Livingstone, Amundsen and Scott were seen as “emblematic figures, ideal types of imperial masculinity who embodied the highest ideals of science and Christian civilisation” (Thompson 2011, p. 53). This had to do with the writing style, based upon another genre, the 'imperial adventure'. The overlapping genres “worked to legitimate the imperial project to domestic audiences, whilst simultaneously inspiring readers with fantasies of the heroic exploits they might themselves perform in distant regions of the world” (Thompson 2011, p. 53). The increasingly improved infrastructure made traveling safer and easier, which encouraged more people to travel (Thompson 2011). Many travelers started to seek experiences 'off the beaten path', as a romantic desire for authenticity and sensuality aroused. The wish to steer away from the masses was also made visible in many of the 'Victorian travelogues' (ibid.). Thompson (2011, p. 54) describes this as an “anti-touristic rhetoric that seeks to distinguish the author from the more vulgar tourist 'herd'”. This again generated an increasing importance of the narrative self, which superseded the description of the actual place, and which “sought to signal a sensibility, and an intellectual and emotional cultivation, superior to that of other tourists” (Thompson 2011, p. 55).

### 2.2.4 Travel content as a research object

The 20th century made various forms of transportation available to a big part of the Western societies. Thus travel became a mass activity which resulted in what Thompson (2011, p. 57) calls “global interconnectedness”. He sees Modernism as a product of a mobile and globalized society, while Modernist writers and artists such as Pablo Picasso, were fascinated by 'primitive' societies, which were described by explorers and anthropologists (ibid.). During the global economic depression and throughout the Second World War, travelogues engaged more and more with politics and foreign affairs (Thompson 2011). This was manifested in different forms and styles. An example is the political and cultural commentary, represented by George Orwell and Rebecca West (ibid). After the war, explorations were
increasingly done by scientists, and accordingly, their writings were aimed at scientists too. They clearly distinguished themselves from travel writing, which was at that time associated with subjectivism and anecdotalism and grouped within the spheres of literature and popular entertainment. This loss in intellectual status and cultural prestige left travel writing to be viewed as a 'minor' genre (ibid.). However, in the 1970s, some important, commercially successful and innovative travelogues brought back the interest. This period also saw for the first time a concern in studying travel writing, as Edward Said in his work *Orientalism*, analyzed Western writers' representations of cultures of the East (ibid.). His analysis was a starting point for research investigating portrayals of the host nation. A research area widely neglected by scholars in the following years (Hanusch 2013), as the discussion of studies in this area in section 1.1 shows. The growing interest in the travel journalism area as a research field in the recent years might be triggered by the expansion of the field in many platforms, such as travel sections in news journalism, specialized travel magazines, travel related TV programs, travel blogs and other travel related content on the Internet. A simultaneous decline of foreign news might add to the importance of travel content. While international news seems to lose significance, travel journalism might absorb some its functions (Fürsich 2013, Hannerz 2004) The following section will elaborate this position.

2.3 Foreign news decline

At the same time as travel content has regained high popularity, foreign news seems to experience a considerable decline in the latest years. This section provides indications for such a decline, and discusses the role of travel journalism as a possible substitute to 'hard news' sources.

According to Fürsich (2013), traditional international journalism has been in decline for decades, a condition which was intensified by the recent economic crisis. This cutback can be seen as significantly lowering the importance of foreign news, which was traditionally the provider of a 'window to the world' to its audience (ibid.). In an attempt to study the decline of international news, Moore (2010) compared British newspapers from 1979 to newspapers from 2009. He detected a massive decline of about 40% of foreign news in the studied papers over the thirty year period. Moore (2010) also points out that foreign news almost disappeared from the first 10 pages of the newspapers, although it was comparatively less reduced on the cover pages. About one third of the cover stories of 2009 were still international news, compared to the 44% of international cover stories of 1979. While the papers have expanded
the total amount of pages, foreign news was still reduced. Where international news had made up to 20% of the newspapers from 1979, it was only 11% in 2009 (ibid.). A similar decline of foreign news over the past years can be observed in the Norwegian press (Eide 2001, as cited in Alfsen 2009).

2.3.1 Possible reasons for the decline of foreign news

Hannerz (2004) explains the shrinking percentage of foreign news by taking a closer look at the growing economic interests of media organizations. He argues that the high costs of foreign correspondents are a reason for the business minded media managements to seek other ways for reporting about the world, or simply minimizing the foreign news reporting. Also Moore (2010, p. 31) who describes foreign reporting as an “expensive business”, sees financial reasons as an explanation for the fewer employed foreign correspondents and as an outcome of this, the foreign news coverages have declined. Fewer reporters out there mean fewer foreign 'scoops', which can be uncovered only by reporters on the ground, with their established contacts, insider knowledge into politics, culture and society and the direct access to important sources (ibid.). Another point is that international news is often bad news, as it mostly focuses on crisis, conflicts and catastrophes (Hannerz 2004). The constant negativity might scare off the everyman reader and the result could be isolationism and even xenophobia, when the world is presented only as dangerous and unattractive (ibid.).

2.3.2 Can travel journalism absorb functions of 'hard' news journalism?

The primarily negative coverage of foreign news creates a desire for more reporting on everyday life, including personal angles and engagements of journalists (Hannerz 2004). Here the primarily positive reporting of travel journalism could function as a balance to foreign news reporting. While factors like proximity, conflict or focus on elite nations (Galtung & Ruge 1965, as cited in Fürsich 2013) as well as ethnocentrism (Gans 1979, as cited in Fürsich 2013) dictate what is covered in the news, developing countries are underrepresented. In case of a coverage they often appear in a negative light (Fürsich 2013). In that way, international news journalism arguably fails to cover complexities of international relations (ibid.). Fürsich (2013, p. 19) therefore sees news journalism “ill equipped for the challenges of covering contemporary globalization, especially the impact of globalization on social and cultural change”. She suggests, that scholars interested in the medias' role in explaining globalization to its audience should look beyond international news journalism and also investigate lifestyle
Also Hannerz (2004, p. 25) sees the foreign news decline as an opportunity for different genres and departments, because the cutback of international news of some media organizations might “widen this news niche for others”. Alfsen (2009) spots chances for travel journalism, to absorb part of the educational responsibility of the hard news department. Travel journalism can thus play an important role for audiences to learn about the world.

These conditions point towards an increasing importance of lifestyle or travel materials. To provide a better understanding of this area, lifestyle journalism is explained in the next section. Travel magazines, as the main interest of this thesis, and the visual content of those, as vital parts of lifestyle journalism, will be discussed in the upcoming section.

2.4 Lifestyle journalism

The media is dealing more and more with so called 'soft news', instead of 'hard news' such as politics or business news (Hanusch & Fürsich 2014). This situation can sometimes be described as an ongoing tabloidisation of the news media, which is 'dumbing down' and detracts from 'serious' journalism (Hanusch 2013). This form of journalism, as it does not conform to the classic function of watchdog journalism, has been widely neglected in research and struggled with being taken seriously (ibid.). A big part of this type of soft news journalism is what is today known as lifestyle journalism.

2.4.1 What is lifestyle journalism?

Lifestyle journalism can be understood as “the part of journalism that primarily focuses on audiences as consumers, providing them with factual information and advice, often in entertaining ways, about goods and services they can use in their daily lives” (Hanusch 2013, p. 1). It includes various areas, amongst others, food, cars, health, beauty, fashion or home. Also travel journalism is seen as a type of lifestyle journalism. Today, lifestyle journalism can be found in many different media outlets. Sometimes whole outlets are dedicated to one or more lifestyle areas. There is an abundance of TV programs dedicated to food or travel and sometimes whole TV channels are devoted to travel (Travel Channel, international) or lifestyle (TV2 livsstil, Norway; BBC lifestyle, international). Travel magazines as well as gardening magazines or car magazines can be found all over the world, sections in many newspapers are given to different lifestyle genres and the Internet is an inexhaustible source
for lifestyle pages.

Lifestyle journalism can sometimes be termed 'service' or 'consumer journalism', as it is directly addressed to individual readers, users and viewers, who are making consumer decisions (Fürsich 2013). In addition to the informative character, various areas of the lifestyle genre can be evaluative and critical, offering direct guidance to its audience. The critical function, other than the watchdog role of traditional journalism, offers mainly judgments of taste (ibid.). Lifestyle journalists thus act as 'cultural intermediaries' (Bourdieu 1984, as cited in Fürsich 2013), who promote consumption, as particular meanings and lifestyles are attached to products and services, with which consumers can identify (du Gay et al. 1997, as cited in Fürsich 2013). Kristensen and From (2013) see a blurring of boundaries between hard news and soft news, related to the introduction of service journalism in the second half of the twentieth century. According to them,

service journalism provides the reader with guidance on matters of consumption and choices of softer aspects of life in an increasingly complex society and everyday life, and thus addresses the reader as an individual rather than a member of the public – as a consumer rather than a citizen. (p. 27)

The element of consumer guidance can be increasingly observed in cultural journalism, which points to a blurring of boundaries between cultural journalism and service journalism (ibid.). Ljungberg (2012) observes a convergence between lifestyle journalism and advertising in both style and content. In lifestyle magazines for instance, travel is increasingly understood as the pursuit and realization of values such as glamor, success, hedonism, sensuality and sexuality, values which are traditionally celebrated in advertising (Ljungberg 2012).

2.4.2 Travel magazines

A publication which falls in the category of lifestyle journalism is the travel magazine. Since travel magazines are the objects of investigation in this thesis, their appearance will be exemplified in this section.

As mentioned above, lifestyle journalism has found its way into all kind of media outlets. This includes travel journalism, which is especially abundant among other popular lifestyle areas. Travel sections can be found in many newspapers since the 1990ies and the number of specialized travel journalists has increased accordingly. Nowadays, travel journalists are
found in editorial departments along with sports journalists, culture journalists or business journalists (Alfsen 2009).

Travel, magazines are highly popular, including international (e.g. National Geographic Traveler, Lonely Planet Traveller) as well as national publications in many different countries. According to Alfsen (2009), the first Norwegian travel magazine appeared in the 1970ies, while the first travel magazine for individual travelers was published in Norway in 1983. In 2015, three regular Norwegian travel magazines were published: Vagabond, REIS and Reiselyst (former Zine Travel). Magazines are regularly issued publications, the frequency however might vary (McLoughlin 2000). While some are issued weekly, others appear monthly or quarterly (ibid.). The three Norwegian travel magazines analyzed in this thesis appear in slightly different intervals. While Reiselyst appears ten times a year, REIS and Vagabond are both published seven times a year.

According to McLoughlin (2000) monthly magazines are often printed on high quality paper. This can have an effect on the connotations the publication conveys (ibid.). The glossy paper often used for magazines can be associated by the reader with sophistication and glamour (ibid.). Regarding readership, it might be difficult to estimate a precise number of readers of magazines. Magazines bought or subscribed to by one person might still have several readers, when for example passed on to family members and friends (ibid.). Additionally, they are a popular read in public places such as doctors waiting rooms, especially because split up in different articles they don't have to be read from start to finish (ibid.). Compared to newspapers, which have a short 'lifespan' because of the up-to-date news journalism, magazines have a relatively long 'shelf-life' (ibid.). McLoughlin (2000) notes that one of the characteristics of magazines is their heterogeneity, as they are composed of unrelated parts. In travel magazines various components can be identified. Those reach from the main elements, the feature articles or travel reports, to city guides with maps and hints, travel-related short news, letters to the editor, and tests of travel-related products etc. Ljungberg (2012) points out that the long articles about specific destinations are central in travel magazines. Such articles are often placed in the middle of the magazine (ibid.). As it will be elaborated in more detail in chapter 4, this type of articles is also the main focus of this thesis.

2.4.3 Travel magazines as lifestyle magazines

Ljungberg (2012), who examined Swedish travel magazines in a longitudinal study, discovered that the magazines had been transformed into lifestyle magazines during the time
span of the study. There travel is understood as a part of a larger lifestyle, and the reader is provided with information in order to create a desired identity (ibid.). While travel magazines provide information about where to go and what to do, they also tell the tourist how to behave and how to construct an identity based on the tourist experience (ibid.). This aspect has, according to Ljungberg (2012), become more explicit and more complex, as travel magazines in form of lifestyle magazines define taste, style and imagined identities. They put places into a context, and give them cultural value as products, while explaining how the destination fits into the readers' desired identity (ibid.). By offering exclusive lifestyles packaged into aesthetically pleasing high gloss magazines, the reader receives a product of different value than ordinary travel information (ibid.) At the same time, Pirolli (2014, p. 97) argues that “[. . .] institutional media, especially travel guides and magazines, persist in offering in-depth, perennial information that tourists need”.

The transformation of travel magazines can be seen as a result of an increase of online available travel information which constituted the earlier travel magazines and nowadays can often be obtained for free. This change affected content as well as style. The quality of photographs was improved, while objects and aesthetic style of the images changed (Ljungberg 2012). Through these adjustments lifestyle magazines adapted to means which are common in advertisements (ibid.). Regardless, as Ljungberg (2012) emphasizes, travel magazines do make an effort to distinguish between advertisement and editorial content. This happens for example by reporting on the bad side of travel, like writing about lousy restaurants, bad accommodation, or poor service. To also include negative sides of traveling in the coverage underlines editorial independence and the claim to report the truth (ibid.). As this is also a main interest of this thesis (see RQ3, section 1.3), a more detailed discussion about the inclusion of critical aspects in travel journalism will follow in chapter 3. Prior to this I will demonstrate the importance of photographs in the travel and lifestyle journalism.

2.4.4 The importance of the photograph in travel journalism

The impact of technology on everyday life can be seen as one reason for the growth of tourism (Fürsich & Kavoori 2014). This link between travel, tourism and modern technology becomes visible when we think about the tourist 'gaze', which is nowadays mostly mediated through cameras in both photograph and film (Urry 1990, as cited in Fürsich & Kavoori, 2014). Urry (1990, as cited in Fürsich & Kavoori 2014, p. 23) underlines the importance of the visual for traveling, as in his view travel can be seen as “a strategy for the accumulation of
photographs”. Touristic locations and social experiences are structured by a photogenic logic, a logic which is also followed by professional travel photographers (Fürsich & Kavoori 2014). Accompanying nearly every story, travel content cannot be imagined without its visual part. Ljungberg (2012) notes that the images in travel magazines today are at least of the same importance as the text. As mentioned earlier, photographs gained importance when the travel magazines turned into lifestyle magazines. While in the early travel magazines illustrations were sometimes reduced to drawings and photographs regarded of less importance, this changed drastically in the later years (ibid.). Also Dilley (1986, p. 60) is convinced of the importance of the visual in tourism: “The cliché of a picture being worth a thousand words is rarely more true than when gazing at a glossy representation of a suntanned blonde on a palm-fringed beach, or at a fairy-tale castle in a romantic Old-World setting”. This important status of travel photographs points to the significance of including them in research of travel related content. As presented in section 1.3 (see RQ1 and RQ2), it is also in the interest of this thesis, how destinations and their inhabitants are represented visually. Also, important earlier research included travel related photographs (as mentioned in section 1.2.). Ljungberg (2012) points to interesting findings regarding travel photographs in her investigation. In the analysis of the Swedish travel magazine *RES*, Ljungberg (2012) identifies changes of the motives in the photographs, illuminated by examining cover photos over several years. Cover images are especially important as they are “persuasive selling tools” (editor's letter of the magazine *Tatler*, as cited in McLoughlin 2000, p. 14). Nowadays it is vital to stand out of the crowd of other magazines. Ljungberg (2012) finds that in the 1990s exotic animals, beach settings, beautiful natural sceneries, and 'exotic' people in national costumes – in other words typical postcard motives dominated the covers of most of the *RES* issues. In the 2000s more often pictures of tourists were to be found on the covers, while there were less local people or animals displayed, and generally images of people were declining. Although the dominating topics of the pictures remained relaxation, fun, sensuality and harmless hedonism, the newer issues of the magazine reflected a growing focus on luxury and exclusivity (ibid.). The aesthetic style had changed too over time. The images were increasingly bought from global image banks, so technical perfect photographs with bright colors emerged on the covers of the lifestyle magazine. At the same time as style became the most important factor, the object in the photographs became less clear and sometimes it could not even be identified what actually was depicted (ibid.). Ljungberg (2012, p. 106) underlines this unspecificness and generality of the pictures of the big image banks, as she asserts that they “strive to be as global as possible”. The images thus represent a more general lifestyle orientation as they evoke
feelings and emotions but do not display a specific place or destination. Buying this type of photographs from huge image banks was therefore part of the transformation of the travel magazine to the lifestyle magazine. It was a step away from more naturalistic depictions with the intention to indicate authenticity to the representation of a constructed reality, which is constituted as comfortable and aesthetically pleasing (ibid.).

Similarly, Alfsen (2009) criticizes that the journalistic photograph in travel reports is often reduced to a backdrop, with the only purpose of decorating a page. Those professional photographs, often showing pristine landscapes and picture-perfect beaches lack journalistic content according to Alfsen (2009). This is the result of an attempt to highlight the bright side of a destination, here in regard to content but also in regard to style. The travel photographer (which happens to be more and more the travel writer at the same time) adopts the metaphorical language of commercials and shows the world how it is supposed to be, but not necessarily how it actually is (Alfsen 2009). As a result, the illustrative travel photograph shows cliché-ridden portraits of destinations and its inhabitants and their culture. Their similarity to commercial pictures on tourist pamphlets and at times questionable origin (sometimes from free providers as travel agencies) threaten the credibility of travel journalism (Alfsen 2009). According to Alfsen (2009) travel photography should be more like news photography. It ought to have a documenting function and should not be reduced to only an illustrative purpose. This implies that it shows actual events and not an arranged and constructed world (ibid.). Therefore, it is vital to display people in motion, not only static objects as architecture and sights. The photograph has to tell a story in itself, it has to have journalistic value and not only stylistic value (ibid.).
3. Theoretical Perspectives

In the previous chapter, I provided the background for the area investigated in this thesis. The following chapter will give an overview of functions and tasks of travel journalism, derived from the discussion of scholars interested in this area. The discussion will show that the way those tasks are played out influence the reader, the destination, and in a wider sense also the inhabitants of the destination. In the first part I will reflect on possibilities as well as the challenges of travel journalism. It will be discussed, how an increased focus on journalistic standards, as well as the attention to different forms of authenticity can be beneficial for travel journalism. The second part addresses four spheres of travel journalism, which are investigated in this thesis. At the end of the chapter, I will sum up the most important points to provide a short review of the theory chapter.

3.1 Travel journalism: Tasks, possibilities and challenges

Alfsen (2009) notes that with the advent of mass tourism, the essence as well as the purpose of travel reports have changed. What were earlier mainly cultural or societal reports, had been transformed into commercialized tourism reports (Bech-Karlsen 2000, as cited in Alfsen 2009). Simonsen (as cited in Alfsen 2009, p. 99) describes an absent professionalism in travel journalism, as travel journalists choose the tourists point of view and only state their subjective opinions. In her eyes, journalists turn into “professional tourists” when they write about a destination.

However, there are certainly different approaches of travel journalists engaging with their audiences. Fürsich (2002, as cited in Hanusch & Fürsich 2014) identifies three types of tourism coverage: the uncritical celebration of travel, critical perspectives on destinations, and critical travel reports with a more general problematization of tourism and the industry. Similarly, Hanusch and Fürsich (2014) include the critical perspective of the field, as well as the commercial aspect in their definition, when they describe travel journalism as factual accounts that address audiences as consumers of travel or tourism experiences by providing information and entertainment, but also critical perspectives. Travel journalism operates within the broader ethical framework of professional journalism, but with specific constraints brought on by the economic environment of its production. (p. 11)
In their study of lifestyle journalists' professional views, Hanusch and Hanitzsch (2013) interview Australian and German lifestyle journalists. Their findings show that lifestyle journalists often have a background in news journalism and therefore also embrace journalistic skills and ethics in their lifestyle genre. Even more, lifestyle journalism requires a 'specific skill-set' to provide information and entertainment to the readership of the specific genre. Lifestyle journalists are often journalistically trained, but also specialized training, according to the various fields is common among the writers (ibid.). In addition to making use of classic journalistic standards, lifestyle journalists are required to provide entertainment, service, inspiration and orientation and exemplars of the desired lifestyle to their readers. While lifestyle journalists thereby deliver a considerably different product than hard news journalists, they still see themselves primarily as journalists with their values and norms (ibid.).

### 3.1.1 Professional journalistic standards

The new possibilities of the Internet gave birth to a huge amount of travel blogs and the like. Pirolli (2014, p. 83) sees travel journalism facing an “identity crisis”, as “its gatekeeping role [. . .] is slowly slipping into the hands of those they originally sought to serve”. In that regard, travel journalism can be seen as a market example of how the role of the journalist has been seized by online players (Pirolli, 2014). Potential tourists and travelers are more and more using free travel information online and similar to the traditional newspaper sale, it is more than ever difficult to sell travel related journalistic material. Those recent developments have put travel journalism under pressure but it might on the other hand result in a positive development in the field. For example it can be an opportunity for travel journalism to reinforce journalistic professionalism and stick out of the sheer amount of travel stories and advices. Fürsich (2013) sees chances for the often criticized, overly commercialized lifestyle journalism to become more serious and respected by taking on traditional, professional news practices, such as objectivity, ethics, authenticity and a rational and critical perspective. She points out, that also 'hard news' journalism struggles to comply with those journalistic standards and values, exemplified by hard news outlets taking on more and more commercial practices after facing financial difficulties (ibid.).

