

Tourism gender research: A critical accounting

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This paper seeks to rouse debate about the workings of tourism enquiry as a knowledge-generating system through its critical accounting of the sub-field of tourism gender research. This accounting includes a gender-aware bibliometric analysis of 466 journal papers published during 1985–2012, which categorises the sub-field's prevailing themes and methodologies and identifies its most prolific authors and popular journals. It contends that, despite three decades of study and a recent increase in papers, tourism gender research remains marginal to tourism enquiry, Citation disarticulated from wider feminist and gender-aware initiatives and lacks the critical mass of research leaders, publications, citations and multi-institutional networks, which characterise other tourism sub-fields. The paper identifies two possible futures for gender-aware tourism research: stagnation or ignition.

Keywords: Knowledge, Epistemology, Women, Feminism, Bibliometric Analysis

Introduction

Tourism is a constellation of human practices, behaviours and activities, which are gendered in their construction, presentation and consumption. Whilst it is constituted in various time- and context-specific ways, gender is a system of beliefs and practices that create or maintain a sense of difference between women and men (West & Zimmerman, 1987) and is produced, sustained, and renewed through an intricate arrangement of practices and shared understandings within a given society (Thompson & Armato, 2012). Since gender is embedded in the individual, interactional, and institutional dimensions of societies (Risman, 2004, 2009), women and men participate in and experience tourism differently as both consumers and producers (e.g. Byrne & Henshall, 2002; Pritchard, Morgan, Ateljevic, & Harris, 2007; Swain, 1995, 2005). Women have been travelling for centuries (e.g. McEwan, 2000) and are tourism consumers and decision-makers in many societies (e.g. Mottiar & Quinn, 2004). They are disproportionately important to the tourism industry everywhere and it in turn is critically important to many women worldwide. Tourism offers women an avenue for activism and leadership in community and political life and provides vital employment and entrepreneurial opportunities, so that two-thirds of the world's tourism workforce is female and they are almost twice as likely to be employers in tourism as in other industrial sectors (World Tourism Organization, 2011). However, tourism simultaneously shores up women's economic and sexual exploitation through abusive employment practices that increase the vulnerability of precarious workers, whilst the industry's gendered marketing rhetoric is well documented (Pritchard, 2014).

Although women are significant consumers and producers of tourism products and experiences, tourism enquiry has been surprisingly gender-blind and reluctant to engage gender-aware frameworks in comparison to cognate disciplines and subject fields (Westwood, Pritchard, & Morgan, 2000). The relationship between tourism and gender only received concerted attention in the mid1990s, when works including Kinnaid, Kothari, and Hall (1994), Pluss and Frei (1995) and the 1995 *Annals of Tourism Research* special issue edited by Margaret Swain began to build the sub-field (Ramos, Rey-Maqueira, & Tugores, 2002). It is appropriate some 20 years after these landmark works to review and contextualize the progress of tourism gender research as a basis for its future development. Academic renewal in any field of study must encompass a commitment to appraise which research it values and which it marginalizes and the extent to which any field addresses gender is a useful indicator of its epistemological maturity (Fox-Keller, 1995; Pritchard, 2006). This paper aims to present a critical accounting of the corpus of tourism gender research in order to provoke debate about its status and about the health of tourism research in general (Mair & Reid, 2007). We do this through a gender-aware bibliometric analysis of 466 articles. Bibliometric study is an established method of assessing research production in a specific field over a given time period and despite its flaws, gives a useful indication of the development of tourism gender research as a knowledgegenerating system (e.g. Diem & Wolter, 2012). The paper is structured to: contextualise the sub-field within tourism enquiry; identify its trajectory and influence; classify its most frequently occurring authors, topics, methodologies, and journals; highlight key omissions and avenues for future research; identify future scenarios for the sub-field's development.

Tourism research has witnessed remarkable growth and diversification over the last forty years (Li & Xu, 2014). Since the 1970s, the number of universities offering tourism-related studies has increased enormously, creating a subsequent rise in student and graduate numbers (Airey, 2008). Simultaneously, travel and tourism-related journals have grown from a dozen to over 240 titles across all languages (Hunt, Gao, & Xue, 2014). Whether such expansion evidences an inclusive and vibrant global tourism research community has been debated (see McKercher, 2005) and some scholars contend that essentially formulaic and reproductive research vastly outweighs that breaking new epistemological, conceptual or ethical ground (Hall, 2011; Page, 2005). Much of tourism's growth has been in vocationally-oriented business and management schools, which value instrumental, business-facing research (Hall, Williams, & Lew, 2014) framed by the values of scientism, capitalism, neoliberalism, individualism and materialism (Airey, 2008). As a result, tourism scholarship continues to be governed by the technically useful imperatives of the 'scientific-positivistic paradigms' (Xiao & Smith, 2006, p. 503) and accusations of a theoretical and critical deficit in the field remain valid (Page, 2005).

There is now a sizeable body of such 'scholarship on the scholarship' of tourism knowledge, which can be ordered into five categories: journal ratings, rankings and citation analyses; source knowledge and seminal writings; collaboration/network mapping; journal editor contemplations; examinations of the scope of tourism research, including the content, visibility, naming, and indexing of journals (see Hunt et al., 2014). A small fraction of this scholarship is reflexive and critical, describing how different paradigms and disciplinary and institutional trends and academic generational change have influenced the field's development (see Ren, Pritchard, & Morgan, 2010). However, the majority of commentaries are gender-blind analyses of the development, volume and quality of tourism research. The tourism academy has been exceptionally reluctant to engage in introspective gender—aware critique, in contrast to disciplines across the humanities (e.g. Berg, 2002; Wylie, 2007), natural sciences (e.g. Conley & Stadmark, 2012; Van Arensbergen, Van der Weijden, & Van den Besselaar, 2013) and management sciences (e.g. Özbilgin, 2010). For instance, whilst tourism's leading scholars, journals and institutions have been 'ranked' (Law, Leung, & Buhalis, 2010; Law, Ye, Chen, & Leung, 2009; Zhao & Ritchie, 2006), the academy barely recognises the systemic inequalities that underprop men's overwhelming dominance of its leadership positions.

