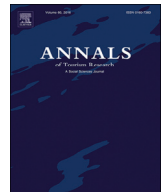




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journal homepage: <https://www.journals.elsevier.com/annals-of-tourism-research>An intergenerational dialogue about gender in tourism[☆]Margaret Byrne Swain^a, Erica Wilson^b, Elaine C.L. Yang^c, Donna Chambers^{d,*}^a University of California, Davis, United States^b Southern Cross University, New South Wales, Australia^c Griffith Business School, Department of Tourism, Sport and Hotel Management, Griffith University, Queensland, Australia^d Faculty of Arts, Design and Social Sciences, Northumbria University, Newcastle, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

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Where did the article “Gender in Tourism” (Swain, 1995) come from and where is it going? These questions shape our commentary which grew out of conversations by emails and Zoom meetings between Margaret Swain (Peg), Erica Wilson, Elaine Yang and Donna Chambers.

Peg: When Scott McCabe contacted me about this, my first thought was that I'm retired, done. But not really. It's a wonderful honor that *Annals of Tourism Research* (hereafter ‘Annals’) wanted to highlight my article in its 50th Anniversary Issue, and I am still active in feminist work. A collaborative effort was the only way that I could imagine for a commentary to reflect both my thoughts on the article's origins and others' understandings of its afterlife. When Scott graciously agreed to this format, a next impossible task became deciding who among decades of brilliant feminist colleagues in Tourism Studies might be invited to join in? A solution was literally at hand, having just read this great collection, *A Research Agenda for Gender and Tourism* (Wilson & Chambers, 2023), in order to write a “back of the book blurb”. It became a logical step for me to ask you the editors Erica and Donna, and a contributor, Elaine, who provides a valuable next-generation voice, to join in a conversation. I am so grateful you all said yes.

It blew me away that your book uses my 1995 article's definition of gender at its core, affirming its relevance: “...gender is a social construction, which ‘refers to a system of culturally constructed identities, expressed in ideologies of masculinity and femininity, interacting with socially structured relationships in divisions of labor and leisure, sexuality, and power between women and men’” (Swain, 1995, pp. 258–259).

Clearly, you folks could highlight the impact of this work now, talk about the theoretical unpacking of our respective titles: “gender *and*” or “gender *in*” tourism, and address the impact of diverse ways to think about gender. As we developed our

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conversation, Elaine suggested a way to frame its flow: Retrospective (reflecting on origins of Peg's article and how far we have come since its publication) and Prospective (looking forward, identifying challenges and key issues for future generations).

To begin with "Retrospective", I'd like us all to do a bit of storytelling. For me what was going on in my life when I wrote this article, what inspired it? For you, where were you when it was published and/or how did you first encounter the article, and how have you used it?

I want to acknowledge Valene Smith, because I don't think I would have gone down this path without her. Valene worked very closely with Jafar Jafari on *Annals* for decades. At her festschrift in 2011, Jafar referred to her as "the mother of tourism studies". Certainly, her ideas were foundational, and she mentored young scholars, bringing us along. We have known each other since 1974, when as a graduate student I participated in conference sessions organized by Valene that resulted in her edited book *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (Smith, 1976).

When Valene contacted the original authors of *Hosts and Guests* for a second edition, it was an academic lifeline leading me to focus on gender roles in indigenous tourism as I re-entered academia. She also hooked me into *Annals* work doing the index with her. No word processing then, we did it all by hand. Valene really had my back when I proposed an *Annals* Special Issue in 1991 on "Gender" and Jafar was willing to risk it, even though it was way out of *Annals'* usual purview.

This project started while I was also beginning ethnographic research in China, including living there for all of 1993. That's where I vetted some 30 submissions by fax for the Special Issue. My ideas about gender coalesced around dealing with both my homeland patriarchy in the US and experiencing a Socialist patriarchal society. The contrast intrigued and inspired me to think about gender as a construct and make these ideas more accessible..