Alfsen (2009) also proposes a way to more realistic travel reporting. Her suggestion is to use more and different sources, to be more critical toward sources and to gain knowledge about the portrayed destination. In other words, journalistic principles have to be reinforced. This
includes better research, a deeper analysis of the current situation and conversations and interviews with other people than the occasional tourism service provider like a chauffeur or a travel guide (Alfsen 2009). Furthermore, alternative content in the reporting, by telling about unknown or less known sites of a country for instance, can create a more exciting story (ibid.). Also tourism-critical and aware-making angles have to be included in the classic travel reports and travel guides. Travel journalists should illuminate the effects tourism has on certain destinations, they should engage in critical, investigative and important journalism and thereby steer tourism in a better, more sustainable direction (ibid.). This includes telling the readers about environmental challenges or threats to local culture and communities as well as directing those potential travelers towards a more sustainable behavior (ibid.). Those and similar steps towards better journalism in the travel department might capture the readers interest and possibly increase the readership (Alfsen, 2009).

3.1.2 Authenticity

Pirolli (2014) who interviewed audiences of travel blogs found that authenticity is more important than ever, because potential travelers are looking for advice or insider knowledge from someone who was or is at their potential destination. They find this information in blogs with an often amateurish, personal touch, which translates to them as authenticity. According to the Oxford Dictionaries, the word authentic derives from the Latin word of authenticus and the Greek word authentikos, meaning principal, genuine. Authentic can be defined as “of undisputed origin and not a copy; genuine”; “made or done in the traditional or original way, or in a way that faithfully resembles an original”; “based on facts, accurate or reliable”; “relating to or denoting an emotionally appropriate, significant, purposive, and responsible mode of human life” (Oxford Dictionaries online). According to Duffy (2014, p. 106), travel journalism can be seen as a “postmodernist hybrid of authenticities” where the travel journalists should be aware of and appreciate four forms of authenticity: authenticity expected by the reader, authenticity promoted by the tourist board, authenticity experienced by the journalist and the authenticity lived by the inhabitants of the host nation. He sees the challenge of the travel journalist in blending those different forms of authenticity as a counterweight to the simple first-person narrative of the experience at the host destination (ibid.). The personal experience of the author should be combined with a view to others: “the reader on behalf of whom they travel, and the host nation to whom they are indebted for hospitality and the story itself – in order to give the reported experience a depth that takes it
beyond solipsism” (Duffy 2014, p. 107).

3.2 Four spheres of travel journalism

Based on the discussion above, four spheres of travel journalism, as derived from the demand to enforce professional journalistic standards as well as the different forms of authenticity by Duffy (2014), can be identified. Those spheres involve a destination image formation, in addition to the image created by the tourism industry; informing and reporting about the world, as a balance and supplement to hard news reporting; entertaining and narrating, thus to tell about first-hand experiences in a style that appeals to the readership; and representing ‘the Other’, as to include locals and their culture into the reporting. The following sections will elaborate in more detail, how these spheres or functions are played out, sometimes in positive, sometimes in problematic ways. To begin with, the role of the media in creating a destination image will be elaborated.

3.2.1 Creating destination image

The image of a destination is according to Jenkins (1999, as cited in Garrod 2007), more than just the sum of its tangible attributes. The image is constructed from the visual look of a destination as well as from its atmosphere and the emotions it evokes (ibid.). Lawson & Baud-Bovy (1977, as cited in Pan & Hsu 2014, p. 61) define destination image as “the expression of all objective knowledge, impressions, prejudices, imaginations, and emotional thoughts with which a person or group judges a particular object or place”. The information that accounts for that image may derive from many different sources (Govers, Go & Kumar 2007). Such sources can be promotional material (advertising and brochures), the opinions of others (family, friends, travel agents), popular culture (motion pictures, literature) or media reporting (newspapers, magazines, television etc.) (ibid.). Eventually, the perceptions of a place, whether they are real or projected determine the image of a destination (Garrod 2007). According to Garrod (2007, p. 384), those “images are considered to be crucial in determining a number of important consumer variables, including destination choice, tourist behavior and product satisfaction”.

3.2.1.1 Destination image formation through the media

Pan & Hsu (2014) see destination image formation processes as synonymous to the framing theory in mass communication. According to them (Pan & Hsu 2014, p. 61), “the purpose of
framing is to influence audiences' interpretations of an event through selection, exclusion and emphasis”. Destination image can be seen as the product of a framing process, and might be altered according to changes of media frames (ibid).

In tourism studies, the mass media is known as brokers of tourism, in that they are collaborating with destination marketing organizations, and helping to create a favorable image of a destination, to receive payment in return (Pan & Hsu 2014). This relationship between travel media and the tourism industry can be seen as problematic. The questionable involvement in destination choice by advertisers, for instance, or free trips for journalists, offered by tourism boards, do question the authenticity and might bias the reporting (Raman & Choudary 2014). However, this might lead to unwanted consequences. It can for example steer readers away from professionally written travel articles to independent accounts such as travel blogs and the like, as discussed in the previous section (ibid). McGaurr (2013, p. 53) however, does not see a necessary connection between free trips and favorable destination representations: “travel journalists' uncritical support of a destination's brand cannot be assumed, whether or not travel journalists are hosted”.

The image, largely created by the media, is seen as important to influence the vacation decision-making process of potential tourists (ibid.). Moreover, the perceived image of a destination can be seen as more influential than how the places actually are (Britton 1979, as cited in Dilley 1986). This is affirmed by Hunt (1975, as cited in Dilley 1986, p. 59), who argues, that “the perceptions held by potential visitors about an area may have significant influences upon the viability of that area as a tourist-recreation region”. Govers et al. (2007, p. 19) state that secondary sources of information, such as the media are “essential agents influencing previsit image”. In their study to measure components of destination image formation, respondents from around the globe revealed the sources which their perceived image of tourist destinations derived from. About 23,5% mentioned the television, which represented the most important source of information, thereafter followed magazines accounted for 13,4%, while the Internet then (study from 2007) was only mentioned by 8,4%, and news (5,7%) and newspapers (4,5%) mentioned to a considerably lesser extend (Govers et al. 2007). This study underlines the important role of the media in creating destination image and specifically the significance of magazine journalism.

3.2.1.2 The destination represented through tourism experiences

Part of the destination image are tourism experiences which are attributed to the places.
Experiences and the type of tourism ascribed to the destination can be decisive for people to visit a place. Depending on the intention of the tourist, and what destinations have to offer, a fitting place can be selected. Those choices are, as pointed out in the previous section, heavily influenced by media representations. Thus tourism experiences ascribed to destinations by the media are influencing factors for touristic choices. Cohen (1979) differentiates between five modes of tourist experiences, specifically recreational, diversionary, experiential, experimental, and existential. He developed his typology based on the extent the tourist is interested in and appreciates the culture, social life and natural environment of the host population (ibid.). Places depicted as merely recreational thus represent the lowest appreciation of the mentioned criteria. They are simply seen as a form of entertainment to the tourist and means for restoring physical and mental powers and creating a general well being (ibid.). Diversionary experiences describe an escape from a meaningless and boring existence. Compared to the recreational mode, here the tourist does not recreate nor does he look for any meaning. The place visited simply serves as means to forget about the everyday-life (ibid.). In the two modes described above, the tourist does not look for any values in the destination. On the contrary, Cohen's (1979) remaining three modes represent experiences from which a deeper meaning can be derived. In the experiential mode, the tourist is on a quest for meaning in the life of others and on the search for authenticity. However, the awareness of the otherness of the host population remains the same in this mode and the role of the tourist is that of an observer only (ibid.). This is different in the experimental mode, where the tourist engages in the authentic life of the others in a search for an alternative lifestyle (ibid.). And finally, in the existential mode, the destination becomes the traveler's new spiritual center, which he or she is fully committed to. In this mode, a person is willing to start a new life at the desired place (ibid.).

Cohen's (1979) modes of tourism experiences can be helpful when distinguishing how destinations are portrayed. As elaborated in section 1.3 (RQ 1), I examine how places featured in Norwegian travel magazines are portrayed. Typologies as this one can assist in uncovering such representations.

3.2.1.3 Photographs as powerful image creators

As described earlier, photographs are a vital part of modern travel magazines (see section 2.4.4). Their contribution to create and communicate destination image is seen as essential (Mackay & Couldwell 2004, as cited in Choi, Lehto & Morrison 2007). The visual images are
thought to be particularly powerful in earlier stages of destination evaluation (Mackay & Fasenmaier 2000, as cited in Choi et al. 2007), and can hence influence the travel plans of potential tourists. Dilley (1986) examined tourist brochures of various countries, by analyzing their photographs. By categorizing the pictures by main theme, he showed the countries preferences for representing either landscape, culture, recreation, or tourism services. His findings show that most of the countries present themselves in a specific way through those photographs, and aim for certain types of tourists. European and Asian countries like to be seen as places rich in history, art and certain entertainments (ibid.). Island nations on the other hand, specialize on beach holidays and represent themselves as paradise for bathing and beach activities (ibid.). In 2008 Hunter analyzed photographs of travel brochures, as well as guide books. He developed a typology of photographic representations, grouping the representation of space as well as the representation of objects (people) (ibid.). By doing so, it was possible to show the extent of natural and cultural features of a destination, which were represented in the photographs. This led to findings, showing that photographs often contained no human beings, but rather natural landscapes as well as heritage and material culture. The image of the destinations created was that of neat and 'clean' places, prepared especially for the tourist (ibid.). To Hunter (2008, p. 360), “photographic representations in tourism define ‘groomed spaces’ that are readily identified as a tourism product – part of a destination completely commodified and ready for consumption”. Hunter (2008, p. 361) describes these representations as “socially dangerous”, as they transform a place into “a standardized commodity”, the destination. In other words, places are seen as products, and are made easily digestible for tourists. Meanwhile, the host population and their culture become irrelevant for the destination image. Studies like those are important indications for this thesis. They show that important findings can be made by analyzing photographs. Typologies as the ones of Hunter (2008) and Dilley (1986) can thereby serve as important tools and allow for direct comparison with other studies, which used these measures. Representations and especially portrayals of local people of the host destination are discussed in more detail in section 3.2.4.

3.2.1.4 News values as factors for image formation

The creation of destination images through various media channels, such as travel brochures, magazines and TV “involves selection, exclusion and emphasis of certain images” (Wang 2000, as cited in Pan & Hsu 2014, p. 61). The factors for the inclusion or exclusion of certain places and for their image in a fundamental way are called news values (ibid.). There are five main news values, which are crucial for an event to be covered: conflict, drama,
personalization, proximity or “meaningfulness” (Galtung and Ruge 1973, as cited in Pan & Hsu 2014) and novelty (Price and Tewksbury 1997, as cited in Pan & Hsu 2014). Pan & Hsu (2014) explain, how those news values can be translated to travel journalism: Conflict needs to be understand as a more psychological contrast than a physical conflict, which is typically found in political news. It is about journalists and visitors looking for “something old (conventional and/or familiar), something new (contemporary and/or different), something indigenous and something universal” (Pan & Hsu 2014, p. 63). Drama means the dramatic and dynamic nature of a destinations' attractions and activities, personalization the description of personalized or customized trips and special-interest travel or tourism and proximity the physical and cultural distance of a destination. Novelty can be seen as the pursuit of difference, as an escape from everyday life. In travel journalism, these news values are intertwined with leisure motivations (Ryan 1995, as cited in Pan & Hsu 2014).

Selecting through certain news values, travel journalists report mainly on destinations which are different, dramatic, contrasting and novel to their audience (Pan & Hsu 2014). On one hand there are places with political, economic, cultural or technological power, which are favored by the news coverage and have a so called rich image, on the other hand there are poorer countries with less economical or political power which get accordingly less coverage and have a so called one dimensional image (Pan & Hsu 2014). Through this marginalization of certain places, audiences receive little information about those and cannot construct “a comprehensive and objective mental image of that place” (Pan & Hsu 2014, p. 63). According to Pan & Hsu (2014) such a low familiarity can lead to a less positive image.

Based on this discussion, it is important to investigate, which destinations are frequently covered in the media and which ones are marginalized. It is a main concern of this thesis (see section 1.3, RQ1) to establish an overview of areas and places covered in Norwegian travel magazines and parts of the world or countries which are left out of the coverage. It is further important to look for reasons for a possible unbalanced geographical distribution of destinations. Hanusch's (2014) research serves as an indicator for such reasons. He has found similarities of news values in foreign news journalism and travel journalism. His research shows, that regionalism, a tendency to focus on big neighbor countries and powerful nations as well as cultural proximity are all factors for travel journalism to select the destinations covered. However, a big difference between news journalism and travel journalism is that the latter usually avoids countries experiencing crisis and disaster, while these are the top 'hard news' stories (ibid.). Hanusch's analysis of Australian, Canadian, British and New Zealand
newspapers' travel sections as well as previous, similar studies (Mahmood 2005, Hill-James, 2006, Hanusch 2011; as cited in Hanusch 2014) show, that travel journalism focuses on a limited selection of destinations. The regions preferred were North America, Europe and Southeast Asia, which accounted for as much as 56.3% in Hanusch's study (2011) and which is comparable with foreign news reporting (ibid.). The destinations covered in the travel sections were not necessarily the most frequent visited countries by the inhabitants of the newspapers country of origin. The powerful US, also by far the most frequent covered country in hard news journalism, received proportionally more coverage than every other destination (Hanusch 2014). Further, Great Britain received a large coverage in travel sections, suggesting that cultural proximity plays a big role in choosing destinations, as three other countries of the study are former British colonies. Big neighbor countries were also found to be largely present in all of the studied nations (ibid.). The discovered similarities of news values in news journalism and travel journalism might reject the hope of different scholars that travel journalism could enrich the coverage of foreign countries. However, the studies mentioned here were merely focused on newspaper sections, while this thesis studies specialized travel magazines. A main concern of this thesis is to investigate if travel magazines also are governed by such factors.

The remaining tasks of travel journalism as elaborated earlier, respectively informing and reporting, narrating and entertaining, and representing the other, are also part of destination image formation. An important part in how we perceive the image of a destination is how the foreign place and its people are portrayed in the media. It can influence the perception of a place for example whether it is reported merely in a positive way, or if also negative elements are addressed. The following section deals with the information providing function of travel journalism and the sometimes critical examination of a destination.

3.2.2 Reporting and informing about the world

As discussed earlier, the decline of foreign news reporting underlines the importance of travel journalism's role to supply its audience with information about the world (see section 2.3). By reviewing the history of different forms of travel writing (see section 2.2), it has become clear that from the beginning on it has been a main purpose of travelers to tell people at home about the world. Thompson (2011, p. 62) highlights that this is on no account a new purpose of the genre: “In most of its forms, travel writing's principal business has been to bring news of the wider world and to disseminate information about unfamiliar peoples and places”. As
determined previously in this chapter, opinions differ if travel journalism always lives up to professional journalistic standards (see section 3.1.1). However, there seems to be a shared belief that travel journalism should include a critical perspective similar to what is the norm in hard news journalism.

Ljungberg (2012) observes a closeness between travel journalism and news journalism when looking for instance at the texts of travel magazines. She sees similarities in lengthy articles about foreign destinations in travel magazines and news reporting. The fact that foreign correspondents are sometimes contributing with articles in travel magazines could explain this similarity (ibid.). But also the intention of some of the travel magazines to give texts about the visited destination a socio-political and economic context and thereby include 'hard news' into a 'soft news' genre might be a reason (ibid.). While Ljungberg (2012) only found a few articles of that kind in her research, they often included social injustice or violence at the destination.

Another issue sometimes addressed in travel features are environmental problems. McGaurr (2014) studied reasons for including or neglecting environmental issues of a destination in travel journalism. She found that various reasons can influence the journalists' or editorial departments' decision, whether to include or exclude such issues. Those reach from professional acculturation, personal beliefs or in-house editorial decisions to networks of interest and concern as well as sponsored tours by government tourism offices or tourism operators (ibid.). McGaurr (2014) sees travel journalists who choose to include reporting on the bad side of travel as stepping outside the usual bounds of their professional routines. By engaging in 'cosmopolitan concern', but often simultaneously promoting the destination covered, they provide “evidence of marketable editorial independence, while continuing to promote high-end tourism” (McGaurr 2014, p. 232). Moreover, such 'constructive' criticism can be seen as a “high standard of service to readers” and in the long run in the best interest of the destination itself (McGaurr 2014, p. 239). While reporting on environmental problems in far away destinations might seem hypocritical, when it takes long-haul air travel, which produces big amounts of carbon emissions, to get to the destination, McGaurr (2014) sees the bigger picture:

[. . .] if travel journalists stop writing about distant destinations because they fear this will encourage tourism that makes an unacceptable contribution to climate change, they negate their own ability to witness and mediate distant environmental threats in ways that contribute to transnational connectedness. (p. 244)
Alfsen (2009) notes, that one assignment of travel journalism should be to tell about the impact of tourism on a destination. She argues that the best way to do so is to implement critical points into travel reports. Travel journalists should acquire knowledge about challenges the destination they write about faces, whether it is environmental issues or threats to the local residents (ibid.). The *National Geographic Society* has developed principles for 'geotourism', a scale for sustainability which can be used for journalists to evaluate the situation on-site (ibid.). According to the *National Geographic* (“About Geotourism” n.d.), geotourism is defined as “tourism that sustains or enhances the distinctive geographical character of a place—its environment, heritage, aesthetics, culture, and the well-being of its residents”. In addition to evaluating the situation at the destination, journalists should advice their readers on how to make sustainable choices, so they can contribute to sustain places according to the geotourism principles (ibid.).

As pointed out in this section, the identification as well as a critical examination of drawbacks of places are an important point when informing the audience in an honest and truthful way. Various ways of critical assessments with a destination can be identified, whether it concerns rather small issues, such as bad quality of touristic products, or more complex issues, like negative impacts of tourism on the destination and their inhabitants. Additionally, the adaption of hard news content can be seen as a form of critical evaluation, when rather negative elements such as crime, violence, social injustice etc. are included into the typically positive coverage of travel journalism. This last point can also point to adjustments from foreign news to travel journalism as provider of current affairs, as discussed in section 2.3. However, such negative news content can also reaffirm stereotypical media representations. This can happen when certain regions are always reduced to the same issues. The question of whether critical and hard news content can be found in Norwegian travel magazines is therefore also a main concern of this thesis as presented in section 1.3 (RQ 3). The inclusion of such, rather untypical content, can also point to editorial independence and can have positive impacts on the destinations (McGaurr 2014).

### 3.2.3 Narrating and entertaining

As pointed out earlier, travel journalism is more than just reporting, as it belongs to the genre of Infotainment. Duffy (2014) underlines that in travel journalism, stories about a destination have to be informative as well as entertaining. It is in stark contrast to other journalistic domains, where facts and objectivity are crucial, but subjectivity and entertaining factors are
unwanted (Pirolli 2014). This section will deal with the style of writing, an important factor for the entertainment of the readers.

Travel writers are occupying the role of a reporter, as they accurately reflect the information acquired through travel as well as the role of a storyteller, making the information easy digestible and at the same time maintain the readers' interest (Thompson 2011). The experiences of the writer, his/her encounters within a country and its people, reflections or analysis serve as a starting point for the travel report (Alfsen 2009). As mentioned earlier, travel magazines became lifestyle magazines, and the style of writing changed (Ljungberg 2012). The journalist's role of being the tourist guide was exchanged to being the primary traveler. While in a way, journalists still guided the readers, the focus was increasingly on the writers' experience (ibid.). When earlier, travel features were similar to guidebooks and focused on the reader by mainly providing him with practical information, the focus shifted to the writer, who tells about his personal experiences at the destination visited (ibid.).

Today, travel texts in general are often written in the first person form (Thompson 2011, Alfsen 2009). To tell the story through the first-person narrative is to demonstrate authenticity of a text, a sort of rhetorical function to show the presence of the author at the place described (Thompson 2011). Alfsen (2009) differentiates between two different styles of the first-person narrative in travel journalism. There is on one hand the observing and self-reflective storyteller and on the other hand the participating, self-reflective storyteller (ibid.). The former, as the name suggests is a passive observer, who writes about a third person's experiences, which he is witnessing, in the first person form. The latter, in contrast, is an active participant, who tells about his personal first-hand experiences (ibid.). The role of the writer as an active participant is bigger than just that of a storyteller: He or she is the main person (or one of the main persons) in their own story (ibid.). According to Alfsen (2009), this active role can appear in two forms of travel reports, in form of a consumer check or as a more personal travel narrative. The consumer check is aimed to present and rate experiences, which can easily be copied by the readers. The journalist participates in activities on a level with other tourists as for example a cooking class or a guided tour (ibid.). The travel narrative is a description of a personal trip, including encounters with people and experiences, which are not necessarily possible to be reproduced by the audience. The journalist travels in a way in the name of the reader, who is decoyed to travel a similar path, but undergoes his own experiences and encounters (ibid.).