Any critical accounting of tourism gender research must scrutinize the systems of knowledge production, which shape the broader tourism field and thus its outputs as 'the market of ideas... is clearly affected by gatekeepers' (Hall et al., 2014, p. 10). It is particularly important to question 'who controls what, how hierarchies are built, maintained and changed and how equity occurs' (Swain, 2004, p. 102). Scholars have identified the concentration of key leadership positions such as journal editorships in western institutions and knowledge traditions and remarked of tourism research: 'unless [its]... voice can be spoken in English, it is likely not to be heard' (Hall et al., 2014, p. 10). Yet, the overwhelmingly male voice of tourism's gatekeepers is less remarked upon, perhaps because as men, most senior figures do not even recognise that their experiences are gendered and the masculine remains the norm, the same, the self, hidden in full view, against which all others are measured (Kimmel, 1996).

This lack of gender-aware reflexivity skews analyses of knowledge production as: 'all of what I am affects the problems I see and the power dynamics I experience' (Swain, 2004, p. 102). It is not surprising that gender-aware and feminist tourism scholars feel isolated in academic collectives, which are steeped in post-positivist discourses and framed by patriarchal structures (Small, Harris, Wilson, & Ateljevic, 2011). As one female academic recounts: 'When I talk to my department... about issues of gender I'm automatically labelled as a feminist... When he talks about any general topic, he actually talks about it from a very masculine point of view... his discourse is normalised, mine is not' (cited in Tribe, 2010, p. 15). Clearly, in tourism: 'Theorising patriarchy is a minority interest'... detrimental to one's career... tainted with the politics of feminism, while the biases in ...knowledge due to the politics of masculinism go largely unnoticed' (Oakley, 2006, p. 19). Academic leadership carries with it power to circumscribe; to slant; to reify; to elevate some issues and to deprecate others; to rule in certain ways of talking and to rule out and restrict others, normalising how we comprehend a research field. There are serious implications for what we research when some senior male academics judge the canon of tourism knowledge complete, with the exception of 'minority' issues such as gender (cited in Tribe, 2010). Furthermore, if doctoral studies are barometers of a field's epistemological wellbeing, it is concerning when such tourism programmes eschew gender because grant reviewers and funders dismiss it as a serious topic (Botterill, Gale, & Haven, 2003; Meyer-Arendt & Justice, 2002).

Evidently, a male-dominated gender-blind academic elite presents a challenge to gender-aware study as 'the canon of knowledge is heavily contingent on the power of those who speak for tourism...' (Tribe, 2006, p. 376). Yet, organisations such as the International Academy for the Study of Tourism have a heavily male membership, as do the professoriates and decision-making committees of many leading tourism schools (Pritchard, 2014). Aitchison (2001)

found the editorial boards of tourism's leading journals to be overwhelming dominated by men, whilst none addressed gender issues in their editorial policies or published any equal opportunities information. Pritchard & Morgan's follow-up 2007 study found little evidence of progress in this regard and noted that men constitute 89% and 84% of the editorial boards of its two leading journals, *Annals of Tourism Research* and *Tourism Management*.

In part, the situation in tourism mirrors global higher education's structural gender inequalities, where glass ceilings and maternal walls are reflected in a serious pay gap and women's under-representation in tenured and senior positions and on committees and recruitment panels and as journal editors and research grant principal investigators (Figueroa-Domecq, Segovia-Pérez, & Nordbø, 2014; Morley, 2014; Parr, 2014; Segovia-Pérez, Figueroa-Domecq, & Fuentes, 2014). Female students now outnumber male students in two out of every three countries (Morley, 2014), and in European business and management and social science schools constitute the majority of students (55%) and graduates (59%) and half of all PhD students and faculty staff, but this numerical dominance decreases with every step up the academic ladder (European Commission, 2012). Notwithstanding decades of socio-economic change, diversity initiatives and gender equality legislation, women occupy just 20% of senior higher education management and academic leadership positions (Morley, 2014) and have failed to achieve parity with men anywhere (Wojtas, 2006). Troublingly, however, it seems that the tourism field has an unhealthier gender profile than the sector average. In the United Kingdom (UK) for example, 78% of professors across all disciplines are men (Parr, 2014), but analysis of its 48 tourism professors indicates that 87.5% are men. This gives the field a more gendered professorial profile than science, technology, engineering and mathematics (84%) in the UK (Ratcliffe & Shaw, 2014).