I still have a fax from Jafar of the call for a *Journal of Leisure Research* Special Issue on "Leisure and Women/Gender" edited by Henderson (1994a, b). Jafar wrote at the top "It appears that you have an excellent idea/theme for *Annals*. And, yes, you are not alone." Not only was Karla out there working on this, but Vivian Kinnaird and Derek Hall were working on their edited book *Tourism: A Gender Analysis* (Kinnaird & Hall, 1994). We corresponded with each other, considering crossovers of ideas and contents in our efforts. There really was a synergy, a moment in time to start thinking about gender seriously in tourism studies. Each of our introductions to our edited collections has endured. Being published last, I had the significant advantage of being able to refer to their work..

In my essay I compare these two publications with a third piece "The Body in Tourism" by Veijola and Jokinen (1994) interweaving their insightful contributions with other publications including the *Annals* Special Issue's articles and my suggestions to address a wide range of research agendas for gender in tourism (Swain, 1995, pp.258–264). Kinnaird et al. (1994) envision a "Gender Aware Framework" for tourism research, drawing from a development studies viewpoint, defining tourism (Kinnaird et al., 1994, p.11) but not gender per se, which was my opening to do so. Their literature review notes virtually no work extant on gender analysis in tourism environmental concerns, which the *Annals* Special Issue began to explore (Swain, 1995, pp. 250–251). Henderson (1994a, 1994b) is firmly grounded in a feminist perspective on power relations. She (Henderson, 1994a, 1994b) provides a 5-phase framework of past feminist research well substantiated by my *Annals* Indexing days (Swain, 1995, p.254). Henderson (1994b, pp.130–135) also outlines a 4-phase schema for future gender research, which complements Kinnaird and Hall's ideas on gender perspectives. Veijola and Jokinen (1994) built an inventive exposé of masculinist voices without bodies in mainstream tourism research, naming specific scholars. Speaking of bodies and embodiment, it's also noticeable in retrospect that while we wrote about sexual relations or social sexuality in tourism then, we were not yet focused on sexualities or fluidity in sexual and/or gender identities.

About a decade after publication, I began to understand how far my article had traveled and its impact. In 2005, Irena Ateljevic invited me to keynote at the first Critical Tourism Studies conference in Dubrovnik, which is where I met Erica and Donna. My theoretical questions had been about why gender, what is gender, drawing from the past 30 years of the feminist movement. Now we are talking about it almost 30 years later since 1995 and thinking about what gender issues might be 30 years in the future. As we shared in our writing back and forth to begin this commentary, each of us was in a distinct place in 1995. Let's move to talking about how you encountered the article and then used its material.

Donna: In 1995 when your article was published, I had just finished a Master's degree in International Relations and I wanted to work in the Foreign Office. But I bungled my interview with the Foreign Office and didn't get the job. Instead, I got my first job working in the tourism ministry in Jamaica. So that's where I was in 1995. I wasn't a tourism academic then at all. Through working in tourism public policy, I became interested in tourism and decided that I needed to get an academic qualification in tourism. Fortunately, I received a scholarship to do a Master's degree in tourism in the UK and that's when my academic journey in tourism started.

But I didn't read your article then when I was doing my Master's because I came from the field of public policy. I wanted to examine how politics impacted on the way that tourism was developed – that was the focus of my Master's thesis. It wasn't until I was doing my PhD, that I started looking at gender, postcolonialism and how English heritage was constructed. I was drawn to examine these issues due to my subject position growing up in a postcolonial society.

I wanted to understand given the colonial link between the UK and Jamaica how did England represent its heritage? Because to me colonialism was part of English heritage. So, I was looking at that. When I started to examine the material, I realized there weren't many women there (apart from the Queen and royalty). And I also wondered, where are the Black people? It appeared that English heritage was all white, great houses, castles, royalty, and the bucolic English countryside.