The modern consumer orientated travel report serves as an inspiration and fuels the dreams of
readers. At the same time it should advice consumers where, when and how to travel and what to do once they are at the destination (Alfsen 2009). Hu Peijiong, executive editor of the travel section in a Chinese newspaper, describes the approach of Chinese travel journalists as to offer something which cannot be found in books (as cited in Bao 2014). As a consequence of this strategy, a unique style of travel writing was developed, blending journalistic elements and personal experiences, where eyewitness reporting was made a professional requirement (Hu as cited in Bao 2014). Also Duffy (2014, p. 99) confirms, that “[. . .] experience has replaced expertise as the common currency of travel writing”. As Cocking (2014, p. 182) points out, personal experiences described by travel journalists function naturally as “markers of authenticity”. Descriptions of travel journalists' encounters with the wildlife in Africa for instance, confirm our cultural understanding of what a tourist experience in the destination presented should include. However, those representations might at the same time be reassurances of the Western World with its comforts and security, while negative and critical elements are left out (ibid.). “The reader is presented with the opportunity to access an ideal pre-modern nature of Africa without having to engage in issues such as poverty, political turmoil and corruption that Africa also conjures in the popular imagination” (Cocking 2014, p. 189). Cocking (2014) sees these constructs of authenticity not only as an allocation of a template for actual holiday seekers and travelers, but on a different level for the pleasure of merely reading about it. “The appeal of travel journalism [. . .] is that it promises authenticity on the page as much as it assures us it is 'out there”’ (Cocking 2014, p. 190).

Following the discussion of Cocking (2014), the entertaining parts of travel journalism can be seen as attracting readers, who are not necessarily concerned with the idea of reproducing travel experiences of the author at the featured destinations. Even though the audience might never visit the covered destination, it is expected from the author that he or she has been at the location. This is a starting point for reporting about the reality of a destination far away from the reader. The personal experiences of the author serve then as proof that he/she has been at the location. Therefore, an entertaining way of writing a story does not indicate that the story is fiction. On the contrary, it can be a reference for authenticity and real, first-hand experienced travels. The first person narrative can be a sign for such first-hand experiences of the writer.

To look for entertaining accounts of the travel story is also one of the concerns of this thesis. The question, to what degree, entertainment and the first person narrative are represented in travel articles can inform about the importance of those personal stories. It can also be seen as
an indicator of whether the representation of the destination is based on first-hand information, and thus living up to the expectations of the readers. Therefore this thesis investigates if travel stories in Norwegian travel magazines conform to what is known as soft news journalism, or lifestyle journalism as proposed in section 1.3 (see RQ3).

3.2.4 Representing 'the Other'

Representations were already mentioned in the previous sections and the question whether they portray a country and its culture and inhabitants in a truthful and justifiable way was raised. This section will explain more about the representational function of travel journalism. Representational strategies and questionable representations of local people and culture in travel journalism are discussed, and reasons that lead to those are explored.

3.2.4.1 Representations as critical factors in travel journalism

The definitions of Hanusch & Fürsich (2014, p. 9) of travel journalism, “the main purpose of travel journalism is to represent the Other”, Thompson's (2011, p. 9) definition of traveling as “the negotiation between self and other that is brought about by movement in space”, as well as Fürsich's (2002, p. 60) designation of representing the other as the “raison d'être” of travel journalism, underline the significance of this sphere in travel journalism. According to Coupland (1999, as cited in Galasiński & Jaworski 2003),

representations are the totality of semiotic means by which items and categories, individuals and social groups, along with their attributes and values, are identified, thematised, focused, shaped and made intelligible. In this sense, representing a class of items or people is more than 'merely referring to' them. It is the generalized set of processes by which collectivities, including human identities and attributes, are symbolically forged, confirmed or challenged.(p. 144)

As Fürsich (2010) points out, representations by the media cannot simply be seen as a portrayal or the reflection of reality. The media creates its own reality and establishes norms and world views and their representations can produce shared cultural meaning (ibid.). Similar to representational strategies deployed in 'hard news' stories, which are known to affect our political views and understanding (Allen 2004, as cited in Cocking 2014), travel journalism “shapes our cultural imagination” (Cocking 2014, p. 188). Further, travel journalism has the potential to affect tourists' choices and cross-cultural encounters on a more general level (Cocking 2014). This can happen through 'where to stay' or 'what to do' advices,
generally found in travel magazines, travel sections of newspapers as well as guide books. Those references can function as templates for tourist visits and can be a lens through which the reader beholds the destination (Cocking 2014; Urry 2002, as cited in Cocking 2014). Cocking (2014) summarizes:

Travel features arguably bear an influence on the dynamic interchange between the local and the reader/tourist: it provides us with a template of where to go, what to do and how to act while we are there. In this sense, the modes of representation deployed in travel journalism are very significant, constructing the cultural frames through which the readership views and interacts with 'others'. (p. 177)

Fujioka (1999, as cited in Buzinde, Yoo & Peterson 2014) argues that representations through the media are particularly powerful, when there is little or no contact between the portrayed population and the audience. In this regard, the media influence is in particular high, when destinations are portrayed, which the audience has little knowledge of and which are culturally and/or geographically very different from the readers/viewers. This 'cultural power' of travel journalism is revealed by the employed representational strategies, which draw on and maintain deep rooted ways of constructing others (Cocking 2014, p. 188).

3.2.4.2 Problematic representations

The way in which 'the Other', thus foreign places, people and culture are represented, might happen in a problematic way. Describing different people, cultures and countries, which seem far from our reality and normality, often ends up in constructing a form of 'we' and 'them' (ibid.). Through this so-called 'Othering', a social group or an individual is rendered distant, alien or deviant (Coupland 1999, as cited in Galasiński & Jaworski 2003, p. 145). It is a form of social exclusion or marginalization, or alternatively a form of distancing (ibid.). The process of 'Othering' usually minoritizes a group and is commonly conveyed through linguistic or textual representations (ibid.). When we travel and encounter foreign people and cultures, we measure them by means of our reality, which is seen by us as the norm (Alfsen 2009). Alfsen (2009, p. 107) describes this biased Western view as: “the others culture, political system, traditions, social structure are described as negative static, unchangeable, and undeveloped – in contrast to our positive, rational, modern, permanently revolving and developing reality”. Alfsen (2009) asserts that travel journalists are more prone to use stereotypes and myths than hard news reporters. By covering a destination for touristic purposes only, and hereby not looking below the surface, local people and their culture are
easily reduced to mute background actors (ibid.). Research in this area has largely questioned the medias' ability to display cultural diversity (ibid.). Fürsich (2010) analyzed three globally produced and distributed travel TV-shows, which present a culturally ambivalent text. While one could hope that shows like these would challenge traditional representational strategies and for instance present a more positive image than the usual foreign reporting with its emphasis on crisis and disaster, she found them to be overly focused on the search for differences. Political, social or economic problems remain unspoken and locals are presented as essentialized types: “nameless, voiceless or poorly translated” (Fürsich 2010, p. 118). Sometimes whole populations are left out and their viewpoints ignored, and if they are present, 'Others' are depicted as exotic, abnormal or deviant (Fürsich 2010). Hanusch & Fürsich (2014) state that although, 'the Other' is usually displayed in a friendly and celebratory way, it is also exoticized and stereotyped. Also Eide (2001, as cited in Alfsen 2009) confirms that when the South is mediated in a positive way, it is often described as exotic and timeless. Alfsen (2009) points out that such depictions are often used in travel reporting.Minorities are often displayed as different, exotic, special or abnormal and their representation is often connected with racist imaginaries from the past as for instance in colonial literature and science (ibid.). The sometimes problematic representations can contribute to ongoing social and political inequalities (Alfsen 2009).

3.2.4.3 Identifying representations in travel media
To find out how foreign places and people are represented in different types of media, scholars have developed various measures. Eide (2001, as cited in Alfsen 2009), describes different approaches of Western media to cover the global South. Alfsen (2009) identifies six of those types of coverage as fitting in particular to (here Norwegian) travel reporting. The first type is called birds perspective. It means that the journalist arrives at an unknown society with a clear goal and an often biased view. He/she rushes in and out and has no time to engage more with the country and culture (Eide 2001, as cited in Alfsen 2009). The second type of coverage happens in the head of the journalist. Everything and everyone is filtered through the journalists' head. It is his/her experience alone that is the story and not 'the Others' (ibid.). Another type of coverage are stories written from the Norwegian point of view. Norwegians and their actions in 'the others' country are the sole interest of the story (ibid.). A fourth type describes representations of a destination in the name of the others. This means that so called experts, as for instance guides or foreign aid workers, speak in the name of the locals, whose own opinion is not sought after. The existence of 'the others' is simply forgotten (ibid.).
other perspective sees the South (merely) as a market. Consumer reports, strictly aimed for tourists, represent countries of the global South solely as a market (ibid.). The last type describes 'the Other' as different, in a romantic way, but also as exotic. This type is what Eide (2001, as cited in Alfsen 2009) calls Romanticization vs. Exoticism. There the journalist reports with enthusiasm about the discovery of 'real people', who have their own pure and pristine values. The differentness of 'the Others', often things we see as undeveloped and old-fashioned is idealized (ibid.).

As described in section 3.2.1.3, Hunter (2008) looked for the inclusion or exclusion of people in photographs. Going one step further, Morgan & Pritchard (1998, as cited in Hanusch 2011) categorized local peoples appearances in photographs. Following their typology, host societies in travel photography can be grouped into five different categories. Accordingly, local people can be portrayed as welcoming and decorative, canvas, tourist attractions, servants, or equals (ibid.). In welcoming and decorative portrayals, they see locals depicted without any context, often as smiling individuals (ibid.). Local people shown as canvas means they are only the backdrop to a scene, while the photograph focuses on something else. Other times, hosts are seen as tourist attractions in their own right, as for example performers for touristic purposes (ibid.). According to Morgan & Pritchard (1998, as cited in Hanusch 2011), those three categories represent the host as part of the destination and the tourism product itself. On the fourth level, where local people are employed in the tourism industry and act as servants for the tourists, they are still depicted as less powerful than the tourist. The last category, where locals are represented on the same level as tourists, is the only level where they are portrayed as equals (ibid.). In their study of tourist brochures, Morgan & Pritchard (1998, as cited in Hanusch 2011) found locals to be mostly portrayed as canvas, followed by attractions and servants, while only one percent of the hosts were represented as equals. Hanusch (2011), who applied this scale to his study of travel sections in Australian newspapers, found that locals appear in a somewhat more positive light. However, still only one tenth of the photographs analyzed showed local people as equals to tourists.

3.2.4.4 Representational strategies

According to Thompson (2011), travel writing can be seen as a product of the encounter with the other and the connected negotiation of similarities and differences between self and other. In that regard, travel writing does not only tell about different places and people, but also in some respects about the author and traveler and his or her culture or the culture the text is
intended for (ibid.). The reaffirmation of the readers' cultural expectations through this strategies, which provide the readership with a “lure of authenticity”, are due to the commercial environment in which travel journalism is produced in (Cocking 2014, p. 188-189). In other words, travel journalism is resorting to those strategies to keep readers reading and is thereby able to achieve its commercial goals.

Fürsich (2010) identifies three reasons for the persistence of traditional representations: The ubiquity, saturation and repetitiveness of the mass media, which leads to a reinforcement of the traditional representations, the profit driven commercial media industry, which is not capable of challenging unjust representations and the medias' tie to the elites in society, who are uninterested in changing the status quo. Those reasons can be seen as challenges for fair representations of others through the media.

Additionally Fürsich (2010) identifies three reasons for the persistence of an unbalanced or even neglected media representation of international 'Others': National media caters to National audiences and foreigners are represented as 'Others'. Global media productions focus on cosmopolitan elites, but critical approaches to political, cultural and economic inequalities are underrepresented. Secondly, the demand for a more diverse representation is relatively new, while the medias' traditional work routines reach back centuries. The third problem is the relationship between the media, governments and elites. Media in authoritarian and democratic countries alike follow elite perspectives and official foreign policy, when reporting about people outside the borders of their own nation (ibid.).

In this section, I have pointed out the importance of representations in travel media. Those representations do not necessarily portray the truth, but are rather constructed by the media and used according to their needs. Therefore, representations of 'the Other' in travel media, can sometimes be seen as problematic. To find out how local people are portrayed, different scales were presented. These are also scales, which are used in this thesis, to address problematic representations. As discussed above, stereotypical representations can have different reasons. They can for instance indicate representational strategies, which are applied by a media outlet to follow commercial goals. Those are reasons to investigate in what way destinations and their culture and inhabitants are portrayed. It is therefore also a main concern of this thesis, as pointed out in section 1.3 (see RQ 2), to see how local people are portrayed in travel articles of Norwegian travel magazines.
4. Methodological Approach

This chapter will explain the choice of methodology for this thesis and present the kind of data that was used. An important part of any study is to find the right research design to answer the proposed research questions. To find out how destinations and their inhabitants are represented in Norwegian travel magazines, a quantitative content analysis of text and photographs was found to be the fitting method. Reasons for this choice will be elaborated in the first part of the chapter. Thereafter I will discuss the selection of the data material, as well as the various variables and categories used in the study. At the end of the chapter, the quality of the analysis will be addressed and strengths and weaknesses of the design and procedure will be pointed out.

4.1 Quantitative content analysis

The aim of this thesis is to measure and count occurrences of certain conditions in Norwegian travel magazines. Specifically, according to the proposed research questions, it will be measured which parts of the world and in more detail, which countries are featured. It will also be measured, which characteristics are ascribed to those destinations and if and how their inhabitants are portrayed. Finally, different elements of coverage will be measured, whether articles include for example typical 'hard' news content. A “numerically based summery of a chosen message set” can be obtained by applying a content analysis (Neuendorf 2002, p. 14). The study of journalistic coverage through content analysis is a prevalent form in mass media studies (Neuendorf 2002). Specifically for travel stories, content analysis is the most common type of study (Hanusch 2009, as cited in Hanusch 2011).

The specific characteristics of this data collection technique made it suitable for this thesis. I will explain its characteristics with the help of Krippendorff's (2013) and Neuendorf's (2002) definitions and attributions. Krippendorff (2013, p. 24) defines content analysis as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts”, and thereby attempts to meet standards of the scientific method (Neuendorf 2002). Important criteria are objectivity, or inter-subjectivity, a priori design, reliability, validity, generalizability and replicability (ibid.). By striving for inter-subjectivity it is acknowledged, that true objectivity can never be obtained, but it can rather be agreed on to what counts as true (ibid.). An a priori design implies that, the codebook with its variables and categories has to be created before
observations are made (ibid.). This too supports the strive for objectivity. To assure the reliability of a study, repeated trials have to lead to the same results. It requires accurate definitions of variables and categories, which produce results that are not only the reflections of one subjective evaluation (ibid.). Validity is obtained by making sure, that the research provides answers to the proposed research questions. It is important to measure only what is relevant to the study (ibid.). Generalizability means that it is possible to draw conclusions to a whole population. To make it possible to generalize from a study, the sample has to be representative, and it has to be drawn randomly. Finally, a study should provide all possible information, to make a replication of the study feasible (ibid.). Such information can be for instance the codebook, with its variables and categories. At the end of this chapter I will provide a review of whether those criteria were met and what this means for the quality of this study. Before that, I will address the sampling process and then explain the variables and categories, which were used for this analysis.

4.2 Sampling

The main interest of this paper and the proposed research questions were decisive for the choice of media in the analysis. Since the emphasis of the study is to analyze content of Norwegian travel magazines, the selected magazines had to have an editorial office in Norway and be specialized on travel content. Not included were therefore big international magazines such as “National Geographic Traveler” or “Lonely Planet Magazine”, which can also be purchased in Norway. Included in the analysis were the magazines “REIS”, “Reiselyst”, and “Vagabond”, which were the three publications matching the criteria. A systematic random sample was drawn from those magazines over a period of two years (2014 and 2015). This meant to select every $k$th unit of all the issues within the selected time frame of two years. Krippendorff (2013) points to problems, when the constant interval $k$ correlates with seasonal variations. Such seasonal differences do occur in travel related media, so it was of great importance to include magazines with release dates spread out over the whole year. Because of differences between the magazines in the number of annual issues (REIS and Vagabond: 7 issues/year, Reiselyst: 10 issues/year) and the assurance of a similar amount of articles, every 2nd issue of REIS and Vagabond were selected, while only every 3rd issue of Reiselyst. Consequently, seasonal varieties were taken into account, while simultaneously the number of issues of magazines in the sample was equally distributed.

The systematic random sample resulted in 21 magazine issues, seven issues of each of the
selected magazines. Out of those issues, 166 articles were selected by various criteria. These criteria were established according to the main purpose of this thesis: finding out how different destinations and their inhabitants were represented and to discover possible differences in the coverage between nations and regions. Therefore only specific types of texts were relevant for this study. Included in the analysis were articles treating a country or region, which were written by a journalist. (Reiselyst includes test-trips with articles written by readers, which were not included). Further excluded from the analysis were leading articles, steady sections appearing regularly, advertisements, readers questions, tips and gear reviews, city- and country guides, short news, book presentations and reviews, hotel tests, readers competitions, job-related travel, articles focusing on property and private vacation residences and general stories without a connection to a certain country or world region.

The analysis of the selected 166 stories was conducted by analyzing text as well as accompanying photographs. Fact boxes and the like were also excluded from the analysis, meaning that only the actual story was examined and not text and pictures in boxes, which were typically placed at the end of the articles. Only when the editorial space was measured, those boxes were included. Regarding the selection of photographs, maps and drawings were excluded, as well as portrait photos of authors and experts, which sometimes accompanied the byline. The sample of photographs accounted for 2001 units.

When different countries were presented under the same headline but with clear constraints between the countries, as each country appeared as an own article, they were treated as separate articles and coded accordingly. An example is the topic skiing in the Alps, with destinations from various European countries, in which every country was treated individually. In the case of the inclusion of more countries in an article, only the world region or sub region was coded. Longer articles, which portrayed only one country, but had different sections (sometimes written by different authors, often different destinations inside one country), while it was placed under the same headline, was coded as one article.

4.3 Variables and categories

The starting point for this thesis was the interest in Hanusch's (2011, 2014) studies about representations of places and people in travel journalism. The variables and categories that Hanusch (2011) used for his analysis of Australian newspaper travel sections were adopted from previous research and adjusted for his study. His codebook was to a large degree
resumed for this study, but changes and adaptations were made, in order to cater for the specific settings of this thesis. Neuendorf (2002, p.101-102) sees a replication of past studies as beneficial, not least because of the “immediate comparative value” of the findings. By using Hanusch's (2011) established variables and categories, similarities and/or differences between preferences and representations in Norwegian travel magazines and Australian newspaper travel sections can be easily pointed out.

Several changes were made according to difficulties Hanusch (2011) had encountered. Those difficulties were mainly related to categories in the written text analysis, which had made it difficult to achieve cross-coder reliability. This concerned ordinal variables, which looked for the exact degree of a certain condition presented in the text. To counter such issues, many variables were split up and coded separately as dichotomous variables. This however reduced findings to express the mere inclusion or exclusion of a condition. On the other hand, the coding process was simplified, which improved the reliability of the study. While certain variables, which did not seem relevant for the purpose of this thesis were left out, a few new variables were added. The final codebook included a large part of dichotomous variables. Variables, which had more than two categories were all adapted from Hanusch's (2011) study. Those were all exhaustive, which was often obtained through a unclear/other category. They were also mutually exclusive, which was sometimes assured through coding the dominant aspect only. This happened mostly in variables for the photograph analysis. An example is the main theme in the photographs, where out of four possible topics only the most dominant one was coded.

The following sections will explain the variables and categories used in this analysis in more detail. Firstly, variables and categories for the analysis of the written part will be discussed, then the same is done for the visual part, the analysis of the photographs.

**4.3.1 Variables and categories for stories**

The variables used in the written texts' analysis of the 166 articles were tending to show different characteristics and orientation of the content. Simple, more general variables captured the editorial space of the whole article, editorial space of photographs, the source of the article, gender of the author, number of photographs accompanying the article and sources for the photographs. The remaining, more complex variables will now be explained in greater detail.
Variables relating to the first research question looked into the geographic location of the story. This included whether an article was about a domestic or foreign destination and more specific, which country, sub-region and world region the destination belonged to. The coding was done according to the classifications by the United Nations (2013) as suggested by Hanusch (2011). To describe the story orientation, five dichotomous variables were assessing if the story contained a lot of practical information, entertaining accounts, critical orientation, travel motivation, and/or if it was aiding in inter-cultural understanding. Those variables had the categories yes and no, simply to check which elements were included or not included.

Further, a nominal variable monitored pleasure- and value related tourism experiences, as assembled by Cohen (1979, as cited by Hanusch 2011). The categories were recreational, diversionary, experiential, experimental, and existential (ibid.) and each story could only be assigned to one category. For the analysis, the categories recreational and diversionary were consolidated and named pleasure-related experiences, while the remaining three categories were summarized as value-related experiences, as suggested by Smith (2001, as cited in Hanusch 2011). This was done to better reflect whether stories were mirroring only the enjoyment and pleasure of traveling, or if the article pointed to values in the life of others. Another nominal variable treated the type of tourism, which was connected to the destinations, as constructed by Smith (2001, as cited by Hanusch 2011). Here the categories were explorer, elite, off-beat, unusual/incipient mass, mass, and charter (ibid.). Those categories were also summarized after the analysis into non-mass and mass (or off-beat) destinations, where the first three categories were included in the former and the last three categories in the latter category. This step made it easier to measure which destinations were typically represented as mass-touristic places and which ones as alternative tourism destinations.

Tourism experiences were also measured by thirteen dichotomous variables, again equipped with yes and no alternatives, to filter out the exact experiences described in the stories. The variables, which are to a large degree self-explanatory were called recreational, adventure, historical, cruise, health, spiritual, entertainment, shopping, ecotourism (visiting places for their natural beauty, not necessarily Ecotourism as responsible tourism), family travel, special event, cultural, activity (Hanusch 2011). By using dichotomous variables, it was assured, that each story could include multiple experiences. Thereby the focus was not only on one main topic, but it allowed to capture all the experiences included.