Such a male-dominated academic elite has major implications for gender-aware tourism research since a field's senior scholars are its knowledge gatekeepers – determining its academic discourses and establishing the parameters in which its academics are encouraged to work (Spender, 1981; Van den Brink, 2010). In tourism it is applied/business concerns that predominate and the economic reigns supremely over the cultural, so that tourism output remains largely dedicated to management, strategy, economy, marketing and economics (Hall et al., 2014). A keyword search of Scopus titles, abstracts and keywords for the period 1973–2013 reveals the top five key terms and concepts to be: 'system' (5497), 'destination' (5423), 'community' (4162), 'culture' (2365), and 'heritage' (2425). Concepts that are significant in the wider social sciences such as 'globalisation', 'neoliberalism' and 'postcolonialism' have very little traction in tourism studies, whilst gender appears "as a relatively marginal topic in tourism journals" (Hall et al., 2014, p. 15). Such analyses contextualise the relative size of gender-related study within tourism journals and are a valuable platform from which to examine the trajectory and topography of the sub-field.

Methods

This paper provides a critical accounting of tourism gender research to encourage much-needed debate. We attempt this by presenting a gender-aware bibliometric analysis in which the corpus of tourism gender research is mapped to inform future development. Bibliometric study is an established methodology for studying a knowledge-generating system as it assesses research production in a specific field over a given time period (e.g. Barrios, Borrego, Vilagínés, Ollé, & Somoza, 2008; Castillo & Carretón, 2010; Diem & Wolter, 2012; Ikpaahindi, 1985; Koehler et al., 2000; Pritchard, 1969; Selva, Sahagún, & Pallarés, 2011). Whilst there are no bibliometric analyses of tourism gender research, the method has been used in the field to assess research methods (Palmer, Sesé, & Montaña, 2005), leading authors and journals (Chou & Tseng, 2010; Hall, 2011) and key terms and concepts (Hall et al., 2014). Moreover, it has been used extensively in the wider social sciences and in economics and business management to analyze the relationships between gender and research performance and productivity (e.g. Cikara, Rudman, & Fiske, 2012; García-Ramon & Caballe, 1998; Koehler et al., 2000; Mauleón, Bordons, & Oppenheim, 2008; Pezzoni, Sterzi, & Lissoni, 2012; Silva, Tavares, & Pereira, 2010; Tiew, 2006; Webster, 2001).

Our study adopts an established bibliometric research design, which analyses only those scholarly articles that are published in indexed journals and also excludes books, conference papers and book reviews (see Bordons, Morillo, Fernandez, & Gomez, 2003; Palmer et al., 2005; Ramos et al., 2002; Selva et al., 2011). It thus omits any business/industry/development agency-related research classified as grey literature, thereby understating the contribution of some researchers, who have played a significant role in the development of the sub-field. The methodology entailed: selecting databases from which to retrieve papers for analysis; identifying keywords for the search criteria; defining and coding the variables to be analysed in each paper; classifying the methodologies and topics; identifying the journals and authors. The databases selected were Scopus and the ISI Web of Knowledge (WoK) as the leading international databases for tourism publications (Hall, 2011). Both, however, have limitations, notably

their incomplete coverage of some disciplines and journals and of non-English sources. Scopus is more comprehensive than WoK but nonetheless only indexes less than half of all tourism-related journals.

A further limitation of any bibliometric analysis is the accuracy of the chosen keywords; to counter this, we analysed 25 randomly chosen papers on gender and tourism and identified 'gender', 'women', 'tourism' and 'hotel' as the most frequent keywords. These were then applied to searches in Scopus and WoK for the timeframe 1985–2012. In Scopus, all papers containing these words in the title, keywords or abstract were selected, resulting in 466 papers. Since this level of analysis was not possible in WoK, papers containing these words anywhere in the text were included, resulting in 306 papers. Next these papers' abstracts were read to confirm their relevance to the study. Since the two databases overlap the next step was to export the lists using Refworks software to eliminate duplication. This, together with a third review of the papers, reduced these 772 papers to 466.

With the data set defined, each paper was coded according to variables selected to establish tourism gender research's trajectory and influence and its most prolific authors. As is common practice in bibliometric studies (see Selva et al., 2011; Villacé-Molinero, Pritchard, & Morgan, 2014), the names of the first three authors (if appropriate) were coded and we noted the number of citations received by each paper as listed in Scopus or WoK to establish its influence (where papers were listed in both, the Scopus figure was used). Each journal's subject and its impact factor were also identified, as defined by the SCImago Journal Rank (SJR) indicator since this covers all the journals listed in WoK and the vast majority of those in Scopus. Moreover, this indicator is a well-used source of reference in bibliometrics and in determining journal ranking as it is openly accessible, is a large database and has an extensive citation listing (Hall, 2011). In order to scope the sub-field's networks, we also included data on: institutional affiliation and collaborations; the language of publication; the geographical location of fieldwork.

Finally, the date, title, subject and methodology of each paper were identified to establish the sub-field's trajectory and topography. Quantitative techniques were classified according to the method used by Palmer et al. (2005), whilst qualitative methodologies and paper subject areas were assigned to 34 methodology categories and 67 subject categories determined by a preliminary study of 60 randomly selected papers. Both methodologies and subjects were aggregated into higher-level categories for subsequent statistical analysis. The sample of 60 papers was separately coded by three authors and jointly discussed to ensure consistency and eliminate discrepancies (see Selva et al., 2011). These authors then separately coded 95/96 papers each, focusing on their methodology and subject; they concurred in over 90% of the cases and where they did not agree, new subject codes were created. Data analysis was performed with SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Science) software for Windows 20.0 and descriptive statistics calculated for the variables studied.