These were the things that were being represented as English heritage. So, it was about half a decade after 1995, at the turn of the millennium when I was doing my PhD that I read your article. By then it was already considered one of the seminal articles on

gender in tourism and it was important that I read this to inform the discussions in my thesis about the silences in representations of England's heritage.

Peg: Elaine, you wrote a wonderful summary in an email to us about where you were and how you encountered this article. Let's put that in here, then continue our conversation:

I just started year 1 in school in 1995 and only came across Peg's paper when I was doing my PhD about 10 years ago. I told Erica the timing of her email was uncanny – I was re-reading that paper just recently as I was writing a commentary on gender for *Tourism Geographies* (see Yang & Schänzel, 2023). Peg's 1995 editorial was such an important landmark work in advocating for gender-aware tourism research and further theorization of gender in/and tourism. Growing up in Malaysia, a conservative country, it was unthinkable to research gender or speak about gender equality back then. I was advised to change my PhD to a non-gender-focused topic to get funded. It was only when I moved to Australia and started my PhD all over again that I got to research solo female travel, inspired by Erica's work.

Elaine: How did I come across your article? Almost all articles I read about gender in tourism cited you, and it's always highlighted as one of the first collections on this topic. It would have been 20 years since the publication of your article when I first read it.

I re-read it again more closely recently, and what really struck me was what you wrote three decades ago remains valid. It almost feels like nothing much has changed. You wrote about how gender issues are under-theorized and how important gender is when it comes to environmental concerns. Climate change and sustainability have received much scholarly attention nowadays, but we haven't made significant progress in addressing the role of gender in these issues. That is my biggest takeaway.

Erica: It's so great talking with all of you. I went back to look and I still have my original folders of all my photocopied articles from my PhD research, back when we had to print them out at the library [shows a copy of Swain's, 1995 Gender in Tourism paper]...I've highlighted the whole thing, in all sorts of different colors!

Obviously, it made a big impression on me and I kept coming back to it time and time again. So, where was I in '95? I would have been in my honors year in a tourism degree at James Cook University. I didn't do my honors on anything to do with gender or anything qualitative, because back then, everything we did was focused on statistics and quantitative research. And then I decided in 1996 that I wanted to move away from tourism, so I enrolled in a postgraduate diploma in environmental studies, in Adelaide. Ecofeminism was one of the courses, and just really opened my mind and I started to think about doing a PhD. And so I went to Griffith University in 1999 and started my PhD. And that's when I would have printed your article, Peg, and started highlighting away, because it was the first time I'd seen anything that actually brought gender and tourism together. It was just such a great piece to read as well, written in your personable style and voice, Peg, and it just really resonated with me. And I thought, oh, I can do this! And so that's how I ended up doing a qualitative thesis on gender and tourism and on women's travel.

Peg: Let's move on to talking a bit about "gender *in*" and "gender *and*" tourism. Back in the early nineties it was important to me for the Annals title to be "gender in tourism." Erica and Donna, your book title is "gender and tourism" so I'm curious about what that means theoretically to the three of you, because you're the future.

Elaine: I recently edited the *Routledge Handbook of Gender in Tourism*. To be honest, we [me and my co-editors, Nellie Swart, Wenjie Cai and Albert Kimbu] (Swart et al., 2024) never really thought about this, whether it should be IN or AND. It's just very intuitive. We just put it down as IN. I'm very curious to hear why Donna and Erica used AND in their book?

