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**Representations of Women and Gender relations in Jamaican Tourism
Promotional Marketing:**

An analysis of visual images on Jamaica's national DMO website.

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Bachelor Thesis: UTKV03 15 hp
Spring semester 2022
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Abstract

Tourism images and representations depict women in a stereotypical way where men and women are represented differently. Like much advertising, women in tourism promotional marketing are sexualized and exoticized. Destinations are promoted through the use of the female body. There are racial differences in how women are represented in tourism images where black women are exoticized. A country with a history of these types of representations is Jamaica, where the marketing of the country has had a gendered nature historically. These representations are conscious choices from agencies and they are meant to appeal to a certain gaze. Therefore this study is using Gaze theory and the 'Other' to explore how women and gender relations are depicted in photographs on the Jamaican Tourists Board's website. The purpose is to reveal how women and gender relations are depicted in the photographs as it has effects on the social world. Through a visual content analysis this study finds that women are still being sexualized and objectified and black women are still exoticized. White women are overrepresented in couple and romance settings which continues to portray them as the true recipients of luxury and marriage. Even though there are continuities found from previously found representations that are based on gender and ethnic stereotypes, there are glimpses of change and inclusivity. Black women are increasingly being represented as tourists as well and both men and women are active agents in the images.

Keywords: *tourism images, male gaze, tourist gaze, gender stereotypes, ethnic stereotypes, sexualization, Jamaica*

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1. Introduction

Advertisements influence our gender ideologies in societies as they are bombarding their audience and act as socializing agents (Sirakaya & Sonmez 2000, Pritchard & Morgan 2000). Stereotype advertising is common and can reinforce favored beliefs and values and therefore damages the social fabric of a community. The reason for stereotype advertising is to encourage customers to purchase products through interesting and desirable messages. However, how gender is depicted in mass media is biased and reinforces sexist stereotypes. This depiction of gender stereotypes shows how women and men should be rather than what is a realistic portrayal. This perpetuates a patriarchal society where a system of gender stratification is thereby maintained and reproduced. This can in turn legitimize and strengthen the traditional division of labor and gender inequalities in evaluations of what is considered gendered work (Sirakaya & Sonmez 2000, Chhabra et al. 2011). One of the main challenges faced today within development is that of gender inequality. There is a need to explore it from a qualitative perspective as well in order to see that gender roles and other unequal power relations are still present (Wittbom 2018). As stereotype advertising perpetuates a patriarchal society it is of importance to continue researching this topic as it clearly influences gender ideologies which have an impact on gender equality.

Tourism is an industry that contributes heavily to local economies and destinations around the world spend billions of dollars on tourism advertising to attract tourists and fulfill their tourism potential. There has been an increasing societal concern with gender equality, discrimination and a need for societal marketing (Sirakaya & Sonmez 2000). In recent years research within the field has increased noticeably.

Adverts picture bodies in a way that builds upon cultural constructions of race, gender and beauty. Adverts often depend on stereotyped images of masculinity and femininity. Men are portrayed as active and rational while women are passive and emotional, often more associated with the domestic (Rose 2001 pp.75-76). According to Hay-Walters & Cassel (2016), reproducing stereotypes in images reflect consumers' standardized needs, especially in the tourist's chase for a special experience, escaping everyday life. It is a valuable strategy for marketers. As such, the Caribbean has been constructed as places of paradise equipped to meet tourist's needs for exceptional experiences (Hay-Walters & Cassel 2016).

The language and gender bias within the tourism discourse, for example in marketing and brochures further perpetuates gender roles and harmful stereotypes, especially of women from developing countries (Swain 1995, Munshi 2006, Pritchard & Morgan 2000). Gendering of tourism experiences and processes is included in a wider discursive framework that stems from complex societal systems. This further increases gender inequality through language as it values activities associated with males higher than women's (Pritchard & Morgan 2000).

This topic is important to highlight considering women have become more influential in the decision of where to travel. They are independent consumers that have an increasingly influential role in the choice of family vacations (Sirakaya & Sonmez 2000, Pritchard 2001, Barlés-Arizón & Fraj-Andrés & Martínez-Salinas 2013). There are more women who travel independently who are becoming aware of their need for self-development (Figueroa-Domecq & Segovia-Perez 2020). Despite all of this marketing is continuously depicting women in traditional roles and using sexist stereotypes, privileging the male, heterosexual viewpoint (Pritchard & Morgan 2000).

2. Aim and research questions

Gender is a key analytical and explanatory variable in the process of socially constructing any tourist activity. (Figueroa-Domecq & Segovia-Perez 2020). The sustainable development paradigm has failed to incorporate gender equality and gender analysis as its core principles (Ferguson & Alarcon 2015, Alarcon 2019, Figueroa-Domecq & Segovia-Perez 2020). This research serves to highlight unequal power relations within tourism marketing and promotion. It will serve as another example to why it needs to be a core principle considering tourism marketing can reproduce stereotypes that do not reflect the real world, nor the change in traditional roles and values. Therefore the aim of this study is to contribute to existing research by exploring how women and gender relations are represented by the JTB in tourism images considering it can reinforce gender and ethnic stereotypes. It will focus on visual images¹ from the website of the destination marketing organization (DMO) in Jamaica, the Jamaican Tourist Board (JTB). It will explore which view it privileges in order to reveal underlying structures and power relations. The research questions are thus the following:

¹ The words images and photos will both be used in this research.

- How are women and gender relations represented by the JTB in photographic depictions involving women?
- How is the JTB using photographic depictions of women and gender relations in tourism images to promote Jamaica as a destination?

3. Background

3.1 Tourism Promotional marketing

Tourism promotion means spreading information that encourages potential and actual customers to travel to a certain destination (AALEP 2016). Destination marketing is a process where tourist enterprises or national tourist organizations communicate with potential tourists, influencing their needs, wishes and motivations. All of which serves to have them travel to their destination. Tourist products are adapted so that tourists will be satisfied (Sotiriadis 2021).

Tourism has historically been a dominant industry in Jamaica for and still is. It started in the late 17th century when a few affluent plantation owners and individual travelers went on vacation to the island. This was upper class travel. Jamaican tourism grew in the late 19th century and was enjoyed by rich American tourists that were exploring the exotic ‘Garden of Eden’. Jamaica was an accessible destination as it was in close proximity to North America. Travelers looking for a warm climate and health spas had easy access (Stupart & Shipley 2012).

When tourism was becoming increasingly popular in many parts of the world, it resulted in Jamaica positioning itself as a tourist destination in 1891. Marketing and promotion was seen as essential to approve the tourism industry. This led to the formation of a tourist bureau, the Jamaica Tourist Authority (JTA) in 1910. Later on, In 1954, the Jamaica Tourist Board (JTB) was formed which is still active today. Their goal was to market Jamaica as a tourist destination. Several methods were used to promote Jamaica as a sun, sea and sand destination, where one was invited to escape winter. Marketing efforts targeted ‘white’ people overseas, not Jamaican working class, leading to the working class not seeing themselves in

the roles of tourists (Stupart & Shipley 2012). The Caribbean is continuously being represented as a sun, sea and sand destination, fulfilling tourists' holiday experiences. These images have steadily been used from the early years of tourism to the present day. The regional promoters have succeeded in marketing their destinations in this sense (Daye, 2008).

3.2 Context

Currently the JTB goes under the Ministry of Tourism. They have offices in Jamaica and regions in North America and Europe (Stupart & Shipley 2012). The JTB is in charge of marketing Jamaica as a destination worldwide. Their focus is also to identify new and upcoming consumer groups and spread useful marketing information to their offices all over the world (JTB 2018). Jamaica's destination website is used as the main platform for promotion and advertisements (thus why it is being explored in this research). The website consists of destination activities and all the other unique elements meant to appeal to tourists. It is also considered to be a trusted source of information regarding Jamaica (JTB 2015).

