



THE STATE OF QUALITATIVE TOURISM RESEARCH

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Abstract: Previous reviews of tourism research methods have concentrated on studies underpinned by positivist science or assessments of quantitative methods and analyses. Conspicuous by their absence are reviews that focus on studies supported by the interpretive paradigm and assessments of qualitative analyses. This paper provides a descriptive review of the latter research using feature articles from four major journals in the field, employing “moments of qualitative research” as the framework of analysis. This paper makes no attempt to assess methodological sophistication but provides baseline data about previous and present uses of the interpretive paradigm and qualitative methods. It reviews each journal from its inception through 1996. **Keywords:** tourism, research, qualitative methods. © 1999 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

Résumé: L'état de la recherche qualitative en tourisme. Les examens antérieurs des méthodes de recherche en tourisme ont focalisé sur des études basées sur la science positiviste ou des évaluations d'analyses et de méthodes quantitatives. Il y a un manque notable de rapports qui se concentrent sur des études basées sur le paradigme explicatif ou des évaluations d'analyses qualitatives. Cet article présente un bilan descriptif de grands articles de recherches qualitatives de quatre revues importantes en tourisme, en employant des “moments de recherche qualitative” comme cadre d'analyse. L'objectif de l'article n'est pas d'évaluer la sophistication méthodologique sinon de présenter des données de base au sujet de l'utilisation actuelle et antérieure du paradigme interprétative et des méthodes qualitatives. On prend en considération chaque revue depuis ses débuts jusqu'en 1996. **Mots-clés:** tourisme, recherche, méthodes qualitatives. © 1999 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

INTRODUCTION

Recognition that tourism research reaches beyond a compilation of numbers was actualized in the “Paradigms in Tourism Research” conference held in 1996 in Jyväskylä, Finland. The intent of this symposium was to discuss the master paradigms influencing this research, the various methods by which knowledge is accumulated, and to promote dialog that encourages alternative approaches to

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the study of this field. As one conference reviewer noted, "far too many tourism conferences seem to be little more than mega-events given over to hundreds of papers that are merely recitals of official statistics or survey data" (Dann 1996:1).

Qualitative research as an alternative methodological approach has gained acceptance in many fields, such as education (Guba 1987; LeCompte and Preissle 1993; Lincoln and Guba 1985, 1987; Lincoln 1985, 1989), sociology (Blumer 1969; Denzin 1989, 1993, 1995; Silverman 1985; Whyte 1955), anthropology (Clifford 1988; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Geertz 1973; Marcus and Fischer 1986; Rosaldo 1989; Van Maanen 1988), and consumer behavior (Anderson 1983, 1986, 1989; Deshpande 1983; Hirschman 1986; Hirschman and Holbrook 1992; Holbrook and O'Shaughnessy 1988; Peter and Olson 1989). Researchers in these disciplines have challenged the "master paradigm" of positivism, providing new dimensions to the body of knowledge in their respective fields.

In order to learn whether the same holds true for the study of tourism in its various forms, a project was designed to assess the state of qualitative tourism research through an analysis of major journals and to provide baseline information about where qualitative research is located in this field. Scholarly contributions were examined from the perspective of Denzin and Lincoln's (1994) "Moments of Qualitative Research," which provides an organizing framework that describes the pathways explored in qualitative inquiry.

The most significant and lasting contributions ... have been made by researchers who employed an often-loose qualitative methodology. Their often acute insights and theoretical framework in which these have been embodied provided the point of departure for several "traditions" in the sociological study of tourism, which endowed the field with its distinctive intellectual tension, even as the much more rigorous quantitative touristological studies often yielded results of rather limited interest. (Cohen 1988:30).

As Cohen suggests, much of the seminal work in tourism was initiated through qualitative research (Boorstin 1964; Cohen 1972, 1973, 1979; Graburn 1976, 1983; MacCannell 1973, 1976; Smith 1977). However, these works tended to be published in non-tourism journals and monographs, such as these examples of early work in sociology: *Social Research* (Cohen 1972), *American Journal of Sociology* (MacCannell 1973), *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* (Cohen 1973; Forster 1964), and *Sociology* (Cohen 1979). While Cohen (1988) was critical of the early contributors' rigor, it may have been a reflection of the times. That is, tourism researchers were less familiar with qualitative methods than researchers are today, and these techniques were less well defined during this period. Early research was investigated primarily from an anthropological or sociological perspective, examining both the Self and the Other. Studies of the Self were seen in Boorstin's (1964) reflections on the changing nature of American tourists, while MacCannell

(1976) focused on the evolution of tourism's meaning among members of a leisure class. Investigations of the Other were characterized by studies of host/guest relations (Cohen 1973, 1982; Smith 1977), the impact of tourism on cultural identity (Greenwood 1977), and influences on indigenous arts (Graburn 1976). ✓

Publishing outside existing tourism journals may have been due to a lack of receptivity by tourism reviewers and editors, interests in describing the field in other ways, or a lack of knowledge about the existence of tourism journals. In contrast, the research that was published in *tourism* journals during this period was characterized by quantification that described a burgeoning phenomenon of temporary migration and revenues generated. In a review of quantitative techniques, Reid and Andereck (1989) reported an increasing sophistication between 1978 and 1987. Their conclusions implied that statistical sophistication was a necessary and sufficient condition for progress in the field of tourism research.