Donna: Erica, I don't know that we spoke about this. We never really spoke about it. It just seemed natural to me to say gender 'and' tourism. Peg it was only when you asked the question that I started to think about why it was natural to me to just say gender *and* tourism, rather than gender *in* tourism. I suppose I was reading around so many areas -gender studies, Black feminism, politics, this, that, and the other. I saw myself as a more interdisciplinary person. To me, tourism is a context but there is a bigger picture around gender. So, I suppose for me, when I think about gender I think about tourism as a reflection of wider gendered issues in our society. So, the gender *in* tourism seems more tourism focused which it is, but to me it is like gender *and* tourism seems a much bigger experience, because that's how I was reflecting on it. I was thinking about different theoretical approaches that were not necessarily in the tourism field but that could be applied to tourism. So, I suppose that's what I thought about when I reflected on it, maybe that's why I didn't think it was odd to say gender *and* tourism. It's strange. I don't know. I mean, we didn't talk about it, Erica, at all.

Erica: We could have had a whole introductory bit on that, now that I think about it! I've forgotten why, exactly, but I think the publisher wrote to me and said, can you edit a research agenda on gender *and* tourism, and then I didn't think more of it. But now it's got me thinking...

Donna: The thing is it didn't seem strange to me. I didn't even think about it. It's only when you brought it up in the emails that I started to think, why would you bring this up?

I don't know Peg if at the time I was reading your article it would have made any difference to me then.

Elaine: If we really think about it and if we do it intentionally, I think having gender IN tourism is kind of like a political act to highlight gender must be at the center of tourism. Whereas I see Donna's point, gender AND tourism is to look at it from a cross-disciplinary perspective and to introduce feminists' lens and gender studies to tourism. They [IN and AND] both serve different scholastic and political purposes.

Peg: Perhaps one of the things that drove me to focus on "gender *in*" was that the scholarship on gender was fragmented in the late 1980s - early 1990s. I needed a definition, which I ultimately wrote for myself. There were plenty of wonderful things out there that hadn't been brought together. One of my heroes is feminist philosopher Donna Haraway (1987, 1988) who contributed many big ideas including "situated knowledges" which really resonated with me. There were so many ideas bubbling up then.

Donna: Kimberlé Crenshaw who was brilliant (on intersectionality) back in 1989. Right? There was this ferment of ideas that were around then.

Peg: I didn't have a coherent sense of Gender Studies at that point, rather I was engaged in Women's Studies, and we wrote about gender. All these cool things were beginning to seep into my brain, but I didn't think of it as being Gender Studies and Tourism Studies. I thought of it as having this thing known as tourism and gender is in it, everywhere. Elaine, I really appreciate you noting that it was a political act to say this at the time.

In terms of prospective, let's focus next on what I think is one of the great contributions of your book and bring our conversation around to intersectionality. As a white feminist in the late 1990s I thought it was a terrific idea, but I didn't know about Kimberlé Crenshaw or the intellectual history of naming her brilliant concept. It helped us look at the complexity of oppression and potential for equity and equality, and yet her authorship as a Black feminist legal scholar was often buried. To really understand the lineage and the context of intersectionality and to address coloniality in a coherent way are real gifts of your collection. I'd love to hear a little bit more of how you develop that perspective, and how your contributors, including you, Elaine, responded to that kind of a focus.

Donna: But I think in your article, as you said, you briefly mentioned many of those issues around intersectionality. Talking about Donna Haraway and situated knowledge –foregrounding 'Black' women is situated knowledge for me, because obviously I am living this experience every day. So, I didn't see how I could do an edited collection that didn't speak to Black women's experiences or didn't refer to any of the key Black feminist scholars. I mean, there's so much out there, Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), Patricia Hill Collins (1990), all these fabulous Black feminist writers. So, I just didn't see how I could do something that wasn't situated within this kind of Black feminism. And of course, Blackness and how we conceptualize it comes from the whole colonial experience and racism and all that sort of thing. I thought that even though you mentioned those things I think that nowadays, it is quite important to expand on those things.

I don't think that I could have done something that didn't talk about those things, and some of the other things that were coming up, that were current as well. For example, how do we understand gender and sex?

Peg: When I was rereading my article recently, I was so excited to see that on the second page (Swain, 1995, p.248) I actually used the word "intersections", but yes, it was far from developed.