For the last decade the US has been the main market that visits Jamaica (JTB 2015). In 2019 Jamaica had 4,223,000 international arrivals (World Bank 2022). In 2019, tourists from the United States (US) stood for 68.6 % of all stopover visitors, Canada 14.8 %, UK 8.4 %, Caribbean 2.7 % and all other 2 % (Tourism analytics 2022). The main purpose of travel to Jamaica is recreation, holiday and leisure (JTB 2018). The gender distribution of stopover arrivals in Jamaica 2015 was 54.4 % female and 45.6 % male and most were in the age group 25-49 years old (JTB 2015).

4. Literature Review

4.1 Tourism representations

The tourism industry shapes images and experiences as it contributes to a constant flow of representation through mass media, promotional brochures and advertising. These images are meant to meet tourist expectations when they visit a destination (Jeffrey 2017). Destination marketers are using visual representations and photos to promote destinations in their brochures in order to create a convincing image (Hay-Walters & Cassel 2016, Pritchard & Morgan 2000). Photos are not neutral, they can exert power as they reflect values and

attitudes of powerful ideologies (Jeffrey 2017, Jenkins 2003, Hay-Walters & Cassel 2016). Photos can simultaneously privilege ethnic majorities and disadvantage minorities. Ethnic minorities are often a part of photos regardless of whether they are participating or not in the industry. Moreover, commercial photos often use models and set up scenes that are edited before they are published (Jeffrey 2017). Potential tourists use photos to compare places which results in places and people being (re)produced, (re)created and (re)invented. Tourism marketers create these persuasive representations (Echtner & Prasad 2003, Salazar 2009, Hay-Walters & Cassel 2016). These representations in turn serve to reinforce ethnic stereotypes that are gendered, heterosexualized and racialized (Pritchard & Morgan 2000). Stereotypical representations could lead to internalizing a certain behavior which is what Judith Butler refers to as *performativity*. This means that gender is performative through repeated representations of the body and repeated acts within a regulatory frame. The subject does not have the freedom to choose gender, there is a limited possibility for action outside of the frames. Butler further argues that gender relates to a heteronormative framework and it is only for certain bodies. This is what is referred to as the heterosexual matrix (Björck 2011).

There is a gendered nature of tourism images and experiences and gendered marketing usually sexualises women (Jeffrey 2017, Conradie 2013, Pritchard & Morgan 2000, Munshi 2006). Gendered tourism representations can influence attitudes towards women and gender relations (Jeffrey 2017). Furthermore Urry (1990) discusses what he refers to as the 'tourist gaze', where tourism is primarily visually consumed (Jenkins 2003). Criticism of stereotypical representations of Third world tourist destinations has grown in the last decades, including the Caribbean and their people in promotional marketing (Munshi 2006, Hay-Walters & Cassel 2016, Pritchard & Morgan 2000, Echtner & Prasad 2003). In tourism literature, Caribbean women have been represented as they have all the free time to entertain the male visitor, catering his needs and enjoying the beaches. The powerful image for India in tourism material has been that of young women in traditional dressing, welcoming tourists in a submissive way. Simultaneously rural and tribal women are represented in a erotic and exotic way. The one thing all of these representations have in common is that they are appealing to the male tourist consumption and desire, the male gaze (Munshi 2006, Pritchard & Morgan 2000). These types of representations further create place-myths as they are oftentimes based on common stereotypes. These collectivized place images can change over time when new images appear (Jeffrey 2017).

According to Pritchard & Morgan (2000, 1998 pp.120-123), ideological and cultural structures are the basis for tourism image creation. Advertising agencies tend to be dominated by men and have their head offices in Western metropolitan areas. Masculine scripts have been privileged and even though diversity exists within the market, the advertising is aimed towards one type of tourist; the male, white, Western and heterosexual. Nevertheless, those behind the camera are usually white, male and Western. Even the ones who are not part of this group are still formed by it (Pritchard & Morgan 2000). Additionally, tourism organizations in developing countries tend to use agencies based in the 'First world' (Pritchard & Morgan, Echtner & Prasad 2003).

According to Echtner & Prasad (2003) and Echtner (2002) tourism images are reproduced in what is called the representational loop of stereotypical images that rely on images from colonialism. The ideology of colonialism is perpetuated by the tourism industry and affects local people's ability to form a national identity. The authors conducted research aimed to examine the context of Third world marketing. A sample of 223 brochures was retrieved from 47 North American travel agencies aimed at marketing Third World countries as travel destinations. These countries were combined into five regions and a sample of 12 selected based upon geographic representation. In the end 115 brochures were analyzed for the 12 countries.

The authors bring to light that Third world tourism representations can be divided into three myths. The myth of the Unchanged, where Eastern cultures are represented, where ancient traditions are emphasized. The myth of the Uncivilized which describes frontier and untamed places. Then there is the myth of the Unrestrained that depicts sun, sea, sand and tropical destinations. This myth can be found in "tropical paradises" like Jamaica, Fiji or Cuba. The locals must live up to and maintain the myths image through smiling, being pleasant and submissive. This is the form that colonizer/colonized takes in this case. Tourists are meant to enter a present paradise (Echtner & Prasad 2003). Echtner & Prasad (2003) and Echtner (2002) do not have a particular focus on gender or a male gaze as opposed to Pritchard & Morgan (2000). They are more concerned with how places are represented through colonial discourse. This shows how colonial and patriarchal discourse are simultaneously present.

4.2 Women in tourism promotional marketing (TPM)

The woman's image is objectified, sexualized and exploited in the tourism sector. Women are being exploited as workers and/or when it comes to advertising a certain image of certain destinations (Abellan Calvet et al. 2021, Pritchard & Morgan 2000, Pritchard 2001, Munshi 2006, Swain 1995, Sirakaya & Sonmez 2000). Women are often used to portray the 'exotic' nature of a place. Scholars have further noted that the language of patriarchy, heterosexuality and the language of tourism promotion are all related and share similarities (Munshi 2006, Pritchard & Morgan 2000). The myths and fantasies that are being reproduced by tourism marketing depend upon shared conceptions of sexuality, gender and gender relations (Swain 1995, Pritchard & Morgan 2000, Munshi 2006), which in turn reinforces stereotypes and hierarchical divisions of labor (Swain 1995).

Pritchard (2001) and Pritchard & Morgan (1998, 2000) have extensively researched tourism promotional language and images. Based on their analysis of brochures and advertisements they conclude that the language and imagery of TPM is mainly privileging the male, heterosexual gaze. In tourism brochures men are often associated with power, action and ownership and women are associated with being passive, available and owned (Pritchard & Morgan 2000, Swain 1997). These marketing materials are constructed and produced by operators, advertising agencies and DMOs and they draw upon existing societal structures (Pritchard & Morgan 1998). Through these representations of gender and heterosexuality, women are depicted as exoticized commodities that exist to be experienced (Pritchard & Morgan 2000).

Pritchard (2001) conducted a study from 18 UK tour operators, focusing on women tourists in brochures. Her method was visual content analysis where she used a scale to measure sexism in tourism representations. The research was deductive as the levels in the scale are pre-defined. The scale classifies photos in tourist brochures from non-sexist to sexist. Her sampling was random and she studied images from a stratified sample. She found that women are frequently used as sexualized decorations in tourism images and the conventional gender relations and roles found in the brochures drew upon a patriarchal discourse.

Pritchard & Morgan (2000) continuously stress that tourism promotion is privileging the male, heterosexual gaze and a patriarchal discourse. Other scholars stress the importance of examining tourism images and promotional material through a post-colonial perspective, stressing that tourism by itself is neo-colonialist (Wilkes 2008, Jeffrey 2017, Echtner &

Prasad 2003, Echtner 2002, Crăciunescu 2016, Hay-Walters & Cassel 2016). However Pritchard & Morgan (2000) do also mention the historical complexities and deep-rooted Western and colonial ideologies that underlie tourism promotion. The scale the authors used ranges from sexist to non-sexist, which makes it less usable when examining promotional marketing in a Third world context where racial differences in representation are important aspects.