A bibliometric analysis of tourism gender research

Trajectory and influence

The first papers on tourism and gender were written in the 1980s and the general trajectory has been upward with some distinct peaks, as in 1995 with the *Annals of Tourism Research* special issue. Growth has been steady since 2005, hitting a 2010 high point of 49 papers in the journals listed in the two databases (Figure 1). The 466 papers appear in a total of 228 journals, over half (236) in hospitality, leisure, sport and tourism journals. In contrast, only 35 papers (7.5%) appear in gender/women's studies journals, whilst 7.1% appear in geography and 5.8% in environmental studies journals. The journal publishing the largest number of articles is *Annals of Tourism Research* (47 papers or 10.1%), followed by *Tourism Management* (29 papers or 6.2%). Table 1 shows the top ten journals for tourism and gender papers (accounting for 34.3%). Of those women's/gender studies journals publishing papers on gender and tourism, 31.4% appear in *Gender, Place and Culture* and *Signs* (both publishing seven papers) and *Gender and Society* (publishing four). The SJR indicator is higher among the journals specialising in tourism than among gender studies journals, although the indicator for *Gender and Society* (1.745) is comparable to those for *Annals of Tourism Research* (1.809) and *Tourism Management* (2.127). Tourism and gender papers register very few citations so that 38.8% received

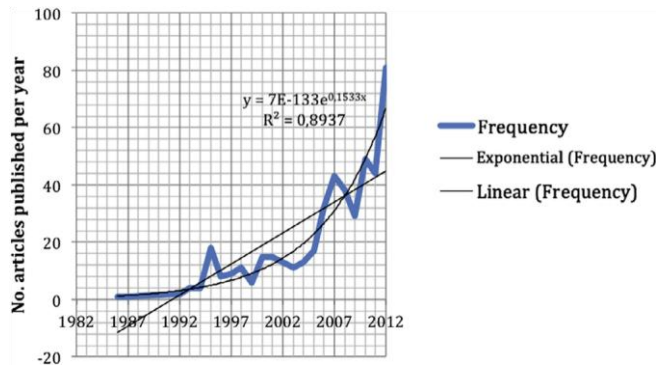


Fig. 1. Graph 1: The trajectory of tourism gender research, 1985–2012.

Table 1
Top ten journals for tourism and gender research, ranked.

	Journal	No. of papers	% of all papers	SJR indicator
1	Annals of Tourism Research	48	12	1.809
2	Tourism Management	26	6.5	2.127
3	Leisure Studies	14	3.5	0.411
4	Journal of Travel Research	12	3	1.62
5	Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research	11	2.8	0.322
6	Tourism	9	2.3	0.147
7	Tourism Economics	9	2.3	0.642
8	International Journal of Hospitality Management	8	2	1.535
9	Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing	7	2	0.544
10	Tourist Studies	7	1.8	0.316
	Total	152	38.2	–

no citations in WoK or Scopus listed journals, while 30.7% received one to five citations and 11.1% six to ten.

Authorship and location

Almost half (48.9%) of the papers on tourism and gender are singled authored and few authors have a substantial catalogue of papers, the most prolific being: Gibson, H. (7); Heimtun, B. (5); Morgan, N. J. (5); Pritchard, A. (5); Waitt, G. (5); Chang, J. (4); Brandth, B. (4); Nunkoo, R. (4). Less than a fifth (17.8%) of papers involve authors from more than one institution and, as in other tourism sub-fields, universities in Europe (34.8%), North America (33.3%) and Oceania (12.2%) dominate research. In Europe, universities in northern and central countries represent 24.7% of papers and those in the Mediterranean arc of Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey and Cyprus account for 10.1%. Very few papers are authored in developing countries, although many authors conduct their fieldwork in such countries; for example, 20.8% of all tourism and gender fieldwork is conducted in Asia. Thus, Thailand hosts 3% of the fieldwork but Thai universities only generate 0.6% of the studies. Europe (29.2%) and North America (16.1%) host the majority of the fieldwork and there is a relationship between the most scientifically prolific countries and countries hosting fieldwork so that the United States (US) (12%), the UK (5.8%), Australia (5.6%), China (5.6%) and Spain (5.4%) head the list of countries hosting empirical studies. More detailed country-by-country analysis reveals that US universities account for more research on tourism and gender than academic institutions in any other country (28.3%) followed by the UK (11.6%), Australia (9.4%), Canada (4.9%) and Spain (4.9%).

Topics and methodologies

The most popular topics of tourism gender research ranked by order of importance are shown in Table 2 and illustrated in the word cloud (Figure 2). There are four main categories: 46.5% of papers deal with gendered tourists (tourist/consumer behaviour at 28.5% and product typologies (notably medical and cosmetic tourism) at 17.6%); 31.6%

of papers deal with gendered hosts (14.6% on development and sustainability and 17% on entrepreneurship, residents, and sex tourism); 12.6% of papers focus on gendered labour (wage discrimination and occupational segregation, instability and development, managerial style and recruitment and sexual harassment); and 9.7% on theory-building and research structures. Deeper analysis reveals that sex tourism appears in three of the four main categories: demand-side sex tourism in gendered tourists; the impact of sex tourism in gendered hosts; sexual harassment in gendered employment. At this most detailed level, relationships between tourism, gender and development (10.3%), sex tourism (5.8%), entrepreneurship (5.2%), consumer behaviour (5.2%) and decision-making processes (4.1%) are the most studied individual topics.

Table 3 illustrates the methodologies used in tourism gender studies, which were analysed both at an aggregate level and in terms of specific techniques used. Quantitative methodologies dominate empirical studies, being deployed in 40.1% of papers – particularly in studies of tourist behaviour, which often call for methods able to quantify tourists' purchasing behaviour. Qualitative methods are used in 30.7% of studies, reflecting the fact that gender research often requires non-numerical data to address complex and sensitive issues in hard-to-access groups. The remaining papers are comprised of: theoretical studies and reviews building the sub-field's theoretical base (19.5%); mixed methods approaches (5.2%) and experimental studies (4.5%). At a more detailed level, analysis shows that discussion/focus groups and interviews are the most popular qualitative methods (28.1%), whilst the

Table 2
Tourism gender research topics, ranked.