Elaine: Like Donna, I work in the space of intersectionality because of my lived experience. As a Malaysian Chinese, my racial identity stands out in both the Malaysian and Australian contexts. I did a mapping exercise of tourism gender scholarship in the past 20–30 years as part of the review for *Tourism Geographies*. There has been a lot more intersectional research produced by non-Western scholars, especially in Asia. It is an encouraging trend.

When we wrapped up our Routledge handbook, my co-editors and I interviewed several thought leaders in tourism gender studies—Donna was one of them. Intersectionality was greatly emphasized but I think the converging view is that it's about time to move from using intersectionality as a theoretical lens to applying intersectionality as a critical praxis to address the interlocking inequalities in tourism.

Erica: When the publisher approached me with the book...I just didn't want to write another gender and tourism book or from a Western, white perspective. I think it's time that we kind of step back a bit, but also, I had seen and read Donna's work for so many years. And thought it'd be great to work with you, Donna, and obviously knowing Elaine here and watching you go through your amazing PhD work and through to Senior Lecturer. I just wanted to bring those voices together and reflect those contemporary discussions. And most of our PhDs and tourism researchers are so diverse now, where previously much of the gender and tourism research was white, or focused on White women. It still is.

Peg: Have things changed that much in 30 years? The scholarship has but our conditions feel dismally the same in many ways. The rise of fundamentalism, racism, and authoritarianism globally right now is hard to deal with. I think that an academic response is one of social justice agendas. That's one of the things that hopefully a focus on gender in/and tourism can promote. With intersectional analysis we acknowledge our complexity and need complex answers.

Donna: I think that in some ways we have progressed. But in other ways we haven't because sometimes I think we kind of replace one kind of oppression with another kind of oppression. And I just get so tired when I see the same things coming back – for example gender-based violence, I'm thinking, is this still something we're talking about in the 21st century despite all our endeavors? It's everywhere and every single day you hear something else about this issue. I mean, at my university they just developed a new interdisciplinary research group focused on gender-based violence.

And I'm thinking, why are we still here? And it's the same thing about Black women, and how we face double oppression due to racism and sexism. I mean Kimberlé Crenshaw named intersectionality in 1989 but it started even before that when a group of Black feminists known as the Combahee River Collective published a statement in 1978 in which they argued that major systems of oppression (class, race, sex and gender) interlock in the lives of Black women (see Combahee River Collective, 1978, 2014). Crenshaw named this as 'intersectionality'. Nowadays, you still see this everywhere.

So, I think for me there is still so much that needs to be done. Some things have well, changed since your article. But I think we're still dealing with some of the same issues, and I feel tired.

Peg: It's that coda, that we still have work to do. We keep pushing, but that's about it.

Elaine: During the pandemic, there was a lot more focus on gender inequality, brought to light by the unprecedented crisis. But as we are coming out from the pandemic, people seem to just put that aside. Gender issues have been sidelined, once again. When I speak about gender now, I sometimes get the feeling from others signaling gender fatigue. What is there to talk about anymore? Haven't we talked enough about it? Even though there is still much that needs to be done.

Erica: Peg, you reflect upfront in your 1995 paper that the first question you got was “is it about gender relations, or just about women”? and how you put aside the ‘*just*’. It reminded me of how I got asked at my very first PhD seminar by a white man, “why aren't you looking at men, because you need a gender balance? You've only done interviews. You haven't surveyed people. So your data isn't rigorous”. I think some of that's changed, but I still hear that stuff. But the power differential is still there, and I still hear it asked at conferences, particularly of research students.

Peg: Here we are: four women identified people talking about gender. And yet we know that there are people of all gender identities including cis-gender men and non-binary -gender queer, transgender, non-conforming -who also do this work. You ended your collection with forward thinking sentiment: that we have done some work, and this awareness is so critical. Try not to be too tired. I personally, feel fulfilled that the work is continuing. We have that this focus was out there in the 1980s and 1990s, and its slow work. In my country we achieved suffrage long ago, and now we seem to be losing pieces of it.