Sirakaya & Sonmez (2000), Chhabra & Johnston (2014) and Chhabra et al. (2011) have conducted studies on gender display in tourism images from state promotional materials in the US. All of these studies are using Goffmann's (1979) framework for gender display in advertising. This framework was developed from North-american advertisements. The categories were thus pre-determined making the research deductive. Latent and manifested characteristics were explored to see how gender relations were depicted. They further investigated what roles and meanings the depictions meant. They found that women were depicted in a stereotypical way and in traditional stereotypical poses. According to Sirakaya & Sonmez (2000) women were more frequently shown in submissive, subordinate, dependent postures. Body shots with women were also frequently used. Chhabra & Johnston (2014) and Chhabra et al. (2011) found that their results were similar to previous studies for only a few of the categories. For some categories there seems to be a shift towards more gender equal representations. Availability and being owned is only partially supported by their findings.

The studies from Sirakaya & Sonmez (2000), Chhabra & Johnston (2014), Chhabra et al. (2011) and Pritchard (2001) are based on 'First world' countries. Jeffrey (2017) points out that they are based on Western samples, being from the US and UK. She further points out that the studies are focusing on images of the tourist rather than looking at and trying to understand how women from other contexts are portrayed. Jeffrey (2017) further acknowledges that research on representations of gender has mainly been looking at the non-verbal representations of tourist women with a deductive approach, resulting in the loss of context-specific messages found in representations within tourism. Additionally, using Goffman's (1979) framework does not allow for exploring cross-cultural representations considering it is based on North-american advertisements. To look at cross-cultural representations, greater understanding of power relations is needed as there are several relations at play (Jeffrey 2017).

Buzinde et al. (2006) diversifies the study of tourism representations through studying ethnic portrayals within Canadian TPM. They also used content analysis and analyzed 3,223 Canadian tourism images. Ethnic majorities were overrepresented in the roles of tourists in their results. The representation of ethnic minorities was representative of the population however there was a difference in how they were portrayed from the ethnic majority. The ethnic majority were found in the roles of tourists while minorities were portrayed in roles of local entertainers which reflects certain power relations where ethnic minorities are never represented as the tourists (Buzinde et al. 2006), contributing to ethnic stereotypes.

According to Wilkes (2008), marketers fail to include ethnic diversity in promotional material, which in part has to do with advertising agencies being dominated by white people (Wilkes 2008).

Jeffrey (2017) uses post-colonial feminism and the Othering to examine how the tourism industry has the ability to Other whole populations. It does so through the creation of destination images which are meant to appeal to the tourist gaze. She points out that within destination image research, a gender perspective is missing. As opposed to most studies doing content analysis on visual images, Jeffrey (2017) conducted a discourse analysis of women's femininities within Tunisian tourism. The material was retrieved from the website and brochures by the Tunisian National Tourism Office (TNTO). The findings suggest that the TPM that is targeting a UK audience is drawing on discourses of the exotic Other. There were two different and competing discourses on femininity that emerged. One was the 'modern' femininity that belongs to the North, that is the 'uncovered'. Then there is the 'veiled Other' femininity that belongs to the South, the 'covered'. The author found that the unveiled and 'modern' Tunisian woman have increasingly become discursively privileged.

4.3 Jamaican tourism promotional marketing (JTPM)

Further examination of national tourism board brochures of the Caribbean has revealed that the grammar of marketing includes gendered power relations where sexual inequalities are legitimized (Pritchard & Morgan 2000). Wilkes (2008) adopts a post-colonial approach and uses black feminist theory when comparing historical visual representations of Jamaica with current representations. She finds that blackness is visually associated with servitude while whiteness is associated with luxury that can be traced back to the colonial period in Jamaica.

The author examines several tourism promotional images of Jamaica. She then analyzes how race, class, gender and sexuality is represented in the images.

Images from the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth century usually showed black female bodies being exoticized as well as being objects of sexual desire. This was an ongoing theme into the 1960s and 1970s when there was a continued focus on the objectification and display of the 'exotic' female body. There was a resemblance with these images and the images from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century where Jamaica was represented as enticing and feminine. Brown and black female sexualities were portrayed as unrestrained. However in the early twenty-first century there was a shift from the previous representations. The white female body was displayed instead. However it was still sexual, still drawing on Jamaica historically being a destination for sexual escape. In short, in contemporary representations it is the white female body instead of the black female body that carries the discourse of sexualised desire (Wilkes 2008).

In contemporary representations of black people Wilkes (2008) finds that the stereotype emphasized is the one of servitude. The sexuality of the black subject is deemphasised and they are rarely found in images. Their purpose in the images is to sustain whiteness' enjoyment of luxury. Similarly to Jeffrey's (2017) findings from Tunisia, a discourse of exoticized Other is influencing how Jamaica is perceived and presented. There is a further continuity from the images in the colonial period found, that is that black women are undertaking gendered domestic work in the contemporary images and they are dressed in uniforms. They are performing the work they carried out during slavery. The white female body is a central part in promoting themes of pampering and service. Resulting in the white female being the legitimate recipient of luxury and conveying the central role white women have in maintaining their association with luxury and whiteness. White women's engagement in the elite social group is represented in the brochures and it is done within a masculine framework. The nuclear unit is further presented as the ideal both in Colonial history and current portrayals. This creates a discourse where the norm becomes luxury, heterosexual marriage and whiteness. The images further convey that in order to be feminine in the current-day context, she needs to have bronzed white skin and be thin. In contrast, males are to be muscular which draws on conceptions of masculinity where physical strength is required and valued (Wilkes 2008).

In a more recent study on visual images promoting Jamaica, Hay-Walters & Cassel (2016) also use post-colonial theory and content analysis, using an inductive approach. According to Jeffrey (2017) this would allow for context-specific nuances. They examined 475 photographs from the JTB website, a part of Jamaica's campaign 'once you go, you know' produced between 2010-2013. The most dominant theme found in the marketing images was crystal clear water, palm trees and white sand. Jamaican culture was portrayed in the images, examples being local dance and food. Most images in their study had no people in them (51 %) which highlights the idea of getting away from it all. The second largest group of photos was with tourists only (31 %) which was almost three times the size of locals only. When photos included two tourists it was most often in a romantic setting. 'White' was the most represented (77 %) ethnicity in the images with tourists. Only 8 % of the photos included black and white tourists in the same frame. 15 % of the photos showed black tourists or locals in tourist settings where they were enjoying tourist activities that white tourists would usually enjoy. In contrast to images with white tourists only, images with only black tourists never had more than two people in the same image.

Following Wilkes' (2008) findings, the photos that only had locals in them were confined to service areas, resulting in locals being portrayed in stereotypical roles, examples being tour guides, waiters, massage therapists or cooks. A distinction is made considering their skin color was black while tourists are white. The rare portrayals of Jamaican people in the marketing materials limit local identities and what their possibilities for action are (Hay-Walters & Cassel 2016), which could be related to Butler's concept of performativity as stereotypical representations could lead to internalizing a certain behavior. Furthermore, locals are portrayed as 'spectacles' in many of the photos, there to be experienced and consumed by the tourists, which reinforces the relationship between the colonizer and colonized, a master/servant power relationship (Hay-Walters & Cassel 2016).

Additionally, local men and women clearly had different roles within the tourism industry. Local women were portrayed as massage therapists, waitresses and room attendants. In almost all of these images with local women they were looking into the camera, creating an intimacy between the viewer and the subject which could be referred to as the direct gaze which signifies welcoming and a willingness to please and serve (Hay-Walters & Cassel 2016).

Stereotypical images of women were used when they were portrayed as helpless and sexy, and in a more decorative role. Generally women in the images were shown in bathing suits when they were tourists and in passive roles. In contrast, men were more frequently portrayed in active roles, participating in activities including standing or running (Hay-Walters & Cassel 2016).

The authors further find that through the nature-related photos the DMO perpetuates the myth of the unrestrained that Echtner & Prasad (2003) refers to. Young, white and beautiful couples are invited to enjoy paradise while being welcomed and catered by local people. The authors do however note that the emerging oppositional strategies could reconstruct the existing Jamaican identity. A few photos were depicted in a way that is directed to tourists' desire for authentic and "real" experiences of Jamaican culture. Locals are further starting to be included in the roles of tourists and not only in service roles (Hay-Walters & Cassel 2016).