Research Topic	No. of papers	% of papers
Gendered tourists	215	46.1
Consumer behaviour, decision-making & motivation	62	13.4
Sex/romance tourism	29	6.2
Rural tourism & ecotourism	27	5.8
Perceptions of tourism destination & product images	23	4.9
Market segmentation & marketing/designing for women	23	4.9
Risk perception	13	2.8
Medical, cosmetic & reproductive tourism	12	2.5
Gay, lesbian & transsexual tourism	11	2.4
Tourist typologies	9	1.9
Tourist experiences	6	1.3
Gendered hosts	123	26.4
Tourism, gender & development	58	12.4
Residents' attitudes & perceptions	30	6.4
Sex tourism, sexual violence & exploitation	25	3.4
Entrepreneurship	24	5.2
Ethics & sustainability	10	2.1
Gendered labour	59	12.6
Gender discrimination & occupational segregation	34	7.3
Employment development & female career paths	13	2.7
Managerial styles & recruitment processes	10	2.1
Sexual harassment	2	0.4
Theory, research & education	45	9.7
Tourism studies	15	3.2
Tourism, gender & theory	14	3
Literature reviews	6	1.3
Academic leadership	4	0.9
Tourism education	4	0.9
The impact of gender in tourism	2	0.4
Total	466	100

principal and component analysis (7.7%); t-test, P of Pearson, etc. (3.9%); ANOVA (3.6%) and linear regression models (3.1%).

Establishing patterns

Analysis was conducted to measure inter-variable relationships and to assess the respective degree of association, with independent chi-square testing, coefficients of association and mean squares, compared by the analysis of variance (ANOVA) F-test. Taking each to be the dependent or independent variable depending on the direction of the association sought, the variables (see sections “Trajectory and influence, Authorship and location, Topics and methodologies” above) were grouped by pairs for five bivariate analyses. In the first analyses, research topic was the dependent variable, while methodology, location of fieldwork and university location were the independent variables. In the second analysis journal name and category were the dependent variables and research topic, methodology, location of fieldwork and university location the independent variables. The dependent variables in the third analysis were university location, institutional collaboration and location of fieldwork, while research topic and methodology were the independent variables. In the fourth analysis, the number of authors was the dependent variable and the number of citations, research topic, and methodology the independent variables. The fifth analysis focused on the relationship between the number of citations and research topic, methodology, journal name, journal category, institutional collaboration, location of fieldwork and university location.

These analyses do not identify any statistically significant associations among the variables although they do reveal certain patterns. Most of the papers published in hospitality, leisure, sport and tourism journals use quantitative methodology, whereas studies published in gender/women’s studies journals employ a qualitative methodology (especially discussion/focus groups, interviews and case studies). The most frequent research topics in hospitality, leisure, sport and tourism journals are gendered tourists/tourist behaviour and gendered labour; especially wage discrimination and occupational segregation. US universities dominate tourism gender research published in *Annals of Tourism Research* (18 of the 47 papers), whilst UK universities dominate in *Tourism Management*. No significant relationships were found between research topics and other variables, but a logical association was identified between research topic and methodology. Research on tourist behaviour and residents tends to employ quantitative methodologies, whilst research on sex tourism and development and sustainability tends to use qualitative techniques. Detailed analysis of the methodologies employed in the papers and the number of authors reveals that quantitative studies involving complex statistical analyses have a mean of two authors, while qualitative, experimental and review studies are usually single authored.

A critical accounting of tourism gender research

Mapping the topography of tourism gender research

The bibliometric analysis demonstrates that four themes dominate tourism gender research. The first theme is gendered consumption and the ways in which female and male travel differs qualitatively and involves different needs and expectations (e.g. Dole, 2002). Perhaps this heavy focus on market-oriented studies of women as consumers reflects tourism’s industry-facing agenda and might also explain the limited theoretical and methodological dialogue with gender/women’s studies (see section “Gender-aware/feminist epistemologies and methodologies”). The second theme is the gendered impact of tourism in host communities, recognizing that tourism modifies local cultural practice in ways that affect men and women differently. This area encompasses a distinctive research focus on the potential tourism holds for women’s activism and leadership in community and political life and for women’s entrepreneurship, particularly in rural areas (e.g. McGehee, Kim, & Jennings, 2007; Petrzalka, Krannich, Brehm, & Koons, 2005; Tugores, 2008). The third research theme explores gendered labour and sexist work practices (e.g. Jordan, 1997; Muñoz-Bullón, 2009; Skalte, 2007). This includes studies of the gender pay gap, vertical and horizontal gender segregation, abusive employment practices and sexual harassment (e.g. Guerrier & Adib, 2000; Poulson, 2007; Segovia-Pérez et al., 2014), gendered technology engagement (e.g. Figueroa-Domecq et al., 2014) and gendered tourism marketing and representation (e.g. Pritchard & Morgan, 2000). Cross-cutting these three themes, there is a sizable literature on the relationships between tourism and the global sex trade (e.g. Pope, 2005; Pruitt & LaFont, 1995). Finally, there is a small literature on theory-building and knowledge structures in gender tourism research (e.g. Aitchison, 2001, 2006).