Elaine: Iceland had the women's strike just this week on Tuesday, including the Prime Minister of Iceland. They just went on this strike, not sure whether you've seen that on the news. And being one of the most gender progressive countries, yet they're still highlighting the gender pay gap and inequalities. Gender still matters, there's still a lot of work to be done.

Donna: Perhaps going forward we do need to think more about non-binary issues and how the concept of gender has been disrupted, because even what we thought were biological (sex) categories have been disputed. We all thought that gender was different from sex: that gender is culturally constructed, and that sex is biological. But even sex is increasingly not seen as a fixed biological category, rather as changing and fluid. Indeed, it has been argued that our interpretations of the body as physiologically male and female are social interpretations that have had deleterious material effects (see [Hotine, 2021](#)). So, the point here is that both gender and sex are argued to be socially and culturally constructed categories.

Elaine: Yes, how can we incorporate more indigenous world views into our understandings of gender? Western thinking has traditionally conceptualized gender as binary, male versus female. But if you look at other cultures, there are very different categories used for gender. For example, some Native American tribes recognized three to five genders ([Brayboy, 2018](#)). Gender can also be a performance depending on the context.

Donna: The binary understandings of sex and gender are Eurocentric and colonial and silence alternative voices such as those from formerly colonized, indigenous communities in the Global South. Scholars such as Maria Lugones argued that gender itself is a colonial concept that was used to organize relations of production, and that sexual dimorphism (that is, the establishment of distinct categories between male and female bodies) was an integral means of colonial control (see [Lugones, 2007](#)). While these discussions have existed for some time in decolonial scholarship, in tourism studies we have been slow to adapt these ideas and I believe that there is scope for further discussions in gender and/in tourism which seek to unpack these historical antecedents and their material consequences for how we understand, represent and experience gender in/and tourism today.

Erica: It's not just he and she, gender is much more fluid, for example, for my teenagers' generation. But where does that leave gender, and where does that leave women? It depends on what kind of wave you've come through, or what is the latest wave now?

Peg: For gender and biological sex, too, there's now fluidity in something that used to be considered fundamental. It still is very fixed for some, and yet it's not at all.

Elaine: But if expanded too far, gender could become too fragmented and encompass too many things in the end it could risk meaning nothing.

Peg: In some ways that goes back to Judith [Butler \(1988, 1993\)](#) about performativity, you produce gender ...but I'm cynical about her perspective.

Donna: So, we have been talking about the need to disrupt binary understandings of gender and sex and I wonder how Artificial Intelligence (AI) might also be relevant here? Should we start to think more seriously about the importance (or not) of having a corporeal gendered and sexed body? In fact, in the context of recent passionate and often visceral discussions about AI is it time for us to revisit Haraway's *Cyborg Manifesto* (1987) and post/transhumanism and the potential implications for our understandings of gender in/and tourism? AI is said to be increasingly able to impute software with human qualities and transhumanists claim that to be human should not necessarily imply the existence of a corporeal body. This is because post/transhumanists suggest that humanness lies in the mind and not in the body. I was reading an interesting chapter recently by Martine Rothblatt published 10 years ago in 2013 and which is titled ‘*Mind is deeper than matter: transgenderism, transhumanism and the freedom of form*’ where I saw these arguments being made. This I found quite interesting as what [Rothblatt \(2013\)](#) suggests is that it is only by escaping the confines of sex (as a biological category which centers the body) that we can enter a future that is instead underpinned by cultural choices (and this would include various gender identities). And it is developments in AI that can enable a transhuman future which is more socially just. The notion of post/transhumanism is of course a much more complex, controversial, and contested issue and there is not enough space here to engage more deeply with this relatively recent philosophical position. My point here is that discussions of post/transhumanism while they have been circulating for some time in the humanities and social sciences, have scarcely been entertained in tourism studies -though we should acknowledge nascent work in this area by Erik Cohen (see [Cohen, 2019, 2022](#)). These are not, however, focused on matters of gender. What, I wonder, are the implications for tourism gender discourse and practice of adopting a transhumanist perspective underpinned by advancements in AI?