Crăciunescu (2016) examines the role of sign and signification in promotional practices of present-day tourism. The author examines post-colonialism in tourism promotional language by using semiotic analysis, with Jamaica as an example. They use two ads with slogans from a campaign from 2014. The ads are produced by an advertising agency in the US. In line with previous results on JTPM, the author finds post-colonial themes in the promotional messages. They can be seen in the usage of the term "exotic", "tropical shirts" and "exotic new friends". There is also a Colibri bird used in the ads to further show Jamaica as exotic. The post-colonial themes found also point to the use of gender relations where the woman's body is exposed. Her body contours are opening up over a beach, which according to the author is a symbol for nudity and liberty. There is further a clear sexist suggestion at the visual level to unveil her body through a text attached on the ad. These results further indicate that Jamaica is being marketed within the myth of the unrestrained.

It is clear from these studies of Jamaica that Pritchard's scale or Goffmann's framework would not have revealed these results and that results are context-specific. These findings are in line with Jeffrey's in that the 'exotic Other' and host women are (re)presented stereotypically and in a less privileged way than white persons. Moreover, most studies use content analysis, some with inductive and some with deductive approach. Using a deductive

approach with pre-determined categories from a framework developed in the 70s could be viewed as out of date and not allowing for themes outside of the categories to emerge.

Furthermore, much literature seems to explore brochures from tour operators in the First world. Not much research can be found on how Jamaica's own DMO promotes itself through using stereotypes. The research found on JTPM is heavily influenced by post-colonial theory with extensive referencing to the exotic Other. These theories are important in revealing underlying historical power structures within tourism. However, previous research indicates that there could be a shift in tourism representation (Hay-Walters & Cassel 2016, Chhabra et al. 2011 Chhabra & Johnston 2014) even if it is slow. This might suggest that marketing is becoming more aware, moving away from its colonial ties. The research indicates that when studying TPM in a Third World context, a post-colonial view is needed, however in research on brochures in the US or UK, post-colonial theory did not play an essential role.

The literature on Jamaica focuses on how Jamaica as a place is constructed and feminized using colonial discourse to appeal to tourists. This might be due to the use of post-colonialism as it is inevitable to not highlight the 'tropical paradise'. Much literature focuses on how Jamaica as a destination is constructed through marketing and images. There is a lack of research that has as its main aim to explore the gender dimension of visual images in Jamaican tourism images. Seeing as the last study was conducted in 2016 with a hint that things might be changing, this research will contribute to the existing research by exploring tourism images from 2022.

What is evident from the literature is the broader phenomenon that women and femininity are used to promote destinations, contributing to the findings that tourism is built on gendered discourses. In Jamaica women have been used to promote the destination however in different ways. The fact that it has been a shift in representation of women clearly highlights that TPM is influenced by current power structures and ideologies. Even though there have been changes in representation the general focus has been to use female sexuality as a way to promote destinations all over the world. The literature further shows that gender, racial and ethnic stereotyping interact in tourist images and gender is depicted differently which serves to reinforce stereotypes. Not all women are depicted the same. It is inevitable to see that white women are depicted differently from black women. Additionally white people are used

to portray tourists while black people and locals are often used to portray service roles. This reinforces stereotypes aimed to privilege a specific gaze, be it tourist, male or Western.

5. Theoretical Framework

5.1 The ‘Other’

The ‘other’ means constructing an in-group and an ‘out-group’, constructing people as a distinction from the Self, where the ‘Self’ is more powerful (Jensen 2011). According to Staszak (2009) this is how minority and majority groups are constructed. It is a discursive process that divides humanity into two groups where one group is the norm and the other one is defined by its flaws and is therefore weakened and easier to discriminate against. The Others are reduced to stereotypical characters that often are stigmatizing and simplistic. They are further dehumanized (Jensen 2011, Staszak 2009) and devalued (Jensen 2011). They are subject to the practices and categories of in-groups which means they are unable to decide on their own norms (Staszak 2009). The process of Othering is classed, raced and gendered and the center has the power to form identities (Jensen 2011). Staszak (2009) discusses that the dominant group is Westerners and through colonization the categories such as savages, others, People of Color etc. have been imposed.

Otherness is a binary concept which means that identity is based on a binary logic (Staszak 2009). Historically, binary oppositions have been used to create meaning. Examples being white/black, masculine/feminine, man/woman. Nevertheless, binary opposites are reductive ways of looking at the complexity of difference. All binary oppositions have values and concepts of power included in them which are linked to superiority and worth. This means that what is considered the norm is always the opposite to what is not considered as normal (Cartwright & Sturken 2001). Othering privileges the white, heterosexual male. He becomes normalized as the ‘self’ and the one with knowledge of all there is to know in regards to the inferior Other (Jeffrey 2017).

Staszak (2008) further discusses the ‘geographical Others’ which is relevant for tourism studies. We here are the Self, and they who are there are the Others. There is a hierarchy of civilizations created when cultural surfaces have been divided into countries and continents. When whole civilizations become the Others, the domination of them becomes legitimized. Exotism is the most direct geographical form of Otherness. ‘Here’ is considered as normal

while 'there' is not. The power relationship becomes unequal and the term exotic works as a synonym for the tropical and colonial (Staszak 2008). It should be noted that the concept of Othering has been critiqued for not portraying those who are othered as active subjects, they rather seem to be voiceless. It can be problematic to generalize such a structural thinking to social identity. It might not allow us to see what is in-between (Jensen 2011).

5.2 The Gaze

'Gaze' in French means to look or stare, with eagerness or desire. It is a way of looking which exerts control by observation. It is not only looking, it is the viewing relationship characteristic of a particular set of circumstances (Sturken & Cartwright 2001, pp.72-108). According to Foucault discourse and knowledge is power. He discussed what he referred to as the medical gaze. It is the act of looking as part of a medical diagnosis, where a patient's story is adjusted to fit into the biomedical paradigm (Björck 2011). Later on Mulvey examined patriarchal structures in popular cinema, finding women to be objects of male gaze. In feminist film theory, the concept of the Gaze is based on theories from Lacan and Freud. According to Freud, the pleasure of looking comes from the sexual drive. Observing is linked to dominant and submissive practices. Lacan refers to the gaze as being situated somewhere between the eye and what is seen. Looking is not only the act of seeing but also interpreting, translating and being aware that one is being seen (Coorlawala 1996).

5.3 Male gaze

One commonly used 'gaze' to analyze how women are represented sexually and maternal in media is the 'male gaze'. Women are represented as objects of the male reader's gaze. They are constructed according to stereotypes, fulfilling the expectations of the male viewer. These stereotyped images and identities give power to the male spectator and are created by media institutions. An unequal power relationship is established between the object and the spectators where the latter has more power. Stereotypical identities are then accepted by the object being gazed upon (Brandt & Carstens 2005). Feminist scholars further argue that women view and judge space and their bodies in a certain way based on the patriarchal male gaze (Björck 2011).

5.4 The Objectifying Gaze

The objectifying gaze is related to the male gaze and is also of relevance for this research. It is conceptualized as visually staring at or inspecting the body of a woman or at her sexual body parts. According to objectification theory, the focus on faces may be reduced while the focus on the sexual body parts and the body itself may be emphasized when women are objectified. In other words, when the camera focuses less on women's faces and more on their sexual body parts, it is appealing to the objectifying gaze. This has several detrimental consequences for women and how they view themselves. Faces are important for person perception (Gervais, Holland & Dodd 2013). A closely related concept to objectification that is relevant for this research is sexualization. It appears when a person is valued based on their sexual appeal, when their physical attractiveness is based on being sexy, when they are sexually objectified or sexuality is imposed on them. Based on this, sexual objectification goes under the broader practice of sexualization. Both these concepts operate along a continuum, where people can be less or more objectified or sexualized (Calogero 2012).

5.5 Gaze and exotic other

The concept of gaze involves the relationship between pleasure and images and the one that is looking has power, not the object behind the camera. The photographic gaze establishes a relationship of power. Travel photography and portrayals of exotic locals today can be related to traditions of institutional photography with prisoners, mental patients etc. being photographed and cataloged. A world that has not yet been touched by modern civilization, a paradise, is represented by images of local women that are coded as the exotic other. The binary oppositions found in these types of images are white/other, male/female, civilization/nature. Visual codes of difference between the subject and the viewer have been enforced by travel photography where binary oppositions of European/native are established. However these images might have a different meaning for a viewer in the West than in the place it was taken (Sturken & Cartwright 2001).