Eide's (2001, as cited in Alfsen 2009) approaches of Western media covering the global South
were split up into six dichotomous variables, each equipped with yes and no alternatives, depending on the occurrence in the text. Those variables were birds perspective, in the head of the journalist, Norwegian point of view, in the name of the Others, the South as a market, and Romanticization vs. Exoticism (ibid.) and are explained in more detail in section 3.2.4.3 in the theory chapter. These variables were valuable to identify the focus of the coverage of an article. They could show, if the journalist was able to include local positions and opinions, or if the coverage was done one-sided and only market-orientated. An additional nominal variable asked for the point of view of the story. Here the categories were first person, third person, mixed perspective, or other/none of the above. Stories written in the first person form are pointing to the writer's perspective, while other points of view can tell experiences from somebody else's perspective.

To enable a broader examination of the degree of inclusion of local voices in the coverage, further dichotomous variables looked for the presence of local people as well as for quotations of local people. According to Hanusch (2011, p. 5), such quotes “can bring people to life in a story much more than when they are only described by a writer”. By measuring the degree of local people mentioned in the articles and comparing with the degree of local quotations, it can be seen to what degree locals get a voice in the coverage. Hanusch (2011, p. 5) underlines, that local people working in the tourism industry can be seen as “less powerful in social relationships than other local people at the destination”. For this reason, those two 'types' of locals were treated separately and the degree of tourist appearances in the coverage was measured too (ibid.). This happened mainly for means of comparison between the presence of locals, locals employed in the tourism industry and tourists.

To detect hard news elements in the travel articles, eight dichotomous variables were developed. Those asked for various elements of typical hard news stories and were according to their presence coded with either yes or no. Elements investigated in the destinations were the political situation, economical or financial situation, criminal or violence, disaster and catastrophes, war and terrorism, humanitarian crisis, diseases and health issues, and other news content. Here it was important to only include current or recent events and not historical events (second world war etc.). Since news-content was one of the concerns of the study, up-to-dateness was of importance.

Further variables concerned the degree of inclusion of the environment and environmental- and tourism-related issues in the articles. A dichotomous variable asked for the inclusion of the natural environment in the story. It was important though, that the environment was not
just mentioned, but discussed in some length (Hanusch 2011). Following was a variable looking for the representation of the environment at a destination. The environment could be portrayed as pristine and untouched, mostly pristine with little effect from tourism, still beautiful, but with effects from tourism, mostly negative, with effects from tourism, strong negative effects from tourism, or affected by factors other than tourism. It was also possible that the environment was not portrayed at all, or in an unclear way (Hanusch 2011). More dichotomous variables clarified whether environmental issues were mentioned. Those were sustainability issues of the destination, sustainability of travel more general, responsibilities of tourists, and Ecotourism (here as a type of responsible tourism) (Hanusch 2011).

Both hard news elements and environment-related variables were supposed to show the degree of critical elements in travel reporting. It could also reflect the ability of travel journalism, to show a more diverse picture of places, and not only positive, travel-related content.

4.3.2 Variables and categories for photographs

The analysis of the 2001 photographs was an important part to support findings in the text analysis. A separate codebook dealt with variables to look for visual representations of the destinations and their inhabitants. The codebook was adopted from Hanusch (2011), who followed Dilley's (1986), Hunter's (2008) and Morgan and Pritchard's (1998, as cited in Hanusch 2011) typologies for identifying main topic of the photograph, people presented in the photograph and role ascribed to the people in the pictures.

Firstly though, similar to the written text analysis, variables were used to identify photo size and geographical location (domestic – foreign, world region, sub-region, nation).

Four variables determined the main topic of the photograph. Every photo could only have one main topic, in case of more fitting topics, only the dominant one was coded (Hanusch 2011). The main topics were Landscape, Culture, Recreation, and Services (Dilley 1986, as cited in Hanusch 2011). Those variables were further divided into categories, distinguishing the topic in more detail. The categories were again mutually exclusive and all included the category unclear/other. This step assured that photographs where the main topic was not clearly distinguishable would end up in the unclear category and not bias the results by being forced in one of the other categories. The variable landscape was split into coastal, mountain, rural, urban, and flora and fauna. Culture was divided into history and art, entertainments, local people, and local economy. Recreation could be either participation or observation, meaning
that the tourist was either an active participant or a passive observer. Services could be either attractions – unique services of the destination or reassurances, assuring the tourist to enjoy similar comfort than at home (ibid.). The main topic of the photographs was an important indicator to show specific preferences ascribed to certain places. This was similar to the tourism experiences variables for the written text. An additional nominal variable dedicated to the representation of space in the photograph included the mutual exclusive categories natural landscapes, cultivated landscapes, heritage and material, and tourism products (Hunter 2008, as cited in Hanusch 2011). Those could in addition to the main topic specify the focus of the photograph.

A next step was to identify people in photographs. This was done by using typologies established by Hunter (2008, as cited in Hanusch 2011). The categories here were no people, female locals only, male locals only, female tourists only, male tourists only, combination male and female locals, combination male and female tourists, combination locals and tourists, and unclear/other (ibid.). The category no people got extended to no people/people far away in the background, after problems emerged in the test run. There were numerous photographs showing a silhouette of people only far away in the background (very often in landscape themed photos) impossible to distinguish whether these were local people or tourists. Those photographs were therefore coded into the no people/people far away in the background category. The unclear/other category meanwhile included photos where people were clearly visible, but it was not possible to determine whether they were local people or tourists.

To add to the representations of local people in the written text, photographs containing local people, were coded according to Morgan and Pritchard's (1998, as cited in Hanusch 2011) categories. Depending on the depiction of the locals, they could be portrayed as decorative, canvas, attractive, servants, or equals (ibid.). When locals were represented as decorative, the image was without context, and the people were simply depicted as welcoming and friendly. People in photographs as canvas, were just a backdrop to set the scene, while locals as attractive were seen as an attraction themselves. Servants are local people working for tourists, providing a service in the tourism industry. When locals were seen as equals, they had to be portrayed on the same level as tourists (ibid.). This categorization helped to establish a close overview of how locals are seen in the photographs. It complemented the analysis of the presence of local people in the written articles and was part of the answer to the second research question, concerning the cultural representations of foreign destinations.
Two last variables categorized the social distance of people in the photographs, as well as people in activity terms, whether people were active, passive or posing in the picture (Hanusch 2011). These distinctions were other indicators for preferences in representations of locals, and allowed for a comparison of the depiction of locals and tourists.

4.4 Procedure and quality

When carrying out a content analysis some crucial aspects have to be considered. Key standards for a good measurement include reliability and validity (Neuendorf 2002). Reliability means that the same results can be produced on repeated trials (ibid.). To achieve reliability in a study, different coders must agree or correspond to a high degree (ibid.). Since I was the only coder for this study, a pilot test prior to the complete data collection, as well as a final test after the conducted data collection was carried out, as suggested by Neuendorf (2002). Both tests included a randomly selected subsample of about 10%. When I ran the pilot test, some minor difficulties emerged, regarding the definitions of categories. By redefining those critical definitions during the pilot test, initial problems were solved and no other major issues were met during a repeated test run. As mentioned earlier, it helped to convert ordinal variables of Hanusch's (2011) codebook into dichotomous variables, as it was much easier to see, whether something occurred in the material, rather than rating to what degree it occurred. This factor might have led to an increase of reliability of the conducted study. I am, however, aware of the fact that the coding was still to a certain degree subjective. This is especially the case for questions such as whether content is critical or aiding for cultural understanding. To assure the highest possible reliability, definitions of all terms had to be as precise as possible, yet, different coders might have disagreed in some cases. While I was the sole coder in this study, I had people I could consult whenever I encountered difficulties during the coding process. In every uncertainty though, I agreed with my colleagues on how to code the particular unit.

Neuendorf's (2002) demand for an a priori design was followed, as codebooks with all variables and definitions were prepared before the actual coding process started. The data was directly coded into SPSS Statistics, which allowed for a quick and accurate analysis. The program facilitated the search for relations between variables and assisted in pointing out frequencies and discrepancies.

Generalizability, or external validity means that the findings of a study are valid not only for
the explicit material and time frame of the study, but also transferable to other times and settings (Neuendorf 2002, p. 115). It includes the representativeness of the sample, the “true to life”-character of the measurement, as well as a full reportage of all procedures, to ensure the replicability of the study (ibid.). This study was conducted with consideration of these factors. The three analyzed travel magazines are the only magazines of its type in the country and thereby represent Norwegian travel magazines at large. The sample of the analyzed articles was drawn randomly, and text and pictures were coded directly from the original material, the printed magazines. All procedures have been reported in this chapter. Additional material that was used, such as the codebooks and country codes can be found in the appendix of this thesis. It should therefore be possible for this study to predict how Norwegian travel magazines treat destinations and their inhabitants. At the same time it could be an indicator for how travel magazines in general select and cover places and local people. In any case, it provides results for comparison with other, similar studies. As this study was for the most part a replica of previous research, such comparison can already be made.
5. Analysis

In the previous chapter I explained the procedure of the research conducted in this thesis. This part of the paper reports and discusses the findings of the content analysis of 166 stories and 2001 photographs sampled from the three Norwegian travel magazines. A main purpose of this thesis is to discover how foreign destinations are represented in Norwegian Travel Magazines. In this part I will give answers to the research questions proposed in section 1.3. The chapter will thus reveal how places and their inhabitants are portrayed in the selected magazines. Before the “how” will be addressed, the following section is dedicated to the “what” or “where”, as the location of the destination is in the focus. The principal point of the first part of the analysis chapter is to answer the first research question. It will therefore be elaborated, which parts of the world as well as which nations are most frequently presented in the three travel magazines. Additionally, the question is raised if there are parts of the world which are left out or appear only sporadically in the publications. The second part of this chapter is dedicated to answer research question number two, thus how locals of foreign destinations are represented in the articles. In that part I will show to what degree local people are included in the coverage of both text and photographs Furthermore it is of interest, which roles the magazines ascribe to the host population. The last part of this chapter deals with the third research question. There the focus is on elements in the coverage, which are not necessarily connected with traditional 'soft' news journalism. I will present to what extent entertaining and informative factors are present, if critical content can be identified and to what degree traditional 'hard' news elements are included in the coverage.

5.1 Geographical distribution and image

In this section I discuss the geographical distribution of places featured in the selected articles and their attached image shown by the representations in the three magazines. To begin with, dominant regions and nations are pointed out and marginalized areas are identified. Thereafter I will give an overview which type of tourism (mass vs. non-mass; pleasure vs. value) and which tourism experiences are most frequently ascribed to the destinations by the magazines. Afterwards the preferred main themes of the photographs for the different world regions will be presented. The last part of this section will sum up the findings and conclude the first research question.
5.1.1 Western focus

The 166 analyzed articles featured 54 different countries or nations. Exactly half of those countries were only represented in one article. When excluding countries with only one entry, the remaining 139 articles were divided into 27 nations. Among those 27 nations, were big differences in the amount of the coverage. While many of them were featured twice, the most frequent appearing country, the United States, amounted to as much as fifteen stories, or 9% of all the articles (see Table 1). Thereafter followed the domestic stories, thus articles about Norway, with thirteen stories (8%), France (11 stories/7%), Spain (10 stories/6%), Sweden (7 stories/4%), United Kingdom, Italy, Croatia and Thailand each with six stories and 3.5% and Denmark (5 stories/3%). Hence, of the ten countries which were represented in five or more stories, only two of them are located outside of Europe, namely the United States and Thailand.

Table 1: Top 5 countries overall

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>Number of stories</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 US</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Norway (domestic)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 France</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Spain</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Sweden</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This listing of nations already suggests the dominance of European countries in Norwegian Travel Magazines. Figure 1 illustrates the distribution of the world regions and domestic stories in the analyzed articles. Europe (without domestic stories) accounted for about half of all the analyzed articles, while the Americas and Asia together made up for another third. The articles about African countries amounted for under ten percent and only a minor part was dedicated to Oceania, with just four articles. The dominant sub-regions, all reaching between 13% and 21%, were Southern-, Northern- and Western Europe, as well as North America and South-East Asia. Together these sub-regions accounted for more than three quarter of the total amount of stories (domestic stories were excluded for these numbers). On the other hand, Sub-Regions which were underrepresented were South America, Western Asia, Middle-, Northern- and Western Africa, and Melanesia. Underrepresented means here that those
regions accounted for less than two stories each. Also Eastern Europe, which was only covered in four stories, can be seen as underrepresented, when compared to the other European regions. Finally, five subregions were not represented at all in the sample. Those regions were Central- and Eastern Asia, Micronesia and Polynesia and Central America.

5.1.1.1 Comparing coverage to Norwegian travel patterns

The geographic analysis shows a clear preference for Western countries. Although this conforms with the travel patterns of the Norwegian people to a certain degree, also crucial differences can be identified. Preferences for Southern-, Northern- and Western European countries are mirroring the travel patterns of Norwegian tourists to a certain degree. According to the Statistics Norway (Statistisk Sentralbyrå) the top eight countries of the most visited countries of Norwegians in 2010 were situated in Europe (Granseth 2012). Among them on the first and second place were the neighboring countries Sweden and Denmark (ibid.). The US dominance in Norwegian Travel Magazines however, accounting for almost ten percent of all articles does not concur with Norwegian travel patterns. Even though the United States are among the ten most visited countries of Norwegians (9th most visited country by Norwegians in 2010, Granseth 2012) and due to improving flight connections and

Figure 1: Coverage of world regions including domestic stories in percent (N=166)

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more economical ticket fares rising in popularity, they are far from being the most visited country by Norwegians. Denmark for instance, was visited by five times as many Norwegians as the US in 2010 (Granseth 2012). Yet, Denmark only accounted for a fraction of the stories dedicated to the US by the analyzed Norwegian travel magazines. Another example is Turkey, which in 2010 had a comparable amount of Norwegian visitors as the US (Granseth 2012). However, there was not one article about Turkey among the 166 analyzed travel articles. In this regard, it must be remembered, that the image of a destination is also affected by its degree of familiarity, as discussed in section 3.2.1.4 (Pan & Hsu 2014). A destination or region marginalized, here for instance Turkey, can therefore result in a less positive image because of its low familiarity (ibid.). On the other hand, the US, as comparatively overrepresented country, receives a more positive image. The US is an example for Western nations, which are overrepresented in the travel magazines and have therefore what Pan and Hsu (2014) call a rich image. On the other hand, we can detect whole regions which are totally left out or only sporadically covered, such as South America or Western Africa. Countries in those regions have a so called one dimensional image (Pan & Hsu 2014). This is due to the little information audiences receive about those places, which makes the readers unable to construct an objective and comprehensive image of a place (ibid.).

5.1.1.2 News values as factors for an inclusion in the coverage

The findings point to similarities to news values, or factors for inclusion or exclusion of certain destinations (Wang 2000, as cited in Pan & Hsu 2014), as discussed in section 3.2.1.4 in the theory chapter. It supports Hanusch's (2014) findings that travel content follows foreign news flows, which create an imbalance of coverage between Western countries and the rest of the world. The results of the geographical distribution of the coverage of the sampled stories in Norwegian Travel Magazines are very similar to Hanusch's (2014) study, which dealt with travel sections of newspapers in Australia, Britain, Canada and New Zealand (see section 3.2.1.4). Similarities are visible in news values factors such as regionalism, (neighbor countries are represented to a high degree), geographical-, political-, economical- and cultural proximity, (Northern- and Western European countries account for a big part of the coverage), as well as the focus on powerful nations (demonstrated by the high percentage of US-focused articles). Also in Hanusch's (2014) study, the US was by far the most frequently covered nation. He compares the United States popularity in travel journalism with its position in foreign news reporting (Hanusch 2014). Hanusch (2014) too, found differences between tourist behavior and destination coverage, pointing further in the direction of selection and
exclusion of certain nations, depending on their value given by certain criteria. The result that travel stories usually steer away from disasters and catastrophes, as opposed to traditional hard news stories (Hanusch 2014) can only partially be supported here. Likewise, no stories of the Middle East, which is seen by Hanusch (2014) as a key region in foreign news, were to be found in the Norwegian travel magazines. However, the analyzed sample included three articles about Myanmar, a country facing constant political unrest and riots over the previous years. Another example is India. The Southern Asian country was covered in three stories, despite the often negative news coverage over the last years, especially concerning sexual assaults, including attacks of foreign female travelers. Nevertheless, it has to be acknowledged, that India is an all-time backpacker favorite, and therefore a country relatively often featured in travel-related media. Additionally, all the articles about India were found in Vagabond only, so this could be more of an editorial preference of the magazine.

5.1.1.3 Editorial differences

As different as the focus on countries might be, at the same time a look at the three different magazines gives a slightly diverse picture. Although the focus on Europe is present in all magazines, the other world regions are distributed variably. REIS predominantly focuses on Europe and the Americas accounting together for over 80% (this distribution does not include domestic stories), while about 16% of their stories are situated in Asia and only one article is about an African country. Their most frequented countries were Norway (domestic), followed by Sweden, France and the US. Additionally, it has to be said, that REIS accounted for six out of seven stories about Sweden, so there is a clear preference for the neighboring country. Reiselyst has like REIS about 60% of their articles covering European countries, while they dedicated slightly more than a quarter of their stories to Africa (17%) and Asia (11%). The countries most frequently covered in Reiselyst were also Norway (domestic), followed by Spain and France. Vagabond is the only magazine that featured European countries in less than half of their stories while domestic stories were renounced completely. Their stories of Asia (21%) and Africa (10%) combined, account for almost one third of all their articles. Still, the US were the most frequently covered country in Vagabond, followed by Croatia and the United Kingdom.

The distribution of travel destinations covered by the three different magazines shows both commonalities and differences between them. Firstly, it is noticeable that the two magazines, which included domestic stories, both dedicated most articles to their own country. Secondly,
although *Reiselyst* dedicated a relatively high percentage of their stories to Africa, and similarly *Vagabond* to Asia, only European countries and the US are among the three most frequently covered countries of all the magazines. In other words, in all three magazines countries with geographical proximity, for instance typical summer holiday destinations (Croatia, Spain) or classic city trip or weekend trip destinations (France, United Kingdom) as well as trips to neighboring countries like Sweden and the powerful United States were amongst the top three frequented nations.

### 5.1.2 Mass- and non-mass destinations

After detecting which world regions, sub-regions and countries or nations were represented, we now turn to the question of how those destinations were portrayed. Firstly the focus is on the tourism experience, thus what kind of tourism or travel is attributed to the destinations by the magazines. Assigning certain experiences or types of tourism to a place is part of the destination image creation. As explained in section 3.2.1.1, the destination image can be created or altered by the media and it is vital for the tourist decision making process. It is therefore important to uncover, which characteristics the three magazines allocate to the particular places and how that might differ from region to region. In this regard, both text and picture analysis were taken into account.

#### 5.1.2.1 Mass destinations dominate

In a first step tourism experiences were separated into *mass* and *non-mass* trips. The results show, that more than two third of all the stories were dedicated to mass tourism. Mass tourism could appear as either *charter*, *mass*-, or *unusual mass* tourism. While only a small part of the mass-tourism coverages fitted the sub-category *charter* tours, about one fifth of the articles wrote about *mass* destinations, thus popular destinations, often connected with package holidays. The by far biggest sub-category was *unusual mass* tourism, with over 40% of all stories. In this category, trips to mass-, or usual destinations were described, but the experiences were rather individually chosen. This could be for instance a trip to Barcelona, but instead of describing only mass activities, also different experiences were described. This could be a bicycle trip through a unknown neighborhood, or other activities which are usually not directly connected with the city of Barcelona. The destination itself was still a mass-tourism destination though.

The *non-mass* travel stories, consisted of mostly *off-beat* destinations, meaning typically
backpacker places (which have not been transformed into mass destinations yet) and activities. Overall this was also the second strongest sub-category with almost a quarter of all stories. The remaining sub-categories of the non-mass tourism type, elite and explorer did only occur in a small number of cases.

Although in all three magazines mass-tourism stories had the distinctive overweight, Vagabond stands out with the smallest percentage of just above 60%, while in REIS, three quarter of the analyzed content was mass-tourism related and Reiselyst ranged somewhere between these two.

**5.1.2.2 European mass tourism and backpacking in Asia**

Of the world regions, Europe scores by far highest on the mass-tourism destinations with 84% and only 16% non-mass content (see Figure 2).

![Figure 2: Mass vs. non-mass destinations per world region in percent (N= 148)](image)

This is in a way not surprising, considering the above mentioned focus on Northern- Western- and Southern- Europe, and the typical short haul summer-holiday and city-trips which can be associated with these regions. It is, however, not the case that there are no off-beat destinations to be found in Europe. The magazines rather chose to write about the same destinations over and over again (cities as Paris, London, Rome as well as big beach resorts), while for instance East-European destinations are to a large degree left out of the coverage.
The popular destinations are often twisted and turned and tried to be presented from a new angle. In the case of this analysis it meant that many of those stories fell into the sub-category unusual mass, which was by far the most frequented category for European destinations. Almost all the other world regions (even the domestic stories) had a slight overbalance on the mass-tourism side, albeit to a considerable lower degree. The only exception was Asia, where more than half of the articles where about destinations labeled as non-mass tourism places. Again, this did not necessarily come as a surprise, since Asia and especially South Eastern Asia is known as a favored backpacker region. Another reason for the comparatively high percentage of off-beat destinations is Asia's high presence in Vagabond, where almost two thirds of Asian places were non-mass destinations. A majority of Asian destinations in REIS and Reiselyst were at the same time mass-tourism related. When writing about European places though, also Vagabond almost chose 80% mass-tourism experiences. Yet, the share of mass-content was even higher at the other two magazines, reaching to over 90% in REIS for European destinations. The picture is rather different when looking at stories treating the Americas. Here REIS dedicated half of their stories to off-beat destinations, while Vagabond and even more Reiselyst wrote mostly about mass-tourism.