Typical articles in this period of qualitative description focused on determining economic impacts (Archer and Owen 1972; Loeb 1982; Sadler and Archer 1975), assessing tourist flows (Fritz, Brandon and Xander 1984; Smith and Brown 1981; Uysal and Crompton 1985), creating segmentation strategies (Oppedijk, Walle and Verhallen 1986; Woodside and Ronkainen 1980), and developing psychometric scales (Gearing, Swart and Var 1974; Goodrich 1977; Hawes 1977; Pearce 1982; Shih 1986). More recently, researchers have questioned quantitative research because it cannot fully address questions of understanding and meaning (Havitz 1994; Henderson and Bedini 1995; Hollinshead 1996b; Riley 1996; Walle 1997), and they have begun to explore paradigms beyond positivism (Dann 1996; Hollinshead 1996a). This paradigm shift has resulted in a recognition and incorporation of a variety of qualitative methods in selected research efforts (Anderson and Littrell 1995; Jules-Rosette 1994; Payne-Daniel 1996; Thurot and Thurot 1983), but a cursory literature review would suggest that quantification is still dominant. quant ?

Review of Related Research

Of the many studies assessing the state of tourism research, none have addressed qualitative research specifically. Previous tourism research reviews have included investigations of topical breadth and variety (Burnett, Uysal and Jamrozy 1991; Crawford-Welch and McCleary 1992; Jafari and Aaser 1988), uses and advances of methods and statistics (Crawford-Welch and McCleary 1992; Dann, Nash and Pearce 1988; Reid and Andereck 1989), journal quality and authorship characteristics (Burnett et al 1991; Sheldon 1990, 1991), and the "maturity" of tourism research (Van Doren, Koh and McCahill 1994).

In Jafari and Aaser's (1988) examination of doctoral dissertations related to tourism, they noted only sporadic attention given to tourism until the early 70s. Since this period, tourism-related topics

have increased in number, especially within the fields of economics, anthropology, geography, and recreation. Burnett et al's (1991) study considered the infiltration of international themes in the American-based *Journal of Travel Research*. They concluded that much of the research had an ethnocentric, Anglo-American orientation which "seriously neglects the rest of the world" (1991:49). In a content study of hospitality journals, Crawford-Welch and McCleary (1992) reported that the most prevalent topics of research papers were human resources, marketing, and operations management. They also evaluated the sophistication of statistical techniques in hospitality journals. They concluded that most contributions demanded only an elementary understanding of statistics. Other scholars have also evaluated statistical applications in tourism research (Dann et al 1988; Reid and Andereck 1989). Dann et al examined the interplay between theory and method based on a meta-analysis of articles appearing in *Annals of Tourism Research* and *Journal of Leisure Research*. They asserted that articles in the tourism-based journal were less methodologically sound when compared with their leisure counterparts, and offered equal amounts of criticism for the qualitative and quantitative rigor previously employed. In a ten-year analysis of articles from *Annals of Tourism Research*, *Journal of Travel Research*, and *Tourism Management*, Reid and Andereck (1989) concluded that quantitative sophistication had improved as evidenced by a move from descriptive techniques toward those methods that sought to explain or predict.

In a review of relevant literature, Kovelstad and Blazer (1983) suggested that tourism companies undertook less research than consumer goods organizations. Interestingly, the authors assumed that qualitative research was less methodologically sophisticated than quantitative methods. Similar to Cohen's, these assumptions were likely indicative of tourism research prior to the early 80s, when knowledge about the nature and benefits of qualitative methods was limited. In an assessment of journal quality, Sheldon (1990) examined both tourism and hospitality journals. She noted a relationship between respondents' disciplinary field and their determination of journal quality. Specifically, hospitality faculty rated their own journals higher than tourism journals and vice versa. In a related study, Sheldon (1991) found that most tourism scholarship came from academic institutions rather than tourism organizations. She also noted a steady increase, over time, in the number of published research articles in the field. Further, Burnett et al (1991) found that authors studied their own countries more frequently than other countries. However, Americans had the greatest propensity for investigations beyond their borders. Finally, three articles assessed the maturity of tourism research with the collective conclusion that tourism scholarship was maturing when compared to related disciplines (Sheldon 1990, 1991; Van Doren et al 1994). While this view was common, they noted difficulty in ascertaining the level of maturity given tourism's multidisciplinary focus.

In all these reviews, discussion of qualitative research was conspicuously absent with the exception of Crawford-Welch and McCleary (1992) and Dann et al (1988), who both suggested that qualitative research made significant and valuable contributions to the knowledge base. But when citing these contributions, Crawford-Welch and McCleary questioned the methodological soundness of qualitative research, suggesting that multivariate techniques were more appropriate for the complexity of hospitality issues. Still, in fairness to the critics of qualitative inquiry, they may not have responded from the position of familiarity that is afforded commentators today. With minimal commentary about this subject it seemed clear that a study was needed to describe the state of qualitative inquiry. It is this point of departure that framed the project.

As a common base from which to work, Denzin and Lincoln defined qualitative research as,

multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials — case study, personal experience, introspective, life history, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts — that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' life (1994:2).

As Denzin and Lincoln allude, qualitative research provides a crucial perspective that helps scholars *understand* phenomena in a different way from a positivist perspective alone. When describing a new branch of qualitative research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) outlined a number of characteristics that distinguish naturalistic inquiry (one example of qualitative research) from positivistic inquiry. They suggested that naturalistic inquiry was signified by the following qualities: natural setting; human instrument; utilization of tacit knowledge; qualitative methods