Exoticism means giving value to the Other. Photographs have the capacity to establish exoticism which can be seen in contemporary advertising (Sturken & Cartwright 2001). Historically there has been a curiosity for places far away, leading to ethnic tourism for example. However according to Stazsak (2008) exoticism does not necessarily mean the Other is valued considering it is done in a stereotypical manner that privileges the 'Self'.

Different cultural practices become exciting which is in contrast to the normality of the colonizers. The Othering of the exotic is further staged and turned into merchandise where the exotic other becomes a spectacle. The pleasure is not found in the confrontation of Otherness, it is found in experiencing the fantasies which comforts superiority and identity of the Self. There is a fascination for the exotic other and the beauty of the primitive and underdeveloped (Staszak 2008). Salazar (2012) argues that marketing is based on the use of exoticized imaginaries. Tourism marketers are selling dreams and places for people to discover, inviting the tourists to emerge themselves in paradise. The exotic images that tourists have are however part of a wide socio-cultural framework and collectively held images of places are circulating (Salazar 2012).

5.6 The tourist Gaze

A valuable 'gaze' to analyze this research from is the tourist gaze. The way tourists view places is constructed by the tourism industry. The concept was coined by Urry (1990) and has its roots in the concept of 'gaze'. He applies the concept to tourism. Focus is put on tourism's visual nature as tourists are consuming visual images (Smith, Macleod & Robertson 2010). The study of tourists gazing upon landscapes reveals how places are constructed as objects of the tourist gaze (Crang 1997). Gazes within tourism are built on different discourses (Urry 1992). Tourists are not one homogenous group, therefore the tourist gaze can be different. Urry (1992) distinguishes between the 'romantic' tourist gaze and the 'collective' gaze. These categorizations are based on tourist behaviors. The romantic gaze emphasizes solitude, privacy and a personal relationship with the object of gaze. The object gazed upon is to be experienced alone or in smaller groups. It has a more elitist approach. The collective gaze on the other hand is based on popular pleasure where other people are necessary for the tourist experience. It is not elitist and usually involves less consideration but with high levels of participation. (Urry 1992, Sweno 2019).

The concept of the tourist gaze articulates what it is that separates the tourist experience from their daily lives. Tourist experiences are constructed and the tourist gaze expresses that construction. It also shows how tourism processes have an effect on social relations. Images of places that speak to their uniqueness, culture, history are examples of these processes. They involve performative practices and embodied tourist experiences. The travel

photographs and travel blogs that present images of places create a certain way that places are viewed. Through these channels the images are reproduced all around the world.

The tourist experience means a certain way of seeing and the tourist gaze expresses that. The images and myths within tourism that are circling around are usually extraordinary and compelling. It is advertising agencies that are strategically marketing places through imaginaries that signifies fantasies that contrast tourists' daily schedules back home. Tourists are then filled with expectations in regards to what they will see and experience in their travels. Through this promotion they particularly want to experience these imaginaries and fantasies (Urry 1992, Southerton 2011).

In short, photographs, especially travel photographs, can exert power. They are never neutral and objects are represented in a certain way, to appeal to a certain audience. Considering previous studies have found that images are directed towards a specific gaze and travel photography has been found to portray the 'exotic other', these theories and concepts will be used as a lens for the analysis.

6. Methodology

6.1 Data Collection

There will be a sampling from the JTB website of 32 images. The images will be collected from the homepage and from the headings found on the homepage. As the website contains a great amount of pictures a limitation had to be made of which images to collect, therefore it was only images under these headings that were collected. These images were chosen as they are under the headings on the homepage thus one of the first things the viewer sees. The selection was made to focus on the images that were meant to market Jamaica as a destination, and not specific hotels or offers. The different headings were; Best of Jamaica, Family, Adventure, Romance, Nature, Culture, People, Patois, Sports, History and Events. All images that included women were collected under each heading. Under some of these headings there were subheadings. The same subheadings could come up under the main headings. The subheadings that included images of women were also sampled. These were Weddings and Honeymoons, Details of Wedding and Experiences. The homepage further includes the heading 'Island Social' where pictures posted from tourists on Instagram are

shown. These images are on the home page, hence one of the first things the viewer can see when visiting the website. Therefore all images that included women were sampled under this heading as well.

One image with women included was chosen from the top of the homepage so the whole homepage was sampled. Some headings had no images with women in them therefore no images under those headings were included. The selection included images with groups of people, individual and in pairs. Moving pictures were excluded as that would require a different approach. The selection of images from the website can be found in Table 1. Due to copyright reasons the images themselves cannot be included in the thesis. The reader is therefore referred to the website visitjamaica.com.

Table 1.

Visitjamaica.com	Nr of Photos
Top of first page	1
Best of Jamaica	1
Family	3
Adventure	2
Romance	3
Culture	3
People	1
Sports	1
Download Brochure	1
Island Social	10
Experiences	1
Weddings and Honeymoons	5
Total	32

(JTB 2022)

6.2 Visual Qualitative Content Analysis

Content analysis is meant to provide an objective and systematic way of describing and quantifying a phenomenon. It reduces the data to concepts and categories that are describing the phenomenon (Elo et al. 2014). It strengthens the understanding of data and allows the researcher to test theoretical issues. Images can be refined into content related categories and shared meanings can be found when data is classified into the same categories. Content analysis allows for replicable and valid interpretations from the data to its context (Elo & Kyngnäs 2007) and it is commonly used when researching representation (Pritchard 2001). It can provide new perspectives, knowledge and facts that can lead to action (Elo & Kyngnäs 2007). Bringing in a qualitative and interpretive perspective further allows for a deeper understanding, which is what this research will do. Content analysis has been considered to be a quantitative approach, although there has been debate in regards to if content analysis is considered quantitative or qualitative. Some authors state that content analysis explores meanings and would therefore be a qualitative approach (Elo & Kyngäs 2007; Mundati 2021). This discussion demonstrates that this method can be seen as a mixed research method that can be used in both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Furthermore, the use of visual methods allows the researcher to find deeper meanings which contributes to validity and depth of the research. Visual methods can help with finding more details in data than other methods, such as written or verbal (Glaw et al. 2017).

Representation is conveyed through the image therefore it is important to study the content of the image, a visual analysis. Therefore this study will be using qualitative visual content analysis. The unit of analysis is important in content analysis as it provides a focus for the research. The unit of analysis in this study will be 'images' as it is the representation of women in tourism images that are analyzed.

This study is focusing on visual images, however it recognizes that these images are not featured alone in the website. Alongside the images there is text, however since that is examined differently and can convey different messages for viewers, it is not included in this study (Kaczkowski 2019). It is of further importance in content analysis that the researcher is aware of and reflects upon their own positionality and pre-conceptions. Potential biases must be identified so that there is less of a risk for them to influence the analysis (Drisko & Maschi 2015).

This research will be using an inductive approach. The inductive approach is useful in the sense of allowing for categories to emerge that might not have been revealed in previous research and it would allow for more context-specific understandings. An interpretative approach to qualitative content analysis will further be used to make the context around the codes and categories visible considering different power structures are at play (Drisko & Maschi 2015).

From an overview of the data a set of coding categories were created. Each image was then coded for these categories. As the approach was inductive, new codes could emerge in the coding process. Those codes were then added to the coding list and all images were coded for the new code. Examples of these codes were 'feminine touch' and 'expressions'. The coding will be used as a means for interpretation.

The coding categories that emerged were the following:

- 1. Setting**
- 2. Gender Relations**
- 3. Dress Style**
- 4. Hair**
- 5. Age**
- 6. Looks**
- 7. Presence**
- 8. Eye contact**
- 9. Activity**
- 10. Skin colour**
- 11. Body size**
- 12. Group size**
- 13. Composition**
- 14. Expressions**
- 15. Feminine touch²**

² Goffman (1979) argues that females usually pose with their fingers and hands tracing the outlines of an object, cradling or caressing it. It is a light touch and it can include self-touching as well, meaning that women lightly caress or touch themselves. This conveys the idea that the woman is fragile and precious (Sirakaya & Sonmez 2000).