The bibliometric analysis reveals tourism gender research to be marginal in its own field of tourism enquiry (with 466 papers) and disarticulated from feminist and gender-aware scholarship elsewhere. Of concern is that a high percentage (38.8%) of tourism and gender papers have no citations in WoK or Scopus-listed journals, whilst the average for business, economics and the social sciences is between 6.2 and 4.6 citations (Anon, 2011). Citation rates are now a key indicator of impactful scholarship, which is increasingly valued by institutional managers and are thus hugely significant for academics seeking appointments, tenure or promotion; as Law et al. (2010, p. 736), comment, academics now live in a performance culture which is moving from one of “publish or perish” to “be cited or vanish.” This has serious consequences for tourism gender research on many levels, especially as research leaders advise junior colleagues to work in sub-fields with high citation rates (Law et al., 2009). This could further narrow tourism’s field of enquiry as early career researchers chase the ‘citation prize’ and shun already under-served sub-fields.

At the same time, the sub-field lacks a critical mass of standard-bearers and international, multidisciplinary networks. Only five authors have published five or more papers in our analysis of indexed journals and less than a fifth of papers resulted from multi-institutional collaboration, identified as a vital characteristic of healthy social science development (Corley & Sabharwal, 2010). Neither does tourism gender research demonstrate vibrant inter-disciplinary interchange. Less than 10% of papers on tourism and gender appear in gender/women’s studies journals, suggesting that there is little dialogue between gender researchers in tourism and those in the wider social sciences, to the detriment of the sub-field’s theoretical and epistemological development. Finally, like much tourism scholarship (Law et al., 2010), gender-aware research is heavily Anglo-centric as English-speaking countries have been the international leaders in the sub-field over the period 1985–2012. The US, UK, Australia and Canada together account for 58.5% of all studies, although Spain and China sit in fifth and sixth positions, with 4.9% and 3.9% of publications respectively – and significantly most of these have appeared since 2007. This suggests a shifting of influence away from the Anglo world, although there remains much work to do to build gender research capacity elsewhere in less research-intensive countries and institutions worldwide and to incorporate multiple worlds and knowledge traditions into the canon of tourism knowledge (Fox, 2006; Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2011).

Gender-aware/feminist epistemologies and methodologies

The bibliometric analysis reveals that quantitative methodologies dominate empirical studies and that the majority of papers (51%) are published in hospitality, leisure, sport and tourism journals, most of which favour quantitative studies; few papers (7.5%) are published in gender/women’s studies, which favour qualitative methodologies. This reflects the epistemological dominance of post/positivism in tourism and of interpretivism and critical perspectives in gender/women’s studies (Heimtun & Morgan, 2012). Explicit support for more qualitative tourism gender studies is needed, especially in view of the growing pressure to publish in journals with the highest impact factors, which tend to favour quantitative research (Law et al., 2009). If we are to build tourism knowledge that is holistic and inclusive, we must question hegemonic views of what are ‘legitimate’ and ‘appropriate’ methodologies and research topics.

There has been much debate over the so-called ‘quantitative–qualitative feminist divide’, where feminists have regarded quantitative methods as tainted with ‘androcentric bias,’ developed from a positivist male academy (Maynard & Purvis, 1994). Risman, Sprague, and Howard (1993, p. 608) argue that debate over the supremacy of one methodology over another clouds focus and reduces analytical richness: “the question must determine the methodology and... no one method is a priori more feminist than another. Quantitative feminists are not necessarily too elitist, careerist or oppressed to use more radical techniques. These techniques may simply be inappropriate to the question being asked.

Some feminist questions demand quantitative answers.” The theoretical development of the sub-field of gender and tourism would benefit from a multidisciplinary approach (psychological, sociological and economic), combining different knowledge traditions and theoretical and methodological perspectives. Given the complexity of gender research, mixed methods (deployed in less than 5% of the papers) could be used to greater effect to add meaningful and deeper insights.

Feminist and gender-aware scholarship offers alternative ways of doing and knowing tourism research that could challenge how it is performed, created and disseminated and fundamentally reshape its knowledge canon. Feminism offers: openings for new questions, theories and methods; possibilities of looking anew at tourism’s power structures and networks; opportunities to build a reflexive and reflective knowledge catalogue; the capacity to promote

transformative research with marginalized and subaltern groups (Kolmar & Bartkowski, 2013). Arguably, extant tourism knowledge is partial and flawed, and much of it eschews theoretical engagement in favour of a “largely discredited positivist correspondence of truth theory... that is almost entirely rejected by the social sciences” (Botterill, 2007, pp.124–125). These dominant knowledge practices disadvantage feminist modes of enquiry and work to deny women epistemic authority (Lessem & Shieffer, 2010). Yet, employing a gender-aware framework can improve methodological design, whilst feminism’s focus on the situated knower offers a dynamic objectivity rather than a static detachment, which severs the subject from the object (Lessem & Shieffer, 2010).

Not all gender-related study does or should focus on women and not all necessitates a feminist position but, given feminism’s commitment to social critique, it has much to offer tourism enquiry as a set of ideologies which combine activism and scholarship to seek transformation. One of feminism’s features is its resistance to definition. As a complex and heterogeneous set of epistemologies and critiques of masculinist knowledge traditions, feminism (more accurately feminisms) has been mapped as three waves of thinking – feminist empiricism, standpoint feminism and post-structural feminism (Stanley & Wise, 2002). Although critiqued as a reflection of American and European feminism, which overlooks critical development between the so-called waves (Tarrant, 2006), this conceptualisation is useful in charting the development of feminism as an academic enterprise (Thompson & Armato, 2012).