The dominance of unusual mass tourism in the articles is a first indicator for the way places are portrayed in the travel magazines. While one could expect, that travel magazines would introduce new places to the reader and present new ideas of traveling, they rather rely on typical mass destinations with more individual experiences. An example is an article treating new ways of exploring the city of London, instead of introducing a different city in the United Kingdom which is less known to the audience. Although the popular destinations are often equipped with a new twist by describing 'unusual' experiences, there are still mostly places for the masses presented. As discussed in section 3.2.4.4, repetitiveness and saturation of the media can be seen as an indicator for traditional representations (Fürsich 2010). The repetition of popular places and reaffirmation of the readers expectations can be part of representational strategies of the media (Cocking 2014). Those strategies are employed because of commercial interests, as for instance advertising of tourist agencies in the travel magazines. The content of advertisement in the travel magazines was not studied in this thesis, although I would expect that it is often relating to packaged experiences at mass destinations. The high amount of articles about mass destinations are probably supporting the sale of such products.
5.1.3 Pleasure- vs. value-related content

In a next step, destinations were grouped into categories depending on whether articles treated the place as hosting merely pleasure related activities, or if the destination was also visited because of certain values, specifically related to local culture and people. When it comes to pleasure- versus value-related content, one might think that it would be closely related to mass and non-mass content and thereby has a similar distribution. The analysis however shows a different picture. The categories were rather evenly distributed, with a slight majority of stories looking for values in travel. This also points in the direction that mass-tourism does not merely mean relaxation and pleasure. In fact, in almost half of the mass-tourism destinations described in the articles, a focus on values in the journey could be identified. On the other hand, it does not automatically mean that because a destination is not presented as a place for the masses, value related travel must prevail. After all, almost 40% of the non-mass related articles were predominately pleasure related.

The most common sub-categories were diversionary on the pleasure side, and experiential on the value side, with about 30% each. The diversionary category in Cohen's (1979; see section 3.2.1.2) modes of tourist experiences stands for travel as an escape from the everyday existence, a getaway from boredom and routine. Traveling is merely seen as a distraction from the dissatisfying daily routine, with a desire to relax, but no interest in the culture, social life and natural environment of the host population (ibid.). On the contrary, the experiential mode means looking for values in the life of others, in a search for authenticity (ibid.). The tourist searches for experiences outside his own cultural realm, but remains aware of the 'Otherness' of the different cultures and does not get provided with a new meaning or guidance in his life, as his own culture remains his center in life (ibid.).

5.1.3.1 Where travel has a 'meaning'

When this is transmitted to the world regions again, a very diverse picture appears. The only world region with a high overbalance of pleasure related stories is Oceania, with none of its stories looking for values in the destinations (it is important to mention, that the Oceanian region only consisted of four stories). Interesting enough, also the domestic stories were overly dedicated to pleasure-related experiences, only 23% of the stories consisted of value-based experiences. Meanwhile, 80% of all the travel articles about Asian countries and about 67% of all articles about African countries are aimed for values in the journey. For Europe and the Americas those categories were rather balanced.
Table 2 shows the distribution of pleasure- and value related content in the three magazines. A closer look reveals that regarding this point, the magazines could not have been more different from each other. While *Vagabond* is looking for values in more than 70% of their stories, *REIS* and *Reiselyst* dedicate both about 60% of their articles to tourism for pleasure only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pleasure</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>REIS (N=52)</strong></td>
<td>62 (32)</td>
<td>38 (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reiselyst (N=53)</strong></td>
<td>59 (31)</td>
<td>41 (22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vagabond (N=61)</strong></td>
<td>30 (18)</td>
<td>70 (43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (N=166)</strong></td>
<td>49 (81)</td>
<td>51 (85)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This could be part of the explanation why domestic destinations were mostly pleasure related, as the two magazines, which included domestic stories, wrote less about value-related experiences. Similarly, with the high amount of articles about Asian countries in *Vagabond*, the high percentage of stories of Asian countries in the value category could be explained. Findings show, that all stories about Asian countries in *Vagabond* do as a matter of fact include value-related travel experiences. Here however, the majority of Asian related articles in *REIS* and *Reiselyst* do the same. It therefore remains unclear why particularly Asia is the world region with such a high percentage of value-related travel. As we will find out in the continuing analysis, Asia is represented rather different than other world regions in many ways. Similarly, travel articles about African countries were all looking for values in *Vagabond*. Here *Reiselyst*, which had the biggest share of African stories, contained half pleasure-, half value-related content, while *REIS* only story about Africa is pleasure related. The outcome was not much different for the Americas. While *Vagabond* looked for values in two third of their articles, *REIS* left out values in more than two thirds of their stories. *Reiselyst's* four stories about the Americas were balanced, two merely pleasure-related, two looking for values. For European destinations *REIS* and *Reiselyst* both mostly preferred pleasurable experiences in more than half of their stories. *Vagabond* in contrast also included in 60% of their representations of European destination value-related experiences. These findings suggest that differences between the magazines are the reasons for most of the geographical variations concerning pleasure- and value related content. The magazines have clearly different views on what traveling should involve. While *REIS* and *Reiselyst* allow
large space to pleasure and recreation, *Vagabond* often includes meaningful experiences and thus interest into the host community. In section 5.2 I will elaborate in more detail on cultural interests and cultural representations in the magazines.

### 5.1.4 Tourism experiences

So what experiences exactly, either *pleasure* or *value*-related, *mass* or *off-beat* destinations, were described in the travel articles? Thirteen terms for different tourism experiences were separately coded as dichotomous variables. This was done to ensure that all of the different tourism experiences that a story could include, were taken into account. Feature articles in travel magazines rarely describe only one experience, and in many cases, several experiences were ascribed an equal importance. Therefore the best solution was to filter out all the experiences to be found in the articles, even though sometimes some were standing out more than others. The stated percentages below are each relating to the total amount of stories.

#### 5.1.4.1 Cultural experiences on top

The results show, that *cultural* experiences were the most frequent described tourism experiences. These were stories, which described local culture, local people, local customs, food stories and the like and were found in about 45% of the total amount of the articles. In the second place with about 36% were *recreational* experiences, relaxing, sun, beach and sea were the most common topics in this regard. 33% of the stories promoted *historic* experiences, thus visiting places because of their past, as historical sites or museums. About 27% of the stories described *activity* experiences, like participating in sports and other activities and roughly 25% included *ecotourism* experiences. This can be seen in a broader context, including a focus on the natural beauty of a place, as the main reason for the touristic visit (Ecotourism as responsible tourism will be discussed in section 5.3.4). *Entertaining* experiences, which could be performances, shows or concerts etc. were included in around 16% of all stories. The remaining tourist experiences, only appeared to a minor degree. Those included *special events*, hosted at a respective destination (10%), *adventurous* experiences and *shopping* (both about 8,5%), *spiritual* experiences (ca. 5,5%), *cruise* ship holidays (4%), *family* friendly experiences (3%) or *health* related travel (2,5%).

#### 5.1.4.2 Experiences connected with world regions

Interpreting the tourism experiences related to the different world regions shows the picture
the three publications paint about the destinations. African destinations are regarded as mostly interesting for their natural beauty and simultaneously for recreational activities. Additionally, Africa is highly praised for its cultural values, to a lesser degree for historical values as well as for adventure seekers. Asia is the continent for the culturally interested, but also for recreation-seekers and travelers looking for historically interesting places. Also spiritual- and activity-related experiences can be found there. The Americas are for the nature-lovers, as well as the culturally interested. Recreation and sport-related activities fit also to the image of the Americas and to a lesser degree historical and entertaining experiences as well as cruise-tourism. For Oceania three out of four stories described adventurous travels in naturally beautiful settings, two stories promoted sporty activities. In Europe places are mainly visited for cultural and historical purposes and additionally for recreation, activity and entertainment. Meanwhile holidays in the home country Norway features the natural beauty of the country as well as many activity possibilities, but also culturally and historically interesting places can be found.

Overall tourism experiences were represented quite similar in the three magazines. However, there sometimes were significant differences in the experiences attributed to different parts of the world. Out of the eight articles about Africa in Reiselyst for instance, six of them contained recreational activities, while out of the six stories in Vagabond featuring African countries, none of them did so. Another example is the divergence of the representation of countries of the Americas between Vagabond and REIS. With a similar amount of stories about the Americas, Vagabond included cultural activities in two third of their stories, while REIS did so in only one story. Additionally, almost half of the stories in Vagabond included entertaining attractions such as visiting concerts and shows, while REIS had no entertainments in their articles. All the stories about Asian countries in Reiselyst included cultural experiences, while about only half did so in Vagabond. Meanwhile, almost 40% of Vagabond’s stories about Asia treated of spiritual tourist experiences, though the other two magazines totally renounced this type of tourism experience.

5.1.4 Visual representations of the destinations

We now turn to the visual part of the articles, the accompanying photographs. As pointed out in section 3.2.1.3, photographs are especially influential for touristic choices and important for the image formation of a destination. To identify the represented image, photographs were firstly categorized according to their main topic. Then, the main themes were divided into
sub-categories to get an even better understanding of what the photographs included.

5.1.4.1 The main theme in photographs

The main theme was categorized in either landscape, cultural, recreation or services. The overall distribution shows photos with a cultural theme on top with almost 40%. The second most used was services with about one fourth of the photographs, followed by landscape with a slightly lesser amount and recreation with just over 10%. Figure 3 illustrates the distribution of the main themes of the photographs in the different world regions (the graph only includes the four world regions with the highest amount of photographs). While Africa and Oceania scored highest on the landscape theme, Asia, the Americas and Europe were primarily represented through photos related to culture. Further differences were, that Europe had a comparatively high number of photos related to tourism services, while Oceania was the only world region scoring high on the recreation category. The distribution of main themes in domestic pictures was similar to the rest of Europe. The representations of the world regions in the photographs of the articles strengthen the image established by the analysis of the written accounts.

![Figure 3: Main theme of photographs as distributed in world regions (in percent) (N=1776)](image)

The representation of space in photographs gave further information on the different representation of world regions. Also here Africa and Oceania were mainly portrayed through
natural landscapes, while this did not apply to Europe at all. Europe, Asia and the Americas were especially viewed as connected to their heritage, historically related material and/or local people and their lifestyles. Tourism products were also important motifs to portray Europe and the Americas. Here the representations of the different world regions point to similarities to Dilley's (1986; see section 3.2.1.3) findings in his study of tourism brochures. He also identifies certain regions as presenting themselves in a certain way, for instance Europe and Asia as rich in history and art, thus mainly as cultural destinations. This points to similarities of self-representations made by the tourism authorities (brochures) and representations made by the media (here travel magazines) and a thus similar destination image.

5.1.4.2 Destinations' visual image in greater detail

All the main themes were further divided into sub categories. A look at those sub-categories shows, that the attraction category in services was the overall most frequented one. Over 15% of all pictures were thus showing special tourism services. Those were services that were in a way unique to the destination, often high class quality gastronomic products, but also other services dedicated to attract tourists. While services of that type were most frequently in Europe, Asia and the Americas, Africa was the only world region with a higher percentage of reassuring services, the second sub category in services. Those reassuring photos have the purpose to convince tourists, that they may enjoy similar comfort and services like at home. This finding conforms findings in Hanusch's (2011) analysis of travel sections in Australian newspapers. His research shows a very similar result, where only African countries are scoring high on the reassuring services, while the rest of the world is mainly represented through attracting services (ibid.). Interestingly, REIS, which had the highest percentage of reassuring photographs in their coverage overall, with almost half of the pictures from the services category, only accounted for one article in Africa. This means that also the other magazines had to have a high percentage of those types of services as a topic in their photographs about Africa. Findings illustrate, that here Vagabond actually stands for the highest percentage of reassuring photographs in African destinations.

In total, the sub-category reassuring services was one of the more frequent ones, accounting for 10%. Other strong sub-categories were photos focusing on history and art (14%) local people (14%) and recreation (in an active way, meaning the tourist was participating in recreational activities) (11%). The landscape sub-categories (coastal, flora and fauna etc.)
were spread quite even, so none of them were in more than 6% of the photos. However the
distribution of the landscape sub-categories between the different world regions pointed to
more significant differences. Over 60% of all landscape pictures for African countries were
photographs of the flora or fauna. On the other hand, pictures of urban landscapes accounted
for only three percent of the African landscape-themed photographs. Again, parallels can be
drawn to Hanusch's (2011) research. He too sees Africa largely represented through flora and
fauna motifs, related to the often occurring safari-stories (ibid.).

The representation of landscapes in European destinations was somehow quite different.
There city and cityscapes, or urban pictures represented about one fourth of its landscape
pictures, while another fourth was coastal landscapes and another one rural landscapes. The
Americas showed a similar distribution to Europe. Asia however, showing similar to Africa a
high amount of flora and fauna pictures, they accounted for only a third of all their landscape
pictures. Similar to the Americas and Europe also Asia had a big part of coastal and rural
pictures. Europe was the world region with the significantly highest amount of urban photos,
as all the other regions had less than 13% of this sub-category. Regarding the magazines
representation of landscapes, all three publications were quite similar. However, while
coastal motifs are to a larger degree found in REIS and Reiselyst, Vagabond has a significantly
higher amount of pictures showing flora and fauna. This can be connected with Vagabond's
preferences of writing about tourism experiences focusing on the natural beauty of
destinations, as well as Reiselyst's recreational focus, as pointed out in the previous section.

5.1.5 Summary of geographical distribution and image

The first part of the analysis was concerned with the question of what countries and regions
were presented in the Norwegian travel magazines and how they were portrayed. The findings
show clear geographical preferences in the Norwegian travel magazines. The United States
especially, and Northern-, Western-, and Southern European countries can be seen as favored
in the coverage. News values can be seen as factors for the inclusion of these countries and
regions, but also for the exclusion of other regions. Several marginalized regions were
identified, among them South America, Western Africa and Eastern Europe. These findings
give answer to the first part of the first research question. The second part concerns the image
of the destinations. Here clear representations for the different world regions were identified.
The representations concur in both text and photographs to a large degree. European countries
were often portrayed as mass tourism destinations, where cultural and historical experiences
are seen as biggest attractions. Destinations in Europe were often depicted as urban places, with attractive touristic services. Asia on the other hand, represented as a non-mass, backpacker destination, is seen as to have great cultural value and recreational opportunities. Trips to Asian countries are also seen as to be meaningful, in a sense that authentic experiences with the host population and their culture can be made. In photographs, Asian destinations are mostly represented through landscapes and cultural motifs. African places are described as naturally beautiful and culturally valuable. This is also mirrored in the visual representations, which include the flora and fauna to a large degree and only little urban motifs. When representing African countries, the reader is assured by the magazines that he or she does not have to forgo anything from the modern home country. The portrayals of these three world regions underline the different representations made by the media. It is noticeable, that the representations of specific regions are similar in different studies of different media in different countries (Hanusch 2011, Australian newspapers; Dilley 1986, tourism brochures of various countries). This points to traditional representations and representational strategies employed by the media, possibly to follow their commercial interests and achieving their commercial goals.

5.2 Destinations in cultural terms

In the article “Maha Kumbh!” in Vagabond, the author describes what in his opinion the press of today is writing about, and tells that experiencing a place and its culture is much more than what we get to know from the mass media: “They report about celebrities, catastrophes and sensations. Absolute polarity, and quite superficial. But they write little about feelings in the newspapers, of subtle and subjective experiences about how the world looks. About how people are thinking and how they are doing in other places than our home countries” (Vagabond 7/2014, translated by me).

This section will explore the representation of tourism destinations in cultural terms. Firstly, we are going to see to what degree the texts of the Norwegian travel magazines are culturally orientated and whether they try to explain and understand foreign cultures. Then we will find out if the journalists mention local people, interact with them and quote them. Through the picture analysis we can see the importance the magazines attach to local people when they portray a destination. The analysis also identifies roles which the magazines ascribe to local people. In the last part I will sum up the findings of this section and provide an answer to the second research question. In this section, statistics will be related to foreign destinations only,
and domestic stories and photographs will only be included when explicitly stated.

### 5.2.1 Cultural tourism experiences and cultural understanding

As specified in the previous section, about 45% of all stories included *cultural* tourism experiences. This means that they dealt in some way with the local culture and/or its people and their lifestyles. In this case, all three magazines had a rather similar amount of cultural stories, with *Vagabond* having the highest percentage with close to 50% and *REIS* the lowest with still about 40%. In contrast, articles which aid in intercultural understanding were relatively rare. Table 3 shows a comparison of the three magazines regarding cultural experiences covered and articles that aided in intercultural understanding. Overall, stories that counter stereotypes and try to explain a culture and its lifestyles, could be identified in about one fourth of the articles. The magazine with the highest percentage of cultural understanding was again *Vagabond*, with one third of all their articles, while it amounted for about one fourth of *Reiselyst's* stories, and only 13% of all articles in *REIS* did so.

*Table 3: Cultural tourism experiences vs. cultural understanding (without domestic stories, number of articles in brackets)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cultural experience</th>
<th>Cultural understanding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REIS (N=45)</td>
<td>38% (17)</td>
<td>13% (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reiselyst (N=47)</td>
<td>47% (22)</td>
<td>23% (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vagabond (N=61)</td>
<td>49% (30)</td>
<td>33% (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N=153)</td>
<td>45% (69)</td>
<td>24% (37)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 5.2.1.1 Cultural experiences as indicators for cultural understanding?

When looking explicitly at the stories that included *cultural* tourism experiences, just about half of the stories did aid in *cultural understanding*. Consequently, the quite high amount of 'cultural' stories, which were after all the most frequent tourism experience in the travel articles, are in a way deceptive. Culture is in half of those stories merely treated superficially or in a stereotypical way, without any attempt to see and explain it from a neutral and unbiased perspective. Stories which included a cultural tourism experience, but did not aid in intercultural understanding were extremely common in *REIS*. While it happened in over 70% of the cases in *REIS*, half of the 'cultural' articles in *Reiselyst* were as well not assisting in intercultural understanding. In *Vagabond*, at least 63% of stories treating cultural experiences also aided in intercultural understanding.

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Articles that often fell in the category cultural but did not bother to really engage in the foreign culture were food stories. Often focused on running from one top-restaurant to the next, those articles were mostly so fixed on the culinary activities that the destination itself, except that the visited restaurants were located there, did not really matter. The introductory part of an article in *REIS* puts it in a nutshell: “I travel to Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, with only one goal in mind: Eating! Two days and three kilos later the mission is accomplished – in grand style!” (REIS 07/2015, translated by me).

5.2.1.2 Culture explained in far away places

Looking at differences between world regions, articles about Asia were in 44% trying to explain its culture, 33% of articles about African countries also did so, 31% of the Americas, but only 16% of articles about European countries did. This indicates that distant parts of the world with greater cultural differences are explained to a higher degree than geographically and culturally proximate places. An example of an article immersing itself into a culture and dedicating the whole story to explain a cultural peculiarity is *Reiselyst’s* story “Når menn blir kvinner” about ladyboys in Thailand (Reiselyst 6/2015). It is a rare article to be found in a travel magazine. In it local people are the center of the story, and the touristic side of the country, here Thailand, a highly popular destination, is only a minor matter. The article provides an insight into a part of the culture which is although widely known, rarely discussed or explained. Such articles are what Dundas (2009) calls exposé, an investigative coverage focusing on a specific issue in a foreign country (see section 2.1.2). Stories like this one are as Ljungberg (2012, as discussed in section 3.2.2) notes, rarely to be found in travel journalism and reminds of articles found in the hard news department (elements of hard news journalism will be discussed in more detail in section 5.3.5).

An explanation for the low score for European countries regarding cultural understanding might be the rather high amount of food stories, as mentioned above. Another reason could be that travel journalists see no need to explain European cultures because of the assumption, that most of the people 'know' them already. After all, most of the European stories were located in North Europe (cultural- and geographical proximity) and West- and Southern Europe (popular travel destinations of the Norwegians), so the knowledge about those culturally related or at least generally known countries might be taken for granted and the need to explore and explain those cultures might be underestimated.

Also a relation between the *editorial space* of the articles and an orientation towards *cultural*
understanding can be identified. While short articles of less than five pages rarely aided in cultural understanding, articles of five to ten pages and ten to fifteen pages did that in a better way. One could expect that longer articles can lead deeper into a matter and have more time to explain a culture, while short ones just scratch on the surface. Interestingly though, this rising tendency did not continue to the longest stories, with fifteen and more pages, but decreased again to a relatively low percentage of cultural understanding. Since articles about European destinations were disproportionately short in length, with more than 40% of the stories having 5 or less pages of editorial space. This can be seen as an additional reason for the low percentage of articles with an orientation towards cultural understanding for places in Europe. The low percentage of cultural understanding for long articles (editorial space of 15 pages and more) can somehow be explained by the reason that only REIS and Reiselyst had stories of that length, while in Vagabond, the magazine with the highest percentage of cultural understanding, such long articles were not to be found.