Coding category	Coding definition and relevance
Setting	Where is the picture taken? What are the surroundings? Relevant as surroundings and setting of an image is a conscious choice of photographers to convey messages.
Gender relations	What are the identities of men and women in relation to each other? What is the relationship between man and woman? How is power distributed between the sexes? Relevant as it allows for revealing gender roles and stereotypes.
Dress style	How are people in the images dressed? What are they wearing? Relevant as clothes in images convey a message.
Hair	What hair do people in the images have? Hair can be related to stereotypes and also convey a message.
Age	How old are people? Relevant to see patterns of who is portrayed.
Looks ³	How do people in images relate to beauty standards and what is considered to be conventional notions of male and female beauty? ⁴ Relevant as people in images are often well chosen models that fit into societies 'unattainable' beauty standards.

³ The naming of this category was challenging as it was used to examine how people in the photos relate to beauty standards, in other words, how 'attractive' they are. The name 'looks' comes from Dyer's (1982) checklist for exploring representations of bodies where it is considered a separate category from other physical attributes (Rose 2001, p.75).

⁴ What is considered beauty and attractiveness is of course subjective. However for the purpose of this research a generalization of what is conventionally considered as beauty and attractiveness is made.

Presence	Who is in the picture? Is it locals or/and tourists? Or tourists only? Relevant to see who gets to be represented.
Eye contact	Are people looking into the camera? Relevant as directly looking into the camera has implications for what message is conveyed to the viewer.
Activity	What are people in the images doing? Who is active in the photo? Relevant as typically women are shown as passive and men as active.
Skin Color	What skin color do people in the photos have? Relevant as it allows to see who is represented and who is portrayed as a tourist and who is portrayed as host.
Body Size	What body size do people have in photos? Is it a variation in what body types that are shown? Which bodies are 'fat', and therefore might convey a message of being undesirable? (Rose 2001 p.76) Relevant to see how body sizes relate to beauty standards and stereotypes.
Group Size	How many people are in the photo? Relevant to see patterns on how people are shown.
Composition	How is the photo organized? What is in the middle of the photo? What is the focus of the photo? Relevant to see where the focus of the photo is.

Expression	How are people in the photo acting? What are they expressing? Who is shown happy or sad? What is their body language telling us? Relevant to see the difference in body language and what message that conveys.
Feminine touch	Are women in the photos touching an object or themselves? Relevant as this touch/pose is sexualized. The pose can be interpreted to be sexually inviting, depicting women to be sexually available and accessible (Signoretti 2017).

6.3 Epistemology

This research has a social constructionist approach. It acknowledges that there is no objective reality. The researcher has her own reality which will influence the research and might differ from other people's reality. Human interactions are meaningful and construct the social world. Meaning does not exist by itself. What we believe about the world are social inventions (Robson & McCartan 2016, p.24). This study is examining gender representations which are constructed by people. These representations are based on and affect gender ideologies and our perception of what it means to be a man or a woman.

6.4 Limitations

In the case of studying gender aspects it is important to be aware of a subconscious gender bias. The same way that people behave depending on their socially constructed gender, researchers make gender in academia. Ideas are reproduced and interpretations and assumptions are made based on what gender one is socially assigned. We are biased based on the masculine and feminine frameworks we have been taught to understand reality from. Consequently our views will always be subjective. This means that how tourist and academic tourist realities are described cannot be seen as an objective truth (Figuroa-Domecq & Segovia-Perez 2020).

In this sense, subjectivity can be a limitation of content analysis as it is the researcher that is the instrument for coding and other analytical decisions. Therefore self-reflection and reflexivity are important in the research process (Drisko & Maschi 2015). In this case the research is a white woman from Sweden which may have implications for how the images are interpreted. An additional limitation is that there is only one coder in this research which can influence the objectivity of the codes, thus the results. However extensive previous research and self-reflection will aim to reduce a potential bias.

This research is furthermore context-specific and there is a limited scope of material used. Therefore the results from this research cannot be generalized. The comparison of findings with previous research on tourism images of Jamaica is limited as this research has a significantly smaller sample. Therefore it is important to bear in mind that a larger sample could produce different results.

7. Analysis

7.1 Sexualization and Objectification

7.1.1 Physical appearance and Sexual appeal

Female nudity could be derived from the images. In terms of *dress style* a majority of images women were more often shown to be lightly dressed. This included bikinis, smaller tops, shorts or bras. This resulted in women's skin being shown more. Men were also shown in swimwear but not as much as women. Men were shown in swimwear in 5 photos in total while women were shown in bikinis in 12 of the photos. Men and women were shown together in 18 photos. In 13 of those photos women were showing more skin. In 14 of the photos in total there was a focus on women's bodies. In terms of composition, women's cleavage, breasts and bottoms were shown in the middle of the image for the viewer to see. Advertising women in this sense relates to the gender stereotype of depicting women as sexy and using their sexuality to sell. Nudity is further linked to sexual appeal in advertising. This visual sexual appeal could be linked to the objectifying gaze and privileges the male gaze as male respondents tend to be more impressed than females by nude female models in advertisements (Beetles & Harris 2005). Therefore, due to the prevalence of female nudity in the images they are appealing to the male gaze as they are filtered through the lens of

heterosexual men. It also falls under the objectifying gaze as it implies a focus on women's sexual parts and bodies rather than their personality.

In further regard to the objectifying gaze there were several images that showed a woman standing alone from behind looking over a waterfall or nature. The bottom and contours of the body were shown but with no face. In another photo there was a black young woman's body shown with a clear focus on her body however her head was cut off. This is common when appealing to the objectifying gaze, making the photo focus her body and sexual body parts rather than person perception. Additionally women's hair is often used to signify seductive beauty (Rose 2001, p.76). In all the instances with women looking out over a waterfall or ocean, they had long 'seductive' hair, laying on their backs. These photos usually also involved a 'feminine touch', where women are shown to cradle or touch an object or themselves which implies they are sexually inviting, depicting women being sexually available and accessible (Signoretti 2017). These types of images included both white, black and non-white⁵ women. The images with white women however came from the heading 'Island social' meaning that it is they themselves that have posted the photo on instagram for the JTB to choose from. These types of photos imply a visual sex appeal, privileging the male gaze as they are showing women's bodies as sexualized and inviting. The seductive nature of these images, especially the ones with women from behind looking out over waterfalls or the ocean, relates to Crăciunescu (2016) findings. Postcolonial intrusions also include gender relations through the exposure of a woman's body as a contour in a sexist way. However this time it is opening up over a waterfall or ocean, letting the tropical setting connote a sexual appeal.

The majority of all women in the photos were attractive from a conventional point of view and their bodies were thin. The agencies behind the camera have obviously chosen attractive people as models that have thin and well trained bodies. This is implying that everyone that travels to Jamaica are beautiful, thin and healthy tourists. This utilizes unrealistic beauty standards and is privileging the tourist gaze and the male gaze as it lets men gaze upon attractive women in images and tourists want to immerse themselves in the setting, becoming the beautiful and attractive tourists.

⁵ The term non-white is used for persons that are neither white or black. It is difficult to decide the origin of a person based on a photo, however in terms of ethnic representation it is of interest that they are not white. Non-white and black are separated as black people have been particularly stereotyped in contemporary representations in JTPM (Wilkes 2008).

The only 2 times women were shown with bigger bodies were black women. In one of these 2 photos it was local black women dancing and the other was a black tourist in a bikini. This could be seen as a way to desexualize black women and would agree with the findings of Wilkes (2008) where she clearly shows how there has been a less emphasis on black female sexuality in tourism images in Jamaica. However 2 other images showed images of black women with a clear focus on their cleavage which did emphasize their sexuality.