Elaine: Fascinating point about AI and transhumanism. But AI is gendered without a body. AI is created by humans, and it inherits gender bias and other social biases from our society. Annette [Pritchard \(2018\)](#) wrote about this where she cautioned the extension of gender and sexual relations, including sexual harassment to AI and robotics. It is highly relevant to tourism. Think about service robots and sexbots. This raises concerns about gender and ethics in the transhuman world.

Donna: I think we need to say something about gender critical radical feminists here as this has some resonance with the issues I mentioned earlier about transhumanism and AI, and Eurocentric concepts of sexual dimorphism. That is, for gender critical radical feminists like Kathleen Stock (who is very critical of Judith Butler), sex (seen as natural and biological) and gender (seen as cultural) are intimately intertwined, and one cannot separate the two. The existence of women and men are objective facts beyond language and representation (see Stock, 2024). Womanhood is therefore an inextricable combination of natural and social facts. The problem that gender critical radical feminists identify is that if gender and sex are both seen as socially constructed then where does that leave women's rights and the feminist movement? How do we deal with the issues that women are facing in society and specifically in tourism if we say that there are no more women, there are no more men? How do you deal with those issues? I think we need to be having much more critical discussions about these complex issues in tourism.

Elaine: What it's going to be like in the future for gender studies in tourism is probably also related to AI, specifically in terms of how we consume and produce knowledge in the advent of a generative AI era, exacerbated by metric-driven culture and the publication race. I think for my generation and the next generation, especially here in the Australian context where it is conventional to complete a PhD thesis by publication, we no longer read that extensively. When I was doing my PhD, I was told I could indulge myself in the vast feminist literature *after* I get my PhD. And now I'm supervising students working on gender-related topics. Judith Butler became just a name cited in a sentence without reading or knowing the existence of her books. It could worsen with the next generation. We no longer read the classics. We are likely to get snippets of information from AI or ChatGPT. The distance between the next generation of tourism gender researchers and classical feminist works and theories is likely to widen in the future. This could persist and support the criticism of tourism gender studies as undertheorized, as Peg pointed out 30 years ago in her article.

Erica: What about methodologies? In our book, Donna, we discuss how a lot of the methodology work even in gender and tourism is still fairly traditional, in-depth interview analysis. Interviews are good and have their place, and that's what I did, but there's so much opportunity for different types of methodologies, playful methods for gender research.

Donna: We looked at feminist participatory action research and the counter storytelling technique of critical race theory (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001).

Erica: We hope that it's changed, right? There's still the idea we don't hear as much, perhaps, that you've got to look at men as well as women to have a 'proper', rigorous methodology. I think we've moved well beyond that, but there's this expectation that you've got to do or use certain types of – even qualitative – methods. I wonder if our PhD students or next generation of researchers are really allowed that kind of freedom still?

Elaine: In the context I'm operating in, we are starting to embrace more inclusive and participatory methods such as photovoice or arts journaling. I think the time has changed in terms of methodology. These methods are viewed favorably as innovation in PhD research and grant applications.

Donna: Does the way that we publish really encompass a lot of those methods though? This has been spoken about for many years now – that we are stuck in this kind of academic journal text-based publishing. Some journals like Annals are going for video abstracts now, and more visual representations of research which they never did before. How do we bring in more arts-based methodologies, like videos, how do we encompass sound and moving image as integral to our publications rather than an 'add on'? There needs to be further discussions about how we publish as well and how people access our research.