5.2.2 Local people represented in text

One way to examine the cultural representation of places in more detail is to look for the presence of local people in text as well as photographs. The first step is to find out, to what degree local people are mentioned in the articles and pictures, and to separate local people working in the tourism industry from other locals. Then the focus is turned to quotations of locals in the articles. The presence of local voices is an important factor, as “quotes can bring local people to life in a story, much more than when they are only described” (Hanusch 2011). Another step is to see how locals are depicted in the photographs. All those steps can specify how ‘the Other’ is represented in the travel magazines and can give additional information about the destination image.

5.2.2.1 People included in the coverage

Local people of foreign destinations were mentioned in almost 60% and quoted in around 46% of all articles, while local people working in the tourism industry were mentioned in about 71% and quoted in 65%. For comparison, we can look at tourists, which were mentioned in 43% of the stories and quoted in about 33% and tourist authorities and tourism agencies, which were rarely mentioned and hardly ever quoted. Thus, it can be said, that local people working in the tourism industry were very often present, and when mentioned typically also interviewed. Other locals, not connected with the tourism industry were still
often mentioned, but to a quite significant lower degree quoted. Tourists were in the fewest articles present, but similar to locals working in tourism, relatively often quoted. This analysis did not include a variable measuring if additional information about the people mentioned or interviewed was provided. It can however be noted that names and additional information about the individuals interviewed were regularly stated in the articles. Findings of this analysis are thus quite different from Fürsich's (2010) analysis, which showed local people in travel shows on television to be 'nameless' and 'voiceless' (see section 3.2.4.2). This suggests, that travel magazines include locals more than travel shows on TV, and journalists writing for the magazines are more concerned about providing information about their sources.

5.2.2.2 Geographical differences in the inclusion of local people

The results further point to differences between the various world regions and how much locals were included there. Figure 4 illustrates the interval of locals mentioned and locals quoted in the texts in the different world regions. In articles about European countries, locals were only mentioned in about half of the stories and quoted in just 40%.

![Figure 4: Locals mentioned vs. locals quoted in different world regions including domestic stories (in percent) (N=161)](image)

Those were the lowest numbers for any world region. At the other end of the scale, locals of African countries were mentioned in two thirds, and quoted in 60% of the stories describing
African countries. This makes Africa the world region with the smallest margin between locals mentioned and locals quoted and at the same time the region with the highest percentage of local quotations (although Oceania has a higher percentage, it cannot be compared, because of the low amount of stories). Asian locals were mentioned in more than three fourths of the articles dedicated to Asian countries but quoted in just over 50%. The Americas were somewhere in the middle, with locals mentioned in about 62% of the stories and quoted in half of them. By comparison, local people were mentioned in 62% of all the domestic stories. This is rather surprising and shows, that only Europe has a lower percentage of locals being mentioned. The big difference however is, that once locals were mentioned in domestic stories they were always quoted too. Hence, domestic stories had a higher percentage of local quotations than all the world regions (again, Oceania excluded).

When looking specifically at the most frequented nations, other interesting findings can be reported. Denmark for instance, where locals working in the tourism industry were mentioned as well as quoted in all cases, only in one out of five stories other locals were mentioned and quoted. Similarly, were Spanish locals, who work in tourism mentioned and quoted in ten out of ten stories, but other local people were only in four out of ten stories mentioned but then also quoted. Quite the opposite can be said about Croatia and Italy. For those destinations, locals were more frequently mentioned as well as quoted than locals in the tourism industry. With locals being quoted in two thirds of all the articles about Croatia (5 out of 6 stories were in Vagabond) and Italy, this happens in an even larger degree than in domestic stories. Also in two thirds of the articles about Thailand, locals are mentioned as well as quoted. There, however the same applies to locals in the tourism industry.

Additionally, big differences can be pointed out by viewing each magazine separately (see Table 4). While Vagabond mentions local people in almost 80% and quotes them in 60% of their stories, they mention locals working in the tourism industry in 72% and quote them in 62%. It is noticeable that although local people not involved in tourism are mentioned the most, locals employed in the tourism industry are still quoted more often. However, both groups of local people are given a voice in way over half of Vagabond's stories. This happens to a lesser degree in Reiselyst. There, local people are mentioned in 55% of their articles and quoted in about 45%. Locals in the tourism industry are mentioned in 66% and quoted in 63% of their stories. The articles of REIS show a clear focus on people working in the tourism industry. Those are mentioned in 73% of the stories and quoted in 71%. On the other side, other local people are only mentioned in 38% of their stories and quoted in less than 29%. In
comparison, celebrities were mentioned almost to the same degree as local people in *REIS*.

Table 4: Locals vs. locals working in the tourism industry mentioned and quoted in the three magazines (without domestic stories, in percent, amount of articles in brackets)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Locals mentioned</th>
<th>Locals quoted</th>
<th>Locals in tourism industry mentioned</th>
<th>Locals in tourism industry quoted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>REIS</em> (N=45)</td>
<td>40 (17)</td>
<td>29 (13)</td>
<td>73 (33)</td>
<td>71 (32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Reiselyst</em> (N=47)</td>
<td>55 (26)</td>
<td>45 (21)</td>
<td>66 (31)</td>
<td>64 (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vagabond</em> (N=61)</td>
<td>79 (48)</td>
<td>61 (37)</td>
<td>72 (44)</td>
<td>62 (38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (N=153)</strong></td>
<td><strong>60 (91)</strong></td>
<td><strong>46 (71)</strong></td>
<td><strong>71 (108)</strong></td>
<td><strong>65 (100)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.2.3 Possible reasons for an exclusion of local voices

Although it was neither the purpose of this thesis to analyze the exact degree of local people mentioned, nor the content of quotes, it has to be addressed, that both quotes and references did occur in very different ways. From brief references to local kids playing on the side of a road, to stories discussing the fate of a local family, and from a short statement of a local man or woman about weather conditions in the area to longer discussions with a local cleric. Looking at these examples, one can see how much these categories could differ from article to article. Given that it did not take more than a brief reference to locals who were for instance observed when passing in a taxi, it is somewhat even more surprising, that locals were mentioned in slightly more than a third of the articles as it was the case in *REIS*. It can definitely sometimes be challenging to get to talk with locals outside of the tourism industry, for instance because of the language barrier. This is also mentioned by a journalist in *REIS* in an article about Thailand, where he states, that it is difficult to get to talk with the locals precisely because of the different languages (*REIS* 02/2014). At the same time, it has to be considered, that remote world regions have the highest percentage of quotations by locals, as well as nations like Croatia and Thailand, so language barriers might not be the only explanation. Meanwhile it remains unclear, why locals in European countries as for instance in Denmark and Spain were mentioned and quoted to such a minor degree.
5.2.2.4 Travel magazines quote more

In his study of Australian travel sections, Hanusch (2011) saw locals only rarely quoted in the analyzed newspapers. There, just 15% of the stories quoted locals, while 28% did quote locals who worked in the tourism industry (ibid.). This is a huge difference to the quotations found in the analyzed travel magazines, where in 46% of the articles locals were quoted and in 65% locals in the tourism industry. Yet, there is a gap between the inclusion of regular locals and locals connected with tourism. As discussed in section 3.1.1, realistic travel reporting as requested by Alfsen (2009) needs the voices of other people than the standard tourism workers such as chauffeurs and guides. Hanusch (2011) emphasizes that locals employed in the tourism industry can be seen as less powerful in social relationships than other local people. In this regard appearances and quotations of regular locals must be seen as more representative for a place and its culture. The gap between the inclusion of local people in the tourism industry and other locals, and especially the proportions of local people mentioned and them being quoted in Norwegian travel magazines leaves room of improvement for an even bigger, more 'direct' inclusion of local people and culture.

One dramatic difference between travel sections in Australian newspapers and the articles of Norwegian travel magazines is the inclusion or exclusion of quotations at large. While Hanusch (2011) detected, that 60% of the stories did not quote anyone, findings of this analysis show, that over 90% of all texts do include quotes. Although the two analyses are focused on publications from different countries, those discrepancies might point to different approaches of newspaper- and magazine journalism when it comes to treating travel content.

5.2.2.5 Quotes are no guarantee for cultural insights

However, including locals in the coverage of a destination does not automatically mean that the article tries to understand the local culture or explain it to the reader. There is also the possibility that it is full of stereotypes and reinforces prejudices. This analysis shows, that only about 39% of the stories mentioning local people and some 44% of stories including local quotations are aiding in intercultural understanding. This means that over half of the stories, which include locals in their coverage do not make an attempt to explain their culture. One example demonstrating this case is the article “Hjulskift med Dracula” in Reiselyst, describing a train trip between Moldova and Romania. Although the article is mainly about the encounter with local people, including conversations and thoughts of the locals, the author fails to create a fair portrait of them. A fellow Romanian traveler is repeatedly referred to as
“Dracula” because of his looks: “Then Dracula appeared in my compartment. A tall, skinny guy with immersed eyes, and a somewhat wild sight. Aren't the corner teeth abnormally long? But I've got garlic in my purse and treat him to sunflower seeds” (Reiselyst 07/2014, translated by me). While the article is written in a satirical way, it treats locals in a depreciative way and does quite the opposite to assisting in intercultural understanding. To be fair, the author reflects at the end of the article about her prejudices and describes locals as overly friendly people, though the picture of 'Dracula' and the other locals she draws throughout the article hangs over it like a dark cloud. Such representations can be seen as problematic, as elaborated in section 3.2.4.2. Articles as this one fit the description of Hanusch and Fürsich (2014) and Fürsich (2010) who see locals often represented in a friendly way, though exoticized and stereotyped. The author is distancing herself from 'the Other', who is represented as deviant, different and even abnormal. Coupland (1999, as cited in Galasiński & Jaworski 2003) sees 'Othering' as described here as social exclusion and minoritizing of a group.

5.2.2.6 A Western way of covering the global South?

Simultaneously, the above mentioned article serves as an example of stories, which merely focus on the authors experiences and tell his/her story, but not the story of 'the Others'. Locals and their thoughts are filtered through the journalist's head and they are, although mentioned, just minor characters, while the author's experience is the main story (Eide 2001, as cited in Alfsen 2009). The description of this category fitted about one fifth of all articles and was rather overrepresented in REIS, where over one third of their stories were written in that way. Another way of missing out including a wider perspective to the destination were stories in which the journalist seemed in a rush, and did not have enough time to engage with country and culture (Eide 2001, as cited in Alfsen 2009). One fourth of all articles were written from this 'birds perspective' (ibid.). Again it was REIS which had the highest amount of that type, amounting to about 38% of all their stories, which was about twice the frequency of the two other publications. Articles, where so called experts as for example tourist guides were interviewed and quoted, while regular local people were forgotten (Eide 2001, as cited in Alfsen 2009), made 22% of all foreign stories. While again REIS had the biggest share of that category, this also occurred in over a fourth of Reiselyst's articles. Additionally, 27% of all stories were portraying destinations merely as a market. Those consumer reports, which are directly aimed at tourists (Eide 2001, as cited in Alfsen 2009), made 44% of all articles in REIS, and still over a third in Reiselyst, while Vagabond again had only a few of those articles.
amounting to under 10% of their total. Eide's (as cited in Alfsen 2009) critical points of Western media covering the global South (as discussed in section 3.2.4.3), were also good indicators whether the journalists dealt with the culture of the host destination or not. In nearly all the cases, where any of the above described coverages applied, the article did not try to explain the foreign culture.

5.2.3 Local people represented in photographs

The analysis of the photographs gives additional information about the degree local people were included in the coverage of the travel magazines. Findings show, that in roughly 40% of all the photos there were no people included at all. In other words, 60% of all photographs included people, which could be both, tourists and locals alike. Figure 5 illustrates the overall inclusion of locals and tourists in the analyzed photographs. About one fourth of all photographs included locals only, while in roughly 15% of the pictures only tourists were shown. Only 6% of all photographs displayed locals and tourists together. Those numbers were to a large degree similar to what Hanusch (2011) discovered in Australian newspapers.

![Figure 5: People represented in photographs (N=2001)](image)

However, it has to be noted, that in 14% of all pictures it was unclear whether the people depicted were locals or tourists. Hence, those 14% could include further shares for any of the
categories mentioned above. At the same time, the photos with an unclear status of whether locals or tourists were the depicted people, did occur to about the same degree in all of the magazines. Therefore, based on this initial position, it will not bias the comparison of photos between the different magazines. Regarding world regions, it has to be mentioned, that pictures including people of African destinations were considerably clearer in whether they showed locals or tourists, so the percentage of non-specific photos was a lot less than in the other world regions.

5.2.3.1 Inclusion of locals per magazine and world region

The comparison between the three magazines showed no major differences. An interesting observation can be made though, as the magazine Reiselyst had a slightly different distribution of subjects in their photographs, with an above average percentage dedicated to tourists, and thus a below average number of photos of locals. Hence, tourists were more often represented than local people in Reiselyst. Additionally, it can be mentioned, that Vagabond had a rather low percentage of pictures with only tourists, while they also had the lowest percentage of photographs including both locals and tourists.

Distinguishing the visual depiction of subjects by world region affirm the distinctions of world regions demonstrated earlier (see section 5.2.2.2). Asia was also here the region with the most local people included. This was the case in 42% of all photographs of Asian countries. This far above average percentage is almost twice as much as Africa's 24%, which was the second highest percentage. Hanusch (2011) too found Asia to be the world region with the highest percentage of locals in photographs in his study, even if this happened to a lower degree than in the Norwegian travel magazines. The other world regions had similar numbers, they ranked between 17% and 22%, and similarly, in less than a fourth of the domestic pictures local people were included. Although the number of local people in photographs of Asian countries was quite high, they scored lowest on pictures including locals and tourist together, with only about 5%. Here Africa and Oceania were the regions with the highest percentage, with 10% and 11% respectively. At the same time, those two world regions were also the ones with the most pictures that did not show any people. This fits to the focus on landscape in these regions, as discussed earlier in the section about story orientation.

5.2.3.2 Roles ascribed to the host population

Now that we have an overview of the degree to which local people were included in the
articles, we can go one step further to understand how the people were portrayed. Again we look at the accompanying photographs of the articles. Photographs which included local people had five different categories, as grouped by Morgan & Pritchard (1998, as cited by Hanusch 2011; see section 3.2.4.3), according to the role that was ascribed to the individuals. In that regard, local people could be *decorative*, meaning they were pictured without any context, often as smiling and welcoming, *canvas*, as means to set the scene - merely as a backdrop, they could be seen as *attractors*, viewed by the tourist as an interesting and unusual subject, locals could be *servants*, when working in the tourism industry, and finally *equal*, when viewed as equals to the tourists (ibid.).

Most of the time locals of foreign destinations were represented as servants, in as much as 38% of the cases. The second most frequent category was canvas, where locals were means to set the scene (31%). 13% of locals were represented as equals to tourists, 10% as attractors and 8% were decorative. Compared to that, locals of domestic destinations were similarly mostly portrayed as servants, this was the case in almost two thirds of the pictures. Another quite significant difference was that in 26% of the pictures of locals in domestic places, they were displayed as equals. This is about twice the percentage of locals in foreign destinations. Norwegian locals were also rarely portrayed as attractors, canvas or decorative. These findings suggest that regarding representations in Norwegian travel magazines local people of foreign destinations are treated to a certain degree differently than local people of domestic destinations. An important difference is that in most photographs the appearance of domestic locals have a context, while many locals of foreign destinations have only decorative value, either as background or attractive individuals. Even though domestic locals were mostly depicted as servants, and thus still less powerful than tourists (see section 3.2.4.3), they are seen as individuals. As workers in hotels and restaurants or as guides, their appearances are 'justifiable' because they are directly connected with tourism through their work. On the other hand locals of foreign destinations are seen as part of the destination and the tourism product itself when they are overly depicted as decorative, canvas or attractive (Morgan & Pritchard 1998, as cited in Hanusch 2011; see section 3.2.4.3).

A look at how the three magazines picture foreign locals in social terms individually, reveals again some interesting differences (see Table 5). *Vagabond* represents foreign locals as servants in only one fourth of all the photos showing local people. This is significantly less than in the two other publications, which both portray locals as servants in almost 50% of their photographs. *Vagabond*'s share of locals as canvas however is relatively high with more
than one third, while they picture locals as equals in 17% of the photos.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Decorative</th>
<th>Canvas</th>
<th>Attractions</th>
<th>Servants</th>
<th>Equals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REIS (N=162)</td>
<td>11,1</td>
<td>27,2</td>
<td>9,9</td>
<td>44,4</td>
<td>7,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reiselyst (N=157)</td>
<td>8,9</td>
<td>23,6</td>
<td>7,6</td>
<td>48,4</td>
<td>11,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vagabond (N=248)</td>
<td>6,9</td>
<td>37,1</td>
<td>12,5</td>
<td>26,2</td>
<td>17,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N=567)</td>
<td>8,6</td>
<td>30,5</td>
<td>10,4</td>
<td>37,6</td>
<td>12,9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand, *REIS* has more photos in the decorative category than in the equal category, where they score lowest with only 7%. This is different in their domestic stories, where locals are depicted as equals in almost one fourth of the pictures. *Reiselyst* is traditionally in between the other two publications in most of the categories, though as mentioned, locals were to a high degree represented as servants. Even more so in their pictures of domestic locals, where they are represented as servants in over 70%, while in the remaining photographs they appear as equals to tourists. Here it has to be noted though, that in both *REIS* and *Reiselyst* there was only a small number of photographs including domestic locals. It is interesting, however, that both magazines represent locals of domestic destinations more often as equals than other locals.

5.2.3.3 Are people portrayed differently in various parts of the world?

By again looking at the different world regions separately some interesting findings are revealed. Figure 6 illustrates the distribution of roles ascribed to local people in the different parts of the world. Firstly, the biggest communality between all regions but Asia, is that local people are in most cases represented as servants. Again, Europe is in the lead here, with more than half of the photos showing locals as servants. The other world regions are somewhere close to 40% each, while Asia is the other extreme, with only about 15% depictions of servants. Pictures of Asian locals however represent them in over half of the cases as canvas, which is unique as it is more than twice as often as the region with the second most locals as canvas, which is Europe. Asian locals are further the most frequently represented as decorative (15%), while they are represented as equals in only 7% of the photos, which is the smallest percentage of all world regions. While local people of the Americas are also rarely represented as equals (less than 10%), they are the region with the highest percentage of locals depicted as attractions with 21% of their photographs.
People in Oceania too are portrayed as 'attractive' with a similar share of about a fifth of their representations (again, Oceania is not considered in the figure, because of its low amount of photographs), while African locals are the people most frequently seen as equals in more than 20% of their photographs. Furthermore the magazines depict African locals relatively often as canvas with 22%, and about 12% of the photos show African locals as decorative. This is a similar amount to all the other regions regarding decorative portrays, and here only Europe, and as earlier mentioned domestic locals too, are hardly ever portrayed as decorative. This is also the case for the attraction category, where Europe and the domestic pictures are considerably below the average.

A look at a small sample of the five most frequently covered countries overall, sheds more light on regional differences regarding representation of local people. The depictions of local people in these countries strengthen the above established picture of representations in different world regions. As mentioned earlier, those countries were the United States, France, Spain, Sweden, and Thailand. Findings show, that France is the nation with most pictures without any people in more than half of its pictures. Additionally there is only one photo out of 91 photographs displaying tourists and local people combined. Again it is important to note here, that in almost 20% of the pictures of France, which included people it was not possible

Figure 6: Locals portrayed in cultural terms in different world regions including domestic (in percent) (N=599)
to determine whether it were tourists or locals. Thailand was sticking out with a relatively high amount of pictures including tourists and locals alike. Together with Sweden, Thailand had a comparatively high percentage of local people, in about one third of the pictures, while the US, France and Spain had a considerably lower percentage in this category.

In cultural terms, people of France are by far the most frequently considered as equals (in as much as 26%), while here Thailand and Spain are found at the other end with below 8%. Swedish and French people however were in no case displayed as decorative, while Thailand was on top with 15% followed by the US. Thai people were in addition in more than 50% of their photos only canvas, which is about twice as much as the average of the five countries. Locals displayed as servants appeared mostly in the three European countries, while Thailand had the smallest amount. Finally, people of the US were in almost 30% of the photos seen as attractions, while in Thailand and France this was never the case and in Sweden and Spain only in single cases. The US, often characterized by their extremes with a certain fascination for their cultural peculiarities, is also portrayed as such in the Norwegian travel magazines. This is mirrored in the relatively high amount of people represented as attractions. An example is the article „Badlands“ in REIS, with pictures of Native Americans performing a dance and 'cowboys' in their distinctive outfit. These rather stereotypical representations can be seen as strategies of the travel magazines to reaffirm the readers' expectations (Cocking 2014). As discussed in section 3.2.4.4, Cocking (2014) identifies those representations as constructed authenticities, which serve the media as instruments to achieve their commercial goals.

5.2.3.4 comparison to representations of locals in other studies

A comparison with Hanusch's (2011) results, show again interesting differences and similarities. Treating the overall numbers, Hanusch (2011) finds locals in about one third of the cases as being merely background, in one fifth of the photos locals were decorative, without any context, another fifth showed them as attractions, another fifth as servants and about 10% of the locals were portrayed as equals. While in Norwegian travel magazines the percentage of locals represented as canvas and equals are very similar to the one found in Australian newspapers' travel sections, the significantly higher percentage of locals as servants, and the percentage of locals as attraction and the ones presented as decorative, which were considerably lower, do point to important differences. Although this means that travel journalism does treat locals more often as equals than tourism brochures do (Morgan &
Pritchard 1998, as cited in Hanusch 2011; Hanusch 2011), in this regard no clear differences between newspaper sections and magazine articles can be seen. This is in contrast to the earlier established differences regarding the inclusion of quotes by local people. However, a small tendency for a general more just representation in travel magazines can be observed, as decorative and attractive representations appear to a rather low degree. Yet, the diverse world regions are treated differently, but also this accords with Hanusch's (2011) findings only in certain ways. While Hanusch (2011) finds locals of North America and Europe treated in a rather positive way, the rest of the world was seen less as equals, but more often as servants. The analysis of this thesis shows, that in all world regions other than Asia, locals were mostly represented as servants. Asian locals however were often just the background of the pictures and more often than others depicted without any context. What also stands out in this analysis is the rather positive representation of African locals in Norwegian travel magazines. European as well as domestic locals stood out because they were rarely represented as decorative or attractions, while Northern America and specifically the US did not have a more positive representation than other regions or nations and were comparatively often seen as attractions in the analyzed photographs.