It should be noted that the local female dancers are older, while all other images show young adults and their *dress style* is traditional clothing. This can clearly be linked to the representation of ethnic stereotypes where locals are there to entertain the tourist, ‘spectacles’ to be experienced. All of which serves to privilege the tourist gaze. However the images of young black women (where they are not tourists) portray them in modern, sexy and hip clothing, however with a traditional touch. Examples being a bikini with a Jamaican flag or a light, sexy skirt and coat with traditional patterns. This could be seen as a way to ‘modernize’ ethnic stereotypes, however female nudity and a sexual appeal is still prominent in these photos. It should be noted that in these images, both with young, black women and the older black women, they were all establishing eye contact with the viewer by looking straight into the camera. *Eye contact* has implications for what message is conveyed to the viewer. A ‘direct gaze’ between the subject and the viewer with the subject smiling implies a feeling of welcoming and a willingness to please the tourist (Hay-Walters 2016, Echtner & Prasad 2003). The older women were smiling into the camera, however the younger women were squinting with their eyes, signifying a mystic, sexual appeal, inviting the heterosexual male to be seduced.

7.2 Romance in Paradise

Romance is important in the Western context. The romance narrative favours heterosexual love and marriage within a masculine framework. Heterosexual love is the ideal and through the reproduction of this narrative heterosexual marriage is considered the ‘natural’. Romance narratives however do little in challenging patriarchal structures nor do they challenge societal rules on gender. A popular romance narrative is the one that portrays marriage being the ultimate goal for women. It is through the validation of a man that she truly becomes self-worthy (Wilkes 2008). The romance narrative affects women and conforms to patriarchal

structures. The romance narrative in the images uses gender stereotypes and a heterosexual ideal to promote Jamaica as will be discussed.

7.2.1 *Heterosexual marriage*

The most prominent *gender relation* was a man and woman as a couple. Out of all of the 32 photos, 15 of them included couples. 11 of those 15 couples were white couples. There was 1 mixed race couple (black and white), 2 black couples (where one was together with white couples and the other one alone) and 1 non-white couple that were shown alone. In these images white women were most often portrayed together with a white man in a setting that signified a romantic getaway in paradise, perhaps a honeymoon. The couples were young and often portrayed in resorts or on the beach. These images further signified luxury and marriage and the couples were heterosexual. Wilkes (2008) discusses how the color white is used to signify marriage, luxury and wealth. Seeing as the color white is frequently used in the images, it is signifying marriage. This is conveying the idea that white heterosexual couples are the ones that can experience luxury and a romantic getaway.

White women are the ones represented in a romantic setting. They are presented in heterosexual couples in a honeymoon setting, often outside in nature, resorts or spas. There are no black or non-white women portrayed within the categories of *marriage* and *luxury*. In most images white women were shown together with a white man (as a couple) or with their family. When they were shown alone it included a visual sexual appeal as discussed above. The frequent portrayal of white women in relation to marriage contributes to the idea of marriage being women's ultimate goal, which does little in challenging patriarchal structures (Wilkes 2008). It further conveys the idea that white women are male dependent, all of which privileges the male gaze. That black women are not shown in couples or a romantic setting, but rather more frequently shown alone (or at least without a man) could be interpreted as they are single and ready for a man to come. Especially considering there is theme of sexual appeal and objectification when they are alone. In contrast, it could also be interpreted as a glimpse of change in marketing which will be discussed.

Wilkes (2008) analysis examines the use of the white feminized body as the legitimate recipient of luxury and pleasure. Based on the images in this research it seems to be similar results as there is only white women in images related to spa, marriage and resorts and no non-white women being pampered in a resort. White female bodies are used to promote

themes of pampering and service. This conveys the message that the white female is ‘naturally’ associated with luxury and whiteness (Wilkes 2008) as is the case in this research as well. It could further be said that white female bodies are represented within a regulatory frame. In relation to Butler’s performativity, the subject is not free to choose gender, there is a limited possibility for action outside of the frames. The representation of the white female body can be related to the heterosexual matrix, where only certain bodies are represented within a heteronormative framework, in this case the white female body, further conveying the message that she is the legitimate recipient of luxury, pleasure and marriage.

The photos that convey marriage use gender stereotypes in terms of *dress style* and ‘*activity*’. Women are wearing wedding dresses and holding wedding bouquets. Additionally, in two of the images with couples the man is carrying the woman, indicating control and physical strength and showing women as passive. In all these instances women are thin and males are muscular. Moreover, the marriage story in the images is adjusted to fit into the male heterosexual paradigm, to fit into the male gaze. This portrayal further privileges the tourist gaze as it portrays the white tourist in a dream-like setting where they can celebrate romance, luxury and whiteness. They are barefoot, which signifies vacation and relaxation. The image conveys the idea for the tourist to be in the tropical paradise and invites you to leave urban life and modernity behind, being barefoot in the sand. This type of advertising is clearly aimed towards couples from the US, seeing as the vast majority of tourism comes from the US with a main purpose of recreation, holiday and leisure. They can see themselves in a tropical setting, ‘getting away from it all’ with nothing around, all of which is the basis of tourism. Out of Urry’s (2011) two categorizations of tourist gaze, this type of marketing is directed at the ‘romantic gaze’ considering couples are usually alone, outside enjoying paradise. All of which conveys the message of undisturbed natural beauty and emphasizes the object's personal relationship.

7.3 Glimpses of Continuity and Change - Self/Otherhood

7.3.1 Activity

In much of previous stereotype advertising men are often shown as the active agent and women as passive or as a decorative role. Hay-Walters & Cassel (2016) conclude in their research that men were usually portrayed in more active roles than women. However in this

sample, in many images with both men and women in terms of the coding category 'activity' they were either both active or both passive. For example in one image of a family they are all active and playing in a waterfall. A gender stereotype can be seen however, considering it is the male (father) of the family that is in the front, 'guiding' his family through the water.

7.3.2 Inklusivity

Previous research (Hay-Walters 2016) concluded The DMO's website showed black tourists or locals (15 %) in tourist settings where they were enjoying tourist activities that white tourists would usually enjoy. In contrast to images with white tourists only, images with only black tourists never had more than two people in the same image. In this sample 6 (20.6 %) of the images of tourists showed black tourists, however 3 (50 %) of those images were together with at least one white tourist. 2 more images showed non-white tourists which means that 8 images in total had tourists that were not white. From the perspective of inclusivity, it could be said to be a glimpse of it as it is not only white people being portrayed as tourists. One of these images showed three black women as tourists without any men. This could be seen as a way to change the marketing, adapting it to the fact that women from all over the world are traveling independently. The tourist gaze does not only include white American couples anymore.

Moreover one of the women has short purple hair which can be seen to challenge existing gender stereotypes of women having long hair, leading to a new progressive advertising. Additionally in one of the images the 'activity' is running a marathon and the majority of the ones running are women. The image contains different ethnicities and the person that is the main focus of the photo is non-white, which further indicates a glimpse of inclusivity. That it was women of different ethnicities being the active agents in this image (running a marathon) is in contrast to Hay-Walters & Cassel's (2016) findings on women being passive and men being the active, standing and running and could indicate a change. However in regards to these findings, it is important to highlight that images with only men in them that were not included in this sample. By including these images might have given different results in terms of 'activity'.

In this sample there were no black women in service roles, for example massage therapists, cooks or housemaids which is in contrast to Wilkes (2008) findings. Black women were not constrained to one type of representation. They were represented as tourists, hip fashion

models and local dancers. Even though these representations included stereotype advertising and sexualization, they convey that black women are not conformed to one single role. However a larger sample might have given different results.

Even though the majority of couples in the images are white, there is also a mixed race couple in the sample, 2 black couples and one non-white couple. Based on Wilkes's (2008) findings, that there were no mixed race or black couples, thus this could be a glimpse towards change. Additionally, the images showing non-white tourists and white tourists together or locals outside service roles could be seen as a way of integrating the 'self' and the 'other' for a more inclusive marketing.

All of these glimpses of change could be seen as a slow transformation towards a new tourist gaze, that is not only directed towards American couples or Westerners enjoying spectacles and the exotic. The JTB acknowledges that tourists are a more diverse group, with different ethnicities, from all over the world and from different classes.