Elaine: Yes, I wonder what the future of text-based materials such as journal articles will be. I guess there will be more appetite and opportunity for non-text-based presentation or representation of research data and knowledge dissemination in the future, enabled for emerging technologies and platforms.

Donna: And is that a gender issue, or is that just all research?

Erica: It's a particular agenda, and I think there is some overlap. A lot of publications are still very quantitative based, wanting a systematic literature review or a survey. But since 1995 I find encouragement that you can use different methodologies best suited to studying gender or women or women and men, or intersectionality. That's something that really has shifted in 30 years. But I think there's still more work to do.

Peg: Agreed, I've been there. It was like "you didn't quantify this, what are you, a novelist?" It's been a real fight, literally, to establish the validity of seeing knowledge as constructed. I'm sure you're all familiar with Thomas Kuhn and scientific paradigms. This perspective was also challenging a hard-core data mindset; that scientific Truth could change, it's a paradigm shift. That was very powerful in the eighties and nineties. Knowledge is not something out there to just be discovered, rather it's something that we're building.

Elaine: I begin to wonder whether it is just gender studies or research in general. Earlier I noted that non-conventional methods are increasingly more welcomed. But when I think about the type of research we are doing, it is often feminist research or research about marginalized groups (such as migrants, children, and people with disability) that use those sorts of creative, innovative methods. Those methods are far from being mainstreamed.

Donna: Maybe it is that certain methods become 'feminized' – seen as not 'scientific' ('masculine') enough.

Peg: So, do you have any final thoughts? Any more reflections on the next 30 years?

Erica: 30 years on, three decades on – where do we need to go? Donna, in our book's last chapter you wrote on the future – where do we need to head? And definitely, intersectionality is one of those points. When studying gender in/and tourism, you never know how much of what we say right now will ring true in 30 years. I mean, Peg, you were revisiting your definition in *Gender, Tourism, Fun?* (Swain, 2002) – very prescient.

Peg: I was reacting to well-aimed critiques that my definition was devoid of ideas about performativity such as those developed by Judith Butler:

My definition of gender, for example, could be read as unilinear rather than multidimensional, and static and exclusive rather than intersecting and fluid. Ironically, in my discipline-blinded anthropological mind I did not see that because I assume an interactive understanding of cultural processes and human environments. Perhaps a definition such as this one would have more utility if the words used in it could be unequivocally dynamic" (Swain, 2002, p.3).

But maybe it was OK anyhow!

Erica: There are some opportunities where we can do really fantastic, fulfilling research in gender and/in tourism.

Elaine: If we want to engage future generations in this conversation, shouldn't we be teaching gender in tourism programs as well? The majority of the tourism workforce are women. It's a highly feminized industry. But we don't teach gender explicitly in our curriculum. We are approaching it like gender *around* tourism—so here we have another dimension in addition to gender *in* and gender *and*—that's if we are even addressing gender in tourism education at all.

Peg: This conversation is a collaborative process. Are we modeling or emulating something?

Elaine: Collaborations are important for future generations of tourism gender researchers. This was also highlighted in the landmark review by Figueroa-Domecq et al. (2015) in which having gender research leaders, networks and international collaborations are crucial to ignite future tourism gender studies. But we must also be mindful and reflective of the issue of power in collaborations, especially where unequal power relations exist.

Erica: This has been such an inspiring, collaborative process working with you. We started out in the 'Retrospective', beginning with Peg's 1995 paper and how it has so significantly influenced us all. And here we are now, finishing (if we can actually ever finish such a conversation) with Elaine's concept of the Prospective, of what lies ahead for the next generation of gender in tourism scholarship....

Erica/Elaine/Donna: Thank you, Peg – and thank you, *Annals!*

CRedit authorship contribution statement

Margaret Byrne Swain: Conceptualization, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing. **Erica Wilson:** Conceptualization, Project administration, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing. **Elaine C.L. Yang:** Conceptualization, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing. **Donna Chambers:** Conceptualization, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing.

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