5.2.3.5 Posing locals and passive tourists

Another way to investigate the way people are presented in photographs is to see how close or distant they appear, as well as if the subject is moving, passive or posing for the photographer. In terms of social distance, the majority of people were shown far personal, so from the waist and up. This was the case for about one third of locals of foreign destinations and two thirds of locals of the domestic region. Most of the other photographs of foreign locals were zoomed further out, while only a small part of the photos were close ups (foreign and domestic), either including head and shoulders (11%) or more intimate with only the face visible (just very few pictures). In activity terms, two thirds of locals of domestic destinations were looking directly into the camera or posing, while this only applied to 39% of foreign locals. Meanwhile, were 33% of foreign locals physically active (often work related) and the remaining 28% passive, domestic locals in 19% of the photos active and in 15% passive. In comparison, tourists were in over half of the cases represented as passive (often sitting at a café, laying in the sun), 27% active (often sports activities) and only in 19% of the photos posing. The high amount of posing locals can be seen as an indicator for what Alfsen (2009) calls an arranged and constructed world as described in section 2.4.4. Her demand for people in motion, to give a picture and a story of journalistic value is thereby only fulfilled in a minor part of the
photographs.

5.2.4 Summary of destinations covered in cultural terms

The second part of the analysis dealt with the portrayals of local people and their culture in the Norwegian travel magazines. Questions, whether journalists try to explain foreign cultures, include locals in their coverage and how those are portrayed in the articles were raised. Findings show that many articles treated cultural topics, yet they were mainly concerned with sights, historic places and culinary themes. Foreign cultures were only explained in a minor part of the stories and usually happened in longer articles. Such articles which aided in an intercultural understanding often treated culturally and geographically distant places. An inclusion of local people in the coverage happened to a larger degree than in previous studied media. Still, locals connected with the tourism industry were to a larger degree present than other locals. Also gaps between the mere inclusion of local people in the coverage and them being quoted suggest an often rather superficial coverage of foreign places. That such a gap does not exist when treating domestic places and their inhabitants adds to this viewpoint. More differences between the representation of locals of various world regions and domestic places could be identified in the photographs. Here foreign locals were often seen as part of the destination itself, by portraying them without any context, just in the background or as attractions themselves. In contrast, domestic locals were mostly portrayed as workers in the tourism industry, but also to a large degree as equals to tourists. Here a trend goes towards more stereotypical portrayals of geographically and culturally distant people. There are however also positive representations as for instance the relatively high percentage of African locals portrayed as equals to tourists. Also the general inclusion of people in the photographs of the Norwegian travel magazines was a lot higher than in other types of media from previous studies. This is similar to the high percentage of quotes in the articles of the magazines compared to the low degree of quotes in other media shown in previous studies. It suggests a different approach of magazine journalism concerning representations of people of foreign destinations than journalism in other type of media.

5.3 Story orientation and news elements

The third and last part of the analysis is concerned with identifying the typical soft news elements of travel journalism, but also the possible inclusion of hard news elements. As discussed in the theory chapter, travel journalism seeks to entertain just as much as to inform
its readers. Another task of travel journalism is to motivate the readers to travel, this can be seen as a main reason for the existence for travel journalism in the first place. Findings will reveal, to what extent those elements are present in Norwegian travel magazines. The ability to reflect critically on destinations was declared as an important element too, especially because this strengthens the credibility of the genre. Whether such critical elements and typical hard news elements can be found in the analyzed articles will be also stated in this section. The final part addresses the third research question and sums up the findings in this section.

5.3.1 Entertaining factors dominate

Findings show, that elements concerning the story orientation are spread quite unequally, and that there is a clear focus on entertainment in all three of the analyzed magazines. This underlines the importance of story-telling in travel journalism in order to capture the attention of the reader. Figure 7 shows the story orientation in the different magazines. It has to be taken into account that one story could include more elements thus the percentages are related to the total amount of stories of the respective magazine.

![Figure 7: Story orientation per magazine in percent (without domestic stories) (N=153)](image)

About 87% of all foreign stories included entertaining elements, with the magazine Reiselyst accounting for the smallest share of 81%. A closer look reveals that travel articles are mostly
telling a story from a *mixed perspective*, while only roughly a quarter of the stories was written in the *third person* form, and the remaining 11% in the first person form. Even though a very small amount is written solely from a personal point of view, stories with a mixed perspective always included parts written in the *first person* form too. Following, about two thirds of all stories were at least partly written in the first person form. This means, that the majority of the stories were telling about personal experiences and had an entertaining character. As discussed in section 3.2.3, the first person narrative is a marker of authenticity, as it demonstrates the author's presence at the destination described (Thompson 2011, Cocking 2014). Most of the stories were what Alfsen (2009) calls 'travel narratives', as explained in section 3.2.3. This is a form of a personal experience by the author, which cannot be reproduced in the exact same way by the readers. These personal experiences can be seen as natural “markers of authenticity” (Cocking 2014, p.182). The importance of authenticity in travel content was discussed in section 3.1.2, especially in regard to first-hand experiences. Those are seen as essential by readers looking for travel information (Pirroli 2014). In this context it may not be a big surprise that such a large percentage of the articles were written (at least in parts of the text) from a personal point of view.

### 5.3.2 Absent travel motivation and practical information

Compared to the high percentage of *entertaining* accounts, the share of articles providing practical *information* to the reader was rather low, only just over half of all the analyzed articles did so. However, we must take into account, that most of the stories had boxes with practical information attached at the end of the article. Those fact boxes were not part of the analysis, because it is kind of standard in travel magazines to include where to stay and what to do advices at the end of each article. Therefore the interest was mainly on practical information included in the main text.

A more surprising finding was that only 54% of all stories did *motivate the audience to travel*. This can to a certain degree be explained by the high percentage of mass tourism related destinations, which were repeated to exhaustion, and which was in some cases easy to read out of the articles, since those were sometimes written without any passion and interest for the particular destination. In some cases it felt like those articles were only a placeholder. An example of that kind is the story “Guttetur til Roma” in *REIS*, which was also the magazine with the smallest percentage of motivational articles. In the article, a group of friends (including the author) toured together through Rome, to explore spiritual and historical places.
While the author reflects negatively about those of his friends who are culturally interested, he seems to be overly interested in alcoholic beverages, but rather bored about the cultural and historical places the destination has to offer. The story becomes nearly absurd, as the author, who should be there to investigate the destination and write about it to motivate the readers to travel there, does not seem to have any interest nor joy in traveling at all. Although mentioning the cultural sights, they are not the reason for his visit. According to him, Rome is “a city full of cultural sights. And side walk café's, which serve ice-cold beer, while Roman women in short skirts waggle past in the September warmth.” (translated by the author, REIS, 6/2014). In addition to its anti-motivational content, the article is full of stereotypical declarations, without any attempt to explain or reflect about country and culture. This combination of an absence of both intercultural understanding and travel motivation was not an isolated case, and was found in many articles. In as much as 90% of the cases they occurred together.

5.3.3 Critical content

In general, critical content was not found in a lot of articles, altogether in only 38%. Here, the three magazines were very different from each other. While Vagabond's stories were to a relatively high degree journalistically orientated, or critical (ca. 67%), Reiselyst and REIS were so in only 21% and 13,5%. Here a parallel can be drawn to pleasure- and value related content, as the distribution between the three magazines was similar. As a reminder to the findings in section 5.1.3, Vagabond's articles were to 70% value-oriented, while the other two magazines had a majority of their articles dedicated to pleasure related content. A closer look at critical orientation of a text combined with value-related content reveals that in fact there is a co-occurrence between the two variables in 78% of the cases. This means, that once an author had been reviewing a destination in a rather critical way (which should not be understand as negative), the article dealt in most cases with value-related travel experiences.

5.3.4 No concerns for the environment

Stories could be critical in many different ways, as explained previously in the method chapter. One possibility was a critical view on environmentally related problems of the destination, either caused by tourism itself, or other reasons. The analysis shows however, that such issues were not discussed very frequently. Moreover, the natural environment of a destination was very often left out of the coverage. Only about a fifth of all stories did discuss
this topic. Additionally, nature was mostly portrayed as *pristine and untouched* and only in rare cases as effected by external interferences. These rare occurrences were then mostly explained as *influenced by other factors than tourism*, as for instance pollution caused by industry. *Sustainability issues* of the destinations were only mentioned in two stories, while *sustainability in general* was mentioned in four stories. *Responsible tourism* as well as *Ecotourism* specifically (here Ecotourism as a form of responsible tourism) were only mentioned in one article each. Taking into consideration, that nowadays many places struggle with environmental issues, as well as sustainability, also in regard to tourism, it is somehow surprising, that those issues were mentioned to such a low degree. As pointed out in section 3.1.1, Alfsen (2009) explicitly names environmental issues as well as responsible tourism as critical elements which should be included in travel reporting. She sees the inclusion of such critical angles as a chance to make readers aware of issues at the destination and a possibility to contribute to a more sustainable tourism. Also McGaurr (2014, as discussed in section 3.2.2) demands an inclusion of environmental concerns into the coverage of travel related article, not only to provide a higher standard of service to the reader, but also in the long term as in the best interest of the destination itself. The Norwegian travel magazines do not seem to see a need to include those issues and aware-making perspectives in their feature articles. Although, it has to be considered that they could have made aware of such issues in other parts of their magazines, which were not part of this analysis. As discussed in section 3.2.2, McGaurr (2014) identifies various reasons for the exclusion of environmental issues by travel media. These can include professional acculturation, personal beliefs, in-house editorial decisions but also networks of interest and concern and sponsored tours by tourism offices or operators (ibid.).

### 5.3.5 'Hard' news content

In the theoretical chapter it was elaborated, that scholars see chances for travel journalism to adopt functions from the 'hard' news genre to tell people about the world. In this section, we will see to what degree the analyzed travel articles dealt with typical hard news content. Again, domestic stories were not taken into account here. Furthermore, it has to be remembered that those hard news topics did not have to be elaborately discussed, but could just be shortly addressed. Most of the time, when such content was part of the coverage, it was in fact just mentioned in a sentence or two, while detailed hard news content was rather rare. It was additionally often the case that different types of hard news content were found in
the same articles.

5.3.5.1 Identified 'hard' news content

Findings show, that in 41% of all foreign stories, some kind of 'hard' news content could be found. Most frequently, the economical or financial situation of a place was mentioned. This happened in almost a quarter of the stories. The political situation of a country or region was mentioned in about 14% of all stories. Crime or violence and disaster and catastrophes were both mentioned in about 8%, while war or terror and other news content were both found in 6% of the articles. Humanitarian crisis and health issues were both mentioned only in a very small amount of the stories. While the three magazines included the political and financial situation to a similar degree in their coverage, Vagabond covered a significantly higher percentage of war and terror, as well as crime and violence than the two other magazines. Additionally, the two articles including humanitarian crisis as well as two out of three stories mentioning health issues were in Vagabond. In total, Vagabond was again the magazine with the most hard-news related content, which was found in about half of their articles.

Figure 8 shows the distribution of 'hard' news content in the various world regions. It has to be considered that one story could include several hard news elements. Thus every bar in the graph shows the percentage of the respective hard news element related to the total amount of the articles of the respective world region. Oceania was also here excluded, due to the small amount of stories. The world region which was covered the most in terms of hard new content was Asia, with close to three quarters of the stories, followed by Africa, with two thirds of the stories, the Americas with half of the amount of their stories and Europe, with just over a quarter of articles treating any type of news content. More specifically, almost half of the articles of destinations in Africa did mention the political situation there, while one third addressed the financial situation. 40% of African destination pieces included crime or violence, 20% health issues or diseases. In just over a third of stories of Asian countries the economical or financial situation was mentioned, while in slightly fewer articles the political situation was addressed. 16% of the articles mentioned a disaster or catastrophe and 12% war or terror. Also for countries of the Americas the financial situation was the most frequently mentioned hard news topic. Additionally, disaster and catastrophe as well as crime and violence were mentioned to a comparatively large degree. For European countries, the financial situation (mostly consequences of the financial crisis) is the only hard news content treated in a degree worth mentioning. It appeared in about less than a fifth of all articles.
including European countries.

5.3.5.2 Factors for the inclusion of 'hard' news content

Clearly, it is not travel journalism's main purpose to report hard news stories to its audience. It is interesting however, that elements of hard news reporting can be found in a big part of the travel feature stories. This accords with Ljungberg's (2012) observation of similarities between feature articles in travel magazines and news journalism as discussed in section 3.2.2. The socio-political and economical context she observes (ibid.), was in a similar way present in the Norwegian Travel Magazines. It seemed more usual to include political, financial and economical news, as this might be considered elements which do not scare away potential tourists. Potential dangers to tourists and travelers, like crime and violence as well as health related issues were treated rather carefully, if even included in the coverage. Similar to the omission of environmental related issues, those dangers could be seen as elements that are too negative, which might intimidate readers and potential travelers. The omission of those negative elements in many of the articles is part of what Cocking (2014) calls 'constructs of authenticity', as discussed in section 3.2.3. It helps to let destinations appear in a kind of romantic light, without reminding the reader of drawbacks and problems the country is facing, which might change the destination image drastically.

It is somehow noticeable, that the further away (geographically but also culturally) the world

Figure 8: 'Hard' news content covered in world regions (in percent) (N=148)
region is from the home country of the readers, the more frequent news content was found in the coverage. This means, that in this case it is the opposite to what applied in terms of the geographical distribution of world regions as discussed in section 5.1. While culturally and geographically close regions received the most coverage, it contained the lowest amount of hard news content. In that regard, there seems to be an effort in Norwegian travel magazines, to inform the reader about current affairs in far away destinations.

5.3.6 Summary of findings concerning 'hard-' and 'soft' news elements

The third part of the analysis looked for hard and soft news elements in travel articles. The question, to what degree information and entertainment as well as travel motivation were included was raised and 'hard' news- and critical elements in the coverage were looked at. Findings showed that entertaining accounts dominate the travel articles. Those contain personal stories, told from a subjective point of view and strive to be authentic. It seemed less important for Norwegian travel magazines to directly include big amounts of information in the stories. Likewise attempts to motivate people to travel were only made in half of the articles. Critical content was only found in a smaller amount of articles. Especially critics concerning the environment and guidance for sustainable travel were absent. The coverage in Norwegian travel magazines is thus mostly what Fürsich (2002, as cited in Hanusch & Fürsich 2014) calls an uncritical celebration of travel (see section 3.1). The second type of tourism coverage, identified by Fürsich (2002, as cited in Hanusch & Fürsich 2014), which includes a critical perspective on destinations, is sometimes found in Norwegian travel magazines. The third type of coverage, critical reports with a more general problematization of tourism (ibid.) such as environmental and other concerns, where hardly ever found in the coverage. Other hard news content was to a larger degree found in the articles and was generally more present in stories of far away destinations. Political and economical news elements were discovered in a significant number of articles. Also noticeable were the often stereotypical representations of world regions through different hard news elements. Thus articles of African destinations relatively often mentioned crime or violence as well as health issues. Articles covering Asia and Africa also discussed unstable political as well as financial situations, while hard news content relating to European countries was hardly given any space.
6. Concluding Remarks

6.1 Can travel journalism step out of the shadows?

In this thesis I have challenged the abilities of Norwegian travel magazines to show a balanced view of the world. That a positive, fair and realistic representation of the world could not only be a great service to their readers, but also improve travel journalism's own image was demonstrated in the theory chapter. I have also pointed out the historical importance of travel journalism as window to the world, a status which could be possibly regained today. This was done by highlighting chances which scholars ascribe to the genre, in times when its 'more serious brother' foreign news is in decline. To grasp these chances and step out of the shadows of the hard news department, travel journalism would need to show a multifaceted face to be considered more than merely an entertaining service to its readers. At the same time travel journalism is not the only player in the field. Non-professional online bloggers lie in wait to take over tasks of its professional opponents (Pirolli 2014). Improvements, in form of a general reinforcement of journalistic standards, a diverse and fair coverage and the inclusion of various points of views in the coverage (Alfsen 2009, Fürsich 2013, Pirolli 2014) could therefore also defend the position of travel journalism against the rising online players. But are such measures to be found in Norwegian travel magazines? Are they offering versatile images of the world and thereby setting themselves apart from other media?

In this concluding chapter I will summarize and discuss the findings of the analysis as well as the theoretical connections that I have made. Further, I will discuss in what way this thesis can contribute to a scientific discussion concerning travel media and representations of places and their inhabitants by comparing the findings to previous, similar studies. I will explain how the theoretical framework and the methodological approach supported the examination of the study object and point to limitations and ideas for further research.

6.2 Stereotypical representations prevail

In this thesis I have shown that Norwegian travel magazines often follow traditional representations and thus stick with common images of the various parts of the world. In that
regard, they cannot be seen as rich sources for information about the world, but rather as entertaining accounts and sometimes templates for holiday experiences. Rather than providing a new, exciting and diverse picture of the world they rely mostly on stereotypical descriptions of mass tourism destinations. The requested improvements by scholars can thereby only be observed rarely. However, also approaches of different, critical and multidimensional representations were found in Norwegian travel magazines, but they can only be seen as exceptions.

The analysis has shown that representations in Norwegian travel magazines differ for various parts of the world. This is the case for various aspects of representations, from the degree of coverage of a place and the content of the coverage to the degree of the inclusion of the host population and the portrayal of the locals. As part of this study, the question was raised to what degree locals were represented in the Norwegian travel magazines, and how they were portrayed (RQ2). Differences of the depiction and inclusion of locals of different regions were identified. Additionally, it was made visible that Norwegian travel magazines apply double standards when covering locals of foreign destinations and locals of their own country. One reason for the persistence of traditional representations is, as pointed out in the theory part, that national media caters to national audiences, and foreigners are seen as 'Others' (Fürsich 2010). This was visible in text, where domestic locals were often directly included by being interviewed. It was also visible in photographs, where domestic locals were rarely seen as part of the destination itself, but considerably more often as individuals and equals to tourists. In contrast, a gap between an indirect inclusion (when merely mentioned in the text) and a direct inclusion (by quoting) of foreign locals in the texts has been identified in all of the other parts of the world. Representations of locals in photographs were generally more negative for foreign locals. This was especially visible in the portraits of Asian people. Not only were they rarely depicted as equals to tourists, but they were also seen as part of the destination itself in most of the cases. This happened by showing them mostly as background color, but also as smiling and welcoming without any context. This differentiation, by treating fellow countrymen and foreigners apparently differently, and the depiction of foreign locals as 'Others', demonstrates that Norwegian travel magazines fail to represent foreign locals in a fair way. Instead, foreign locals are often portrayed in a stereotypical way, in both text and photographs.
6.3 Travel magazines show the world as we know it

What adds to the unjust representations are the preferences of Norwegian travel magazines for some countries and regions, while other places are not considered in the coverage. In the theory part I have pointed out that the degree of inclusion of a place is decisive for its image (Pan & Hsu 2014). The question was then, which countries and regions were included in the coverage of the Norwegian travel magazines (RQ1). Findings showed that several world regions were excluded or neglected from the coverage. Meanwhile other regions or countries were overrepresented. This was connected to news factors, which are also playing a decisive role in travel journalism as already shown in a previous, similar study (Hanusch 2014). Thus powerful nations and cultural and geographical proximate countries and regions are preferred in the selection of the destination coverage. The distribution of articles dedicated to the world region of the Americas is emblematic for the global North-South divide. While the US was covered alone in 15 articles, the whole South America accounted for two stories while Central America was completely omitted from the coverage. By getting more coverage, regions as North America and Northern-, Western- and Southern Europe receive a more positive image than neglected regions such as South- and Central America, Western Africa or Eastern Europe. Consequently, readers do not receive any information about those places, which influence their touristic choices. In other words, destinations which are rarely covered, are also rarely visited. The negligence of any country or region thus influences the destination indirectly as it keeps tourists away from it and rather steers them to places which are covered more frequently.

In addition to the frequency of the coverage, the description and visual depiction of a place were identified as crucial factors for the destination image. The question was thus how destinations in Norwegian travel magazines were represented (RQ1). A look at how the destinations were described and which experiences they were connected with gave an idea of which previsit expectations readers would have. The importance of this perceived image of a destination was discussed in the theory chapter. There I referred to Hunt (1975, as cited in Dilley 1986), who sees perceptions of potential visitors as influential upon the viability of a tourist destination. In the analysis I looked at the described tourism experiences and the predominant type of tourism, as well as the topics of the photographs for the covered destinations. Also here, the magazines mostly relied on established images of the different world regions. Thus Europe was a region for mass tourism, most interesting for its cultural and historical highlights. This was also mirrored by the pictures, which mostly showed urban
motifs. Asia, described as region for backpackers with authentic cultural experiences, was often depicted through landscapes and cultural motifs. African stories were often related to Safari adventures and recreational tourism, and the reader was reassured that he or she would not have to renounce anything from the modern home country. In the photographs Africa was depicted as natural beautiful place with a rich flora and fauna. These different attributions to world regions demonstrate the traditional and often stereotypical perception of places through the media. The striking similarities to findings in other studies of various media in other countries (Hanusch 2011, Dilley 1986) support this standpoint.