7.3.3 *Self/Other*

In terms of *activity*, *skin color* and *presence* there is a clear focus on the 'Self' rather than the 'Other', where the 'self' would be white tourists and the 'other' would be black or non-white locals or tourists. In the sample there were 29 images that showed tourists. 22 of them (75.9 %) of them showed only white tourists and 8 (27.5 %) of them showed non-white and black tourists. 4 of those 8 (50 %) photos including non-white and black tourists had at least one white tourist in them. Only 4 (13.8 %) of the images with tourists showed non-white and black tourists only. Only 3 photos (0.94 %) of all images in the whole sample showed local (host) women, which based on previous literature could be seen as the 'exotic other'. When they were shown it was in a stereotypical and sexualized manner as discussed above.

Furthermore when white couples are represented in resorts or luxurious settings it could be a way for the 'self' to be represented as civilized. The setting for black or local women however are in nature or with blurry houses, colonial buildings or a metal fence behind her, that could connote them being the binary opposite, 'uncivilized'. It could be said that these images are operating within binary opposition of white/other, civilized/uncivilized, Western/native. Furthermore, Othering privileges the white, heterosexual male. He becomes normalized as the 'self' (Jeffrey 2017). In this sense, as there is a continuation of Othering in

the tourism images, the white, heterosexual male is privileged. The male and tourist gaze are simultaneously being appealed to.

‘Activity’ is still focused on the ‘self’ and a common activity was getting married, riding a boat or other tourist activities, mainly showing white tourists. The ‘self’ (white tourist) is smiling in the images, signifying happiness and relaxation, showing that they are having a good time and enjoying their vacation. The exotic ‘other’ can still be found in the images of local women dancing in traditional clothes, smiling into the camera and entertaining the tourists. An important element in this image in terms of the exotic ‘other’ is that the dancers are located between the outlines of two pillars of what seems to be a colonial building. The process of Othering is classed, raced and gendered and the center has the power of identity formation (Jensen 2011). In this sense, appealing to the tourist gaze through stereotypical images of the ‘exotic other’ can exert power on Jamaican identity.

Considering everything in an image is consciously chosen, the eye contact with the viewer from the black, young women in traditional accessories and clothing is of interest. It sexualizes the ‘other’ and opens up a feeling of mystique and seductiveness. However based on the prominence of white female bodies in the images it could be said that white female sexuality is more emphasized than black. Sexualization in this sample is more focused on the ‘self’ which follows Wilkes (2008) findings of whose sexuality is emphasized, that being white female sexuality. It is a continuity in regards to sexualization of the female body in promoting Jamaica as a destination.

In Summary, there is continuity and change when it comes to the representation of women and gender relations in JTBs tourism images on their website. There are glimpses of change that are following Hay-Walters & Cassels (2016) findings, where different ethnicities are being represented as tourists. Different ethnicities being represented as tourists was not found in Wilkes’s (2008) findings. This could indicate a slow transformation. Activity in terms of gender relations in this sample further shows a glimpse of gender equality. However in terms of continuity, there is still a focus on the ‘self’, where white tourists are the active agents. Furthermore there is a continuity in using exotifying and sexualizing images of women. Gender and ethnic stereotypes are still being reproduced. White women are still the ones portrayed in the romance narrative and in general both white and black women are objectified and sexualized to promote Jamaica as a destination.

8. Concluding Discussion

This research has strived to analyze how tourism images on the JTB website represent women and gender relations to promote Jamaica as a travel destination. This type of advertising can reinforce stereotypes and influence gender ideologies. By examining these images it was found that the JTB still uses gender and ethnic stereotypes in the images on their website. Themes of sexualization and romance are still drawn upon and the ‘Self’ (white tourists) are still overrepresented.

In accordance with Wilkes’s (2008) findings there was an emphasis on white female sexuality rather than black female sexuality. One of the main findings was that of white heterosexual couples, conveying the message that white females are the legitimate recipients of pleasure, luxury and marriage. However black women were not only portrayed in service roles or in relation with white people. There were images found of black female tourists, both in groups and alone. In relation to Wilkes’s findings this could indicate a change in representation. The results in terms of ethnic representations were similar to those from Hay-Walters & Cassel (2016). However this research found a glimpse of change from their results in terms of representation of black and non-white tourists only. This study found that different ethnicities are included in the role of tourists. It should be noted that this research explored women’s physical appearance more in detail.

Some images show glimpses of inclusivity and change, with black women portrayed as tourists. However, they are still objectified and their female sexuality and bodies are used as focus, which shows that using the female body in advertising is deeply rooted. To further ‘modernize’ ethnic stereotypes in marketing (hence ‘modernizing’ Jamaica), hip clothing with traditional patterns is used on young black women, however the images are still objectifying. Some images indicate a sexualization of the black female body while other images desexualize them which make it difficult to draw a conclusion in regards to it. It can at least be said in regards to Wilkes (2008) findings that there seems to be a small change. Black women’s existence is not only dependent upon the white tourist’s existence as Wilkes (2008) discusses, they are portrayed as tourists themselves. In terms of stereotypes, black and non-white women face not only gender stereotype advertising but also ethnic stereotype advertising.

White females are represented within the romance narrative. The romance narrative does little in challenging patriarchal structures and reproduces the idea that a woman's self worth lies within finding a man and marriage for her is the ultimate goal. This gender stereotype and idea is reproduced in the images within the romance theme. The JTB is further using images that relate to the myth of the unrestrained (Echtner & Prasad 2003) with smiling locals and a tropical paradise for heterosexual couples to explore, appealing to the 'romantic gaze' where tourists can enjoy themselves in a tropical honeymoon setting. Appealing to the romantic gaze further perpetuates the romance narrative. Romance in this research, like Wilkes (2008) findings, is a key theme in the tourism images. This research further strengthens her findings in that white heterosexuality, marriage and luxury is conveyed as the norm and gives the idea that marriage is the ultimate goal for women. White women are represented within a regulatory frame, in a stereotypical way. However mixed couples and black couples are represented in this sample which is a difference and glimpse of change.

The findings from this research indicates that objectification and sexualization is still present in the JTB's way of promoting Jamaica as a destination. There are racial differences in how women are represented in the images however the theme they have in common is sexualization. The images in general convey the message that women should be thin and sexy while males are muscular and show physical strength. Resulting in that both black and white women are represented in a way that speaks to the male heterosexual gaze. Based on the images, the JTB is still promoting Jamaica as a preferred travel destination through the use of female sexuality and stereotypes in tourism images. If the depiction of gender stereotypes in advertising shows how women and men should be rather than what is a realistic portrayal, these tourism images are showing us that women belong in marriage with a man or they should be sexy, seductive, perhaps inviting a man, when they are alone. All of which serves the male, heterosexual gaze and women being male dependent.

Several of the images relate to the male gaze, tourist gaze and objectifying gaze at the same time which further shows the complexity of visual images and how different power structures are simultaneously working. There are underlying meanings in the photos that come from conscious decisions about what to include and how. The creators behind the photos seem to clearly know how to adjust the images so that they appeal to a certain gaze, giving power to the viewer and not the object. The sexual appeal is still present which is in accordance with

Wilkes (2008), Crăciunescu (2016) & Hay-Walters & Cassel (2016). They have all concluded that women's bodies are sexualized in research using postcolonial theory. This research has explored the representation of women in tourism images mainly using 'gaze' theory and found similar results. Power is exerted by the viewer onto the objects in the pictures. Considering it is directed towards the male and tourist gaze, power is exerted on women by the heterosexual, Western man..

For further research it would be of interest how people from different social groups or countries would interpret the photos. Photo elicitation could be used to see how people respond to the photos. To further explore how the JTB and TPM is of gendered nature it can be studied together with text in the website and text from brochures. As previous research has shown it is not only images that (re)produce stereotypes, but also language. As mentioned earlier in this research, there is a limited scope of material. A suggestion for future research could therefore be to use a larger sample from the website. Furthermore interviews with JTB or/and with agencies that produce the photos could be of interest to reveal more underlying meanings in the tourism images. Lastly, a gender-specific marketing is suggested.

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