The first wave – feminist empiricism or liberal feminism – focused on women’s legal and labour rights and suffrage and sprang from late 19th century urban industrialism and liberal politics. Tourism researchers engaging in feminist empiricism have scrutinized tourism participation and employment to highlight and address gender inequality (Heimtun & Morgan, 2012). Often termed the ‘add women and stir’ approach, it has been critiqued for failing to challenge the underlying structures permeating masculinist domination (Harding, 1993). Second wave or standpoint feminism built on the civil rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s and 1970s, which promoted the growing self-consciousness of minority groups worldwide (Kolmar & Bartkowski, 2013). These feminists assume different social ‘standpoints’ such as class (Marxist feminism), class and sexuality (socialist feminism), sexuality (radical feminism) or race (Black feminism) to challenge gendered power relations. Standpoint tourism researchers endeavour to critique society by giving voice to disempowered people and thereby initiate new discourses (Harding, 1993). Third wave or poststructuralist feminism unfolded in the mid-1990s and, shaped by post-colonialism and postmodernism, does not locate patriarchal power relations in the social structures of class, sexuality and race, but in ‘performative constructs’ which are produced by political, ideological and cultural systems (Butler, 1993). Poststructuralist feminism has sought to deconstruct the masculinised language and practice of tourism and to identify the cultural workings of gender power relations (e.g. Fullagar, 2002).

Feminist theory has exerted significant influence across the humanities, social sciences and even the natural sciences, where feminists have pioneered much reinterpretation and opened up new lines of enquiry (Fox-Keller, 1995). It has challenged how we think about gender and society and redressed the absence of women in our histories, cultures and ideologies; it has explored how we structure and value our social domains and the respective roles and positions of women within them; it has challenged our epistemological and methodological prescriptions, which determine what and how we research (Wylie, 2007). For example, feminism’s focus on work and public spaces has demonstrated that gender is a meaningful organizing principle in the labour market, influencing career trajectories and working lives and shaping places and patterns of consumption (Kolmar & Bartkowski, 2013).

Ecofeminism’s focus on holistically enhancing connections with the planet is a useful paradigm for guiding the social and institutional transformation required to create sustainable societies (Birkeland, 1995; Nightingale, 2006; Norton, 2012) and holds much potential for tourism. Likewise, feminists working in environmental and community studies and social work have considered the barriers facing female participation in politics and environmentalism (Maleta, 2011) and examined how the transformation of gendered resource decision-making creates livelihoods for women and ameliorates their household and community positions (Besthorn & McMillen, 2002; Radel, 2012). All these, and other areas, are potential spheres of enquiry and collaboration for tourism research and yet barely register in its knowledge canon, whilst approaches such as queer theory, post-colonial feminism, transgender politics, womanism (with its focus on racial inequalities) and cyber-feminism (see Kolmar & Bartkowski, 2013) have no profile in the field.

Tourism gender research future scenarios

The bibliometric analysis reveals an upward trajectory in the volume of tourism gender research with some distinct peaks, as with the *Annals of Tourism Research* (1995) and *Tourist Studies* (2006) special issues, hitting a 2010 high point of 49 papers (Fig. 1). Significantly, there has been considerable recent growth, rising from 43 papers in 2007 to 81 in 2012 (an 88% increase). However, the overall numbers of papers published on tourism and gender in indexed journals since 1985 remains small (466), by comparison with those on topics such as destinations, (4992), community

(4053) or ecotourism (2919) published in the same period (Hall et al., 2014). Yet, since gender is entwined in every facet of tourism, gender research should encompass every tourism space, experience and embodied encounter – and not just those involving women since tourism analyses of masculinities are sadly lacking (Thurnell-Read & Casey, 2014).

There is an urgent requirement to broaden and deepen tourism gender research as we must know more about existing lines of enquiry and open up new vistas around gendered tourism behaviours, embodiments and experiences and discrimination in consumption, production and education. These are important topics, both to women and to destinations seeking to improve their competitive positions, especially as tourism is vital to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals of employment and poverty reduction and gender and women’s empowerment (World Tourism Organization, 2011). The importance of women as tourism consumers is reflected in the fact that almost a fifth of papers focus on consumer behaviour and marketing and designing tourism products for women (Table 2). However as women’s social, political and economic roles have not advanced in parallel worldwide and not all societies have the same tourist consumption culture (Borja, Casanovas, & Bosch, 2002; Segovia-Pérez & Figueroa-Domecq., 2014), there remains a pressing need to expand our understanding of women as consumers and producers globally, especially in relation to gender discrimination. The sexual harassment of both female employees and tourists also remains underserved by the literature; the former has attracted some attention but the latter is a totally neglected area of study, even though it is a pervasive and global phenomenon.

Tourism studies is witnessing slow cross-pollination with the wider humanities and social sciences (Williams, Hall, & Lew, 2014), a trend that could create more focus on how power, patriarchy, hegemony and globalization intersect with gender in tourism and encourage dialogues with queer theory, post-colonialism, etc. The field certainly needs scholarship that deconstructs how gender overlaps with other vectors of oppression such as race, ethnicity, dis/ability, class, age, etc. and this would intensify with greater cross-disciplinary exchanges. Table 4 presents two competing scenarios for tourism gender research; the first imagining a future of take-off and expansion and the second one of stagnation and continued marginalization. In the first scenario, cross-disciplinary, international collaborations will open up new vistas for gender-aware research and the gaps in tourism’s knowledge canon are addressed, enriching and broadening tourism’s methodological base. As its early career researchers progress, the improving relative strength and importance of the sub-field will drive citations, funding success and leadership opportunities; tourism knowledge engages with wider social science agenda. In the second scenario, while the absolute number of gender papers increases as tourism enquiry itself expands, performance measures such as citation rates will not improve, this in turn will negatively impact on the careers of gender-focused researchers. Gender-aware and feminist

Table 4

Two potential scenarios for tourism gender research.

Gender-ignition	Gender-stagnation
Feminist/gender-aware epistemologies open up new research questions, theories & methods	Failure to engage feminist/gender-aware epistemologies; scholarship remains focused on women and consumption
Number of gender research leaders & networks expand (editorial boards, keynote panels, professoriate etc.)	Pressure to research in well-cited business-facing tourism sub-fields further marginalizes gender
Numbers of papers & citations as a proportion of the tourism field expand; citations outside tourism grow	Citation rates stagnate as funding mechanisms drive social critique and gender research to the margins
Gender recognized as a research leadership issue in tourism enquiry	Tourism’s research leaders continue to be ‘gender-blind’
Gender-aware approaches mainstream in all tourism enquiry/topics; no longer seen as a ‘woman’s issue’	Gender continues to be regarded as a minority issue; remains constructed as women’s work and research
Gender research capacity/leadership expands in less economically developed countries	Less developed countries continue to be case studies in research but not principal investigators
Collaborations across institutions, disciplines and countries expand	A small number of prolific researchers continue to work in ‘silos’

scholarship will be driven further to tourism’s margins as the higher education sector is ever more sharply shaped by governmental funding regimes closely linked to business prerogatives; gender will remain a minority, women’s issue and tourism’s academic hierarchies will continue to be a genderblind, unrepresentative elite. Tourism as a field narrows its focus and limits its methodological base.

Conclusion

This paper has contributed to understanding of tourism as a knowledge-generating system through its critical accounting of tourism gender research. Its contextualization of the sub-field within tourism enquiry was followed by a

gender-aware bibliometric analysis that identified its trajectory and influence and classified its topics and methodologies and most prolific authors in indexed journals, before two future scenarios for tourism gender research were presented. Like all studies, the paper has limitations. Its major weakness is the partial nature of the bibliometric method, due to its focus on indexed journals and its exclusion of books, book chapters and grey literature and thus its underestimation of some researchers' significant contributions to tourism gender research. Despite these flaws, the paper provides a benchmark for future bibliometric studies of tourism gender research and is of value to researchers seeking to contextualise the sub-field's trajectory and impact. The paper has furnished further evidence for those who critique the structures of knowledge production that shape the tourism academy and determine the "power of those who speak for tourism" (Tribe, 2006, p. 376). It also suggests that tourism's failure to develop a dynamic and networked community of gender researchers has created a body of knowledge, which remains governed by an androcentric worldview (Lessem & Shieffer, 2010) and a tourism gender sub-field, which is characterised by lone researchers working within their own, largely western institutions.

The greater mainstreaming of gender-aware research (scenario one) is largely contingent on the development of a more gender-balanced senior tourism academy. The under-representation of women in research leadership positions is not unique to tourism, but the field appears especially male-dominated. Women's under-representation in the academy's hierarchies has been the subject of four indexed papers during 1985–2012 (e.g. Aitchison, 2001, 2006) and whilst beyond the scope of this paper there is a pressing need for more studies, which establish the extent of tourism's gender imbalance, identify barriers to equality and find routes to the transformation identified as scenario two. There is an impetus building to challenge the "overwhelming patriarchal power" of tourism's research leaders (Tribe, 2006, p. 631), to critique tourism's structures and hierarchies and to confront "the underlying power structures [which]... remain out of sight" (Williams et al., 2014, p. 631). Clearly the advancement of gender equality requires senior figures to set an agenda that recognizes gender as a research leadership issue, to mainstream gender-sensitive policies and practices and to make research decision-making processes transparent (Van den Brink, 2010).

If we are truly reflexive scholars, we will recognise the ways in which our gender influences our academic structures and decisions. As Fox-Keller (1995, p. 3) observes: "The widespread assumption that a study of gender and science could only be a study of women still amazes me". Everyday as researchers, reviewers, examiners and teachers we make judgements over what is worthy of study, what is significant, what is valuable, what theories are appropriate and which are not. Whilst tourism research continues to be gender-blind, it is difficult to see how gender-aware research and feminist approaches can truly flourish, despite the field's numerical, geographical and institutional expansion. There is mounting evidence of the weaknesses of research, which ignores gender (Rees, 2011), yet, as long as so many of tourism's research leaders fail to take gender seriously, the field will remain stymied by an unrecognized and unremarked upon patriarchy.

It is imperative that tourism balances feminine and masculine voices in its senior ranks if it is to be representative of its academic base; only then will it create holistic tourism knowledge. In addition, tourism as a field of enquiry must be a welcoming environment for gender-oriented and feminist tourism scholarship if it is to play a credible role in evidencing gender-based inequality and advocating for gender-just tourism practices (Pritchard, 2014). It is also important that gender-aware research capacity is improved in less economically developed countries. Nowhere is gender inequity more apparent than in the tourism industry and gendered power relations permeate all tourism worlds. None of us lives in a gender equal society and it is a worrying reality that not one country has yet eliminated the gender gap (World Economic Forum, 2005). In the tourism academic community, as elsewhere, we need to move beyond the 'add women and stir' approach to an 'add women and alter' transformation of our research employment, governance and management practices.

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