The stereotypical representations of regions were further fortified by the inclusion of certain hard news elements. RQ3 asked for an inclusion of other elements than the typical 'soft' news elements. Although the magazines included typical 'hard' news content surprisingly often, it happened in a rather stereotypical way. Thus Africa was the only region where health issues or diseases were mentioned, and crime and violence were a common topic. Also the unstable political and financial situations of African and Asian countries were part of the coverage. On the other hand critical content was not very often found in the analyzed articles. Issues concerning the environment or problems caused by tourism, were hardly ever mentioned in the Norwegian travel magazines. Stories were thus mostly uncritical travel celebrations (Fürsich 2002, as cited in Hanusch & Fürsich 2014) without any reference to the negative side of travel or advices for sustainable choices to the readers. In the theory chapter I referred to McGaurr (2014), who argues that an inclusion of such critical and advisory content could be an indication for editorial independence as well as a high standard of service to the audience. By renouncing critical perspectives in a large part of the coverage and thus often covering destinations superficially, Norwegian travel magazines fail to deliver such a high standard of service to their readers. Journalists rather seem to rely on traditional 'soft' news reporting, by focusing on entertaining accounts and reaffirming the readers expectations.

The one-dimensional representations as found in the Norwegian travel magazines can indicate representational strategies. In the theory chapter of this thesis I discussed these strategies, which are used by the media to reaffirm the readers' cultural expectations and deceive them with a 'faked' authenticity (Cocking 2014). Such strategies keep the reader interested and help the magazines to achieve their commercial goals (ibid.). In today's tough times for the print media, these strategies could help to prolong the life of a media outlet. Steady reader numbers mean interested advertisers, which are decisive for the very survival of travel magazines. In the long term though, these strategies could misdirect travel journalism. Readers who are
interested in 'real authenticity', might steer away from content which holds on to old-fashioned representations and might as Pirolli (2014) suggests, seek information in independent, amateurish online blogs.

6.4 Positive signals in Norwegian travel magazines

Although several similarities to earlier similar research were found in this analysis, travel magazines seem to differ in certain ways from other media examined. While the travel magazines in this study were found to make use of traditional, stereotypical representations, the magazines still appeared in a more positive light than earlier studied media. First of all, a much higher inclusion of people in general but also of local people was found in the coverage of the travel magazines. Foreign locals were quoted to a considerably larger degree in the travel magazines which were studied here than in earlier studied newspaper travel sections (Hanusch 2011). In tourism brochures, where tourism authorities promote their own destination, foreign locals were hardly ever depicted as equals to tourists (Morgan & Pritchard 1998, as cited in Hanusch 2011). This happened to a significantly higher degree in travel magazines. Also a higher inclusion of local people of more distant parts of the world can be seen as a positive signal. Specifically African locals were represented in a rather positive way. Not only were they often included in the coverage, but also depicted as equals to a larger degree than locals of Western regions.

The differences of Norwegian travel magazines to other media indicate a different approach of magazine journalism when representing foreign destinations. An explanation could be better time frames for magazine journalists compared to newspaper journalists. This may result in better research and more time to spend at the destination. The special interest in traveling and different countries and cultures of the magazines' readers might additionally trigger a more multifaceted coverage than found in newspaper sections.

Finally, there has to be said that also the individual magazines differ from each other. Of the three magazines analyzed, *Vagabond* often stood out with a more positive and multifaceted coverage. This was especially visible, as they often described meaningful experiences, which involved an interest in foreign cultures. *Vagabond* also tried to explain cultures to a larger degree than the other two magazines and included locals in their stories more often. Additionally, their articles were journalistically orientated more often as they included critical perspectives in their coverage. One finding of this thesis is thus also that publications vary,
which makes it difficult to generalize. This should be taken into account when treating the results of this analysis.

6.5 Limitations and suggestion for further research

The findings in this thesis describe the images of the world constructed by Norwegian travel magazines. The quantitative content analysis was a helpful tool to identify important factors for the construction of such images. The study contains however several limitations, which will be shortly addressed.

First, as the sole researcher of this study and the only coder, the reliability of the research is reduced. As I have pointed out in the method chapter, the coding of particular variables is always subjective to a certain degree. More coders, and a report of intercoder reliability could have strengthened the results of this thesis.

Second, as the study was mainly quantitative, a deeper exploration of the texts was not possible. Although I tried to pick out text passages, which demonstrated the way of describing places and people, a more detailed analysis of the texts would be desirable. This could be obtained with the help of a qualitative study.

Finally, this study focused on Norwegian travel magazines only. It would be interesting to compare findings to studies of travel magazines of other countries. Moreover, travel content of other media should be examined. Especially content on the Internet such as travel blogs and other travel related sites are interesting areas for further research. The comparison of representations of professional travel media and travel content generated by amateur writers could help in identifying representational strategies of the media.
Reference List


REIS (02/2014). *Bangkok. Verdens største gatekjøkken.*

REIS (06/2014). *Guttetur til Roma.*


Reiselyst (06/2015). *Når menn blir kvinner.*

Reiselyst (07/2014). *Hjulskift med Dracula.*


## Appendix 1: Codebook Stories

(Codebook adapted from Hanusch 2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Magazine Name</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>REIS</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Reiselyst</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Vagabond</td>
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<th><strong>Issue</strong></th>
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<td>MON/YY</td>
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<th><strong>Story sequence number</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cross reference to which story sequence no of the issue the photo refers</td>
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<th></th>
<th><strong>Overall Size</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>State approximate editorial space used for the whole story (without advertisements). Use quarter page as smallest unit.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0,25 – Quarter page</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0,50 – Half page</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0,75 – Three-fourth pages</td>
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<td>1,0 – One page</td>
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<td>etc.</td>
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<th><strong>Photo Size</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>State approximate space used for photos in the story. Use quarter page as smallest unit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0,25 – Quarter page</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0,50 – Half page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0,75 – Three-fourth pages</td>
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<td>1,0 – one page</td>
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<td>etc.</td>
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<th><strong>Source</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Only select one option. If only a name is given, pick 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 – Staff reporter (byline only)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3 – Other journalist</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4 – Celebrity</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5 – Novelist</td>
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<td>6 – No Byline</td>
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<td>9 – Other</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Pick only one from options, if name could be male or female and no gender is apparent from the story pick 4.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1 – male</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 – female</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 – more authors of different gender</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8 **Domestic or foreign** destination?
   1 – domestic
   2 – foreign

9 Which **world region** does the destination belong to?
Enter appropriate code from list of world regions (does not apply for domestic).

10 Which **sub-region** does the destination belong to?
Enter appropriate code from list of sub-regions (does not apply for domestic).

11 Which **nation** or region is the destination in?
Enter appropriate code from list of nations or list of regions.

12-16 **Orientation of the story**
Select either yes or no for each element below (excludes sidebars, only applies to articles)
   1 – Yes
   2 – No

   **Information:** Does the article contain a lot of practical information on where to stay, what to do, how to get there, etc. Does it provide news about the tourism industry?

   **Entertainment:** Does the article provide entertaining accounts of travel, using colorful language, creating a narrative, using humor, etc.?

   **Critic:** Is the article journalistically oriented? Does it contain criticism of conditions at the destination? These can be about the destination or the travel experience or the tourism industry. Does it include local voices in the story?

   Traveler: Does the article motivate the audience to travel, arouse interest in other cultures, or present unique and new travel experiences?

   **Cultural understanding:** Does the article aid in inter-cultural understanding, does it explain foreign cultures, try to work against stereotypes?

17 **Cohen's modes of tourist experiences**
Choose only one of the options.
(Summarized by Daye 2005)

   **Recreational:** Trip as entertainment, relaxation to restore physical and mental powers. Represents the tourist who does not care for the authentic, but is eager to accept the make-believe in order to enjoy it as a re-creative, entertaining or relaxing experience. Tourists in the recreational mode are so concerned by their motivation to escape that they are relatively indifferent to the choice of a particular destination as long as the basis motivation may be fulfilled.

   **Diversionary:** Escape from boredom and routine of everyday existence, therapy which makes alienation endurable. Similar to the recreational mode in terms of a
desire to relax. However the main thrust of the experience is predicated by a desire for change and recognition of personal dissatisfaction with everyday life.

**Experiential:** Look for meaning in life of others, enjoyment of authenticity. The rejection of the home society is even more intense so that the tourist in this mode engages in the cultures of the destination in order to satisfy his or her 'real needs'.

**Experimental:** Quest for alternative lifestyle and to engage in authentic life of others. Tourist sees travel to the destination as a time to closely engage and share in the culture of the host, but in fact makes no real commitment or kinship with them.

**Existential:** Leave world of everyday life and practicality to escape 'elective center' for spiritual sustenance. Tourist embraces the world of the Other as real and fulfilling to the point that there may be a willingness to live and become a part of the host community.

Note: First two seek for pleasure, while the last three are looking for values in their journey (Smith 2001)

18  Smith's interactional model
Choose only one of the options.

**Explorer:** Quest for discovery and desire to interact with hosts. Unusual: space tourism, submersibles, skiing in Antarctica

**Elite:** Tour of unusual places, using pre-arranged native facilities. Deluxe resorts/cruises to exotic destinations.

**Off-beat:** Getaway from the crowds. Backpacking in Tibet, camel safaris, ecotourism

**Unusual/incipient mass:** Usual destinations in unusual style. Occasional side trips to explore more isolated area or undertake more risky activity. Small group walking, wine and music tours. Travel as individuals or small groups, seeking combination of amenities and authenticity.

**Mass:** Middle-class income and values leads to development of a 'tourist bubble'. Popular destinations; package tours.

**Charter:** Search for relaxation and good times in a new but familiar environment, e.g. Canary Islands

19-24  Eide's (2001, as summarized by Alfsen) approaches of Western media covering the global South
Select either yes or no for each element below.

1 – Yes
2 – No

**Birds perspective:** The journalist arrives at an unknown society with a clear goal and an often biased view. He/she rushes in and out and has no time to engage more with the country and culture.

**In the head of the journalist:** Everything and everyone is filtered through the journalists head. It is his/her experience alone that is the story and not «the others».

**Norwegian point of view:** Norwegians and their actions in «the others» country are the sole interest of the story.

**In the name of the others:** So called experts, as for instance guides or foreign aid
workers, speak in the name of the locals, whose own opinion is not sought after. The existence of «the others» is simply forgotten.

**The South as a market:** Consumer reports, strictly aimed for tourists, represent countries of the global South solely as a market.

**Romanticization vs. Exoticism:** The journalist reports with enthusiasm about the discovery of 'real people', who have their own pure and pristine values. The differentness of 'the others', often things we see as undeveloped and old-fashion is idealized.

25 **Number of photos** the story contains (excluded are photographs in boxes such as fact boxes)
   Enter appropriate figure

26 How many **photos include the author?**
   Enter appropriate figure

27-36 Which **sources** are the photos **attributed** to?
   Select either yes or no for each element below.
   1 – Yes
   2 – No

   **Story author**
   **Tourist authority**
   **Other Photographer**
   **Publishing Magazine** (includes other journalists working for the magazine)
   **Other Magazine**
   **Travel Guide**
   **Travel company**
   **Photolibrary**
   **No attribution**
   **Other**

37-49 **Types of tourism experience** described in story
   Select either yes or no for each element below.
   1 – Yes
   2 – No

   **Recreational:** getting away from it all; sand, sun and sea, relaxing.

   **Adventure:** Visitors seeking the so-called adrenaline high, doing adventure sports such as bungee, whitewater rafting, mountaineering, Antarctic expedition, or even visitation to insecure, war-torn areas.

   **Historical:** focuses on the 'glories of the past', visiting historical sites, museums, anything to do with the past.

   **Cruise:** Cruise ship holidays
Health: Visitors going to health spas, yoga retreats, anything to rejuvenate them.

Spiritual: going on pilgrimages, visiting spiritual places such as churches, temples, mosques, etc.

Entertainment: somewhat related to the recreational focus, but taking a more active position, such as local attractions that entertain (sightseeing, shows etc.)

Shopping: shopping aspects, bargain deals etc.

Ecotourism: visitors going to places for their natural beauty

Family travel: also related to recreational, a subset really, looking for options for family-friendly travel etc.

Special event: looks at stories which focus on traveling to a specific event (e.g. EXPO)

Cultural: tries to understand the locals, immerses itself into local culture and customs, tries to achieve authenticity. Includes food stories.

Activity: concentrates on holidays to participate in sport, e.g. Golfing holidays. Note that adventure sports need to go into adventure focus

50 Which point of view is the story told from?
Select one option from the list.

1 - First person
2 - Third person
3 - Mixed perspective
9 – Other/None of the above

51-58 Does the author mention to any of the following specifically in the story?
Select either yes or no for each element below.
1 – Yes
2 – No

Locals
Other tourists
Locals in the tourism industry
Tourist authorities
Tourist agencies
Celebrities
Local bureaucrats
Guidebook

59-67 Does the story quote any of the following?
Select either yes or no for each element below.
1 – Yes
2 – No

Locals
Other tourists
Locals in the tourism industry
Tourist authorities
Tourist agencies
Celebrities
Local bureaucrats
Guidebook
Other

68 Does the story contain any formal acknowledgment of payment by anyone other than the magazine?
Select only one option from list

1 – Yes – company named
2 – Yes – company not named
3 – No

69-76 Does the story mention any of the following hard news elements? (Relates to current situation, not events far back in history)
Select either yes or no for each element below.
1 – Yes
2 – No

Political situation in the destination
Economical or financial situation of the destination
Criminal or violent episodes in the area
Disasters and catastrophes
War and terrorism
Humanitarian crisis
Health issues or diseases
Other news-related content

77 Does the story discuss the natural environment at the destination?
Select only one option from list. This does not refer to basic mentions of natural places. The story should talk about it in some length, perhaps even problematising the natural environment.

1 – Yes
2 – No

78 How is the natural environment portrayed in the story?
Select one option from list

1 - Pristine and untouched
2 - Mostly pristine, very little effect from tourism

107
3 - Still beautiful, but also effects from tourism
4 - Mostly negative, some effects from tourism
5 - Strong negative effects from tourism
6 - Affected by factors other than tourism
9 - Unclear/Not portrayed

79-82 Does the story refer to any of the following (environment related)?
Select either yes or no for each element below.
1 – Yes
2 – No

Sustainability issues of the destination
Sustainability of travel in general
Responsibilities of tourist
Ecotourism

83 Comments
Enter any comments that seem appropriate or useful (quotes, interesting descriptions of destination and inhabitants)
Appendix 2: Codebook Photographs

(Codebook adapted from Hanusch 2011)

1 Magazine Name
   1 - REIS
   2 - Reiselyst
   3 - Vagabond

2 Story sequence number
   Cross reference to which story sequence no of the issue the photo refers

3 Photo Size
   Choose the approximate size of the photo
   1 – double page
   2 – one and a half pages
   3 – single page
   4 – half page
   5 – quarter page
   6 – smaller than quarter page

4 Domestic or Foreign destination
   1 – domestic
   2 – foreign

5 Which world region does the destination belong to?
   Enter appropriate code from list of world regions

6 Which sub-region does the destination belong to?
   Enter appropriate code from list of sub-regions

7 Which nation or region is the destination in?
   Enter appropriate code from list of nations or list of regions

8-11 Main Theme

   Select the main theme of the photograph and code the appropriate sub-category.
   For each photo, choose only one. Choose the theme that is most dominant, what does
   this photo focus on?

8 Main Theme – Landscape (Dilley 1986)
   For each photo, choose only one. Choose the theme that is most dominant, what does
   this photo focus on?

   1 – Coastal
   2 – Mountain
   3 – Rural
   4 – Urban
Main Theme – **Culture**
For each photo, choose only one. Choose the theme that is most dominant, what does this photo focus on?

1 – History and Art
2 – Entertainments
3 – Local People
4 – Local Economy
9 – Unclear/Other

Culture: Relate to local history, art and architecture, remains of earlier civilizations, old buildings, castles, museums, and art galleries. Also found are illustrations of local economic life that are likely to attract tourists: colorful fishing boats, local crafts, specialty agricultural or industrial products. Also include pictures of local inhabitants, especially if wearing quaint costume; or illustrate the variety of entertainments offered, from opera to night-club cabaret, from live theater to parades to festivals. Altogether, these themes are used to convince the potential tourist that the country has many unusual and fascinating examples of human cultural activity, past and present; that the pageant of human life is older, more varied, or just different from that at home.

Main Theme – **Recreation**
For each photo, choose only one. Choose the theme that is most dominant, what does this photo focus on?

1 – Participation
2 – Observation
9 – Unclear/Other

Recreation: This pictures are used to persuade readers that the country offers particularly attractive and satisfying setting for the enjoyment of their favorite recreation, be it skiing, golf, horseback riding, swimming, scuba diving or just sunbathing. Spectator pictures encourage participation as an observer of local sports, from bullfighting to cricket.

Main Theme – **Services**
For each photo, choose only one. Choose the theme that is most dominant, what does this photo focus on?

1 – Attraction
2 – Reassurance
9 – Unclear/Other

Services: Attraction is designed to attract tourists to unique or superlative-quality-services – banquets in medieval castles, traditional pub lunches, picturesque horse-drawn taxis, colorful open markets, exclusive stores specializing in in local products. Reassurance, aims at assuring visitors that the kinds of comforts to which they are accustomed will be available at their destination – comfortable hotel rooms,
inexpensive restaurants, smooth highways. Unlike pictures in all other categories, which have as a purpose the attraction of tourists to a country offering experiences different from and/or superior to those available at home, these illustrations are more defensive in intent, reassuring the reader that foreign does not necessarily mean primitive, and that comfort does not necessarily outrageous expense.

12 How is **space represented** in the photograph?
For each photo pick only one option.

1 – Natural landscapes
2 – Cultivated landscapes
3 – Heritage and material
4 – Tourism Products
9 – Unclear/ Other

**Natural landscapes:** often spaces that feature pure and unspoiled mountains, oceans, beaches, forests, lakes, wild animals, fields or sky
**Cultivated landscapes:** open spaces that feature the beauty of nature as pruned, gardened or otherwise altered. Such landscapes include gardens and fountains, golf courses and beaches with a few human implements such as a long chair or an umbrella.
**Heritage and material culture:** includes all situations where a specifically ethnic and unique history has made itself evident. Included are ancient ruins, arts, carvings, and relics or their reproductions, temples and shrines and landmarks and cityscapes (alleys and streets) that have typically been gentrified into sites. Ethnic peoples and their costumes and lifestyles are also featured.
**Tourism Products:** (facilities, accommodations and cuisine): Tourism products include the lobbies, rooms, pools, and cuisine, that are supposedly waiting for the tourist to consume. They are usually depicted as vacant and expecting, clean and well lit.

13 How is **subject represented** in the photograph?
For each photo pick only one option.

1 – No people/People far away in the background
2 – female locals only
3 – male locals only
4 – female tourists only
5 – male tourists only
6 – combination male and female locals
7 – combination male and female tourists
8 – combination locals and tourists
9 – Other/Unclear (This can include performers, celebrities, etc.)

14 How are **locals represented in cultural terms**?
Select appropriate level for each applicable photo

1 – Decorative
2 – Canvas
3 – Attractive
4 – Servants
5 – Equals

**Decorative:** The other as decorative and welcoming. Here images of indigenous peoples have no context and are simply seen as attractive individuals. This level is similar to Level 1 in the sexism scale and, indeed, there are often sexual overtones when hosts appear in Level 1 images, particularly when they are female

**Canvas:** Locals are purely the 'canvas' on which the tourism marketers paint a more detailed picture. Here indigenous peoples appear as 'local color', merely to provide a backdrop to set the scene – in an exotic marketplace or as tea-pickers in the distance.

**Attractions:** People as tourist attraction themselves, maybe as an elephant herder or performing in a native dance or at a festival. Arguably in these first three levels locals are seen as part of the destination itself

**Servants:** Here people are less part of the product but are still depicted in ways which emphasize the power of the tourist. They appear as employees or in some serving capacity. This category is dominated by waiters and waitresses, kitchen staff and chefs.

**Equal:** This is where the locals are seen as the equals of the tourists, maybe in conversation or having a drink or meal with them.

15/17 How are locals and tourists portrayed in social distance terms?
Choose one only from options per picture.

1 – Intimate
2 – Close personal
3 – Far personal
4 – Close social
5 – Far social
6 – Public

**Intimate:** Head or face only visible

**Close personal:** Head and shoulders

**Far personal:** Person visible from the waist up

**Close social:** Whole figure visible

**Far social:** Whole figure with space around it

**Public:** Torso of at least four or five people

16/18 How are locals and tourists portrayed in activity terms?

1 – Active
2 – Passive
3 – Posing

**Active:** Physically active (indicates vigorous use of muscles, such as swimming, running, kayaking etc.)

**Passive:** Physically passive (indicates mentally active or resting, such as reading a book, watching a show etc.)

**Posing:** Indicates an activity staged for tourism (looking directly at the camera)
Appendix 3: Destination Codes

List from United Nations Statistics Division
(Reference: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm)
(List last revised 31 October 2013)

World regions
002 Africa
019 Americas
142 Asia
150 Europe
009 Oceania

Sub-regions

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Country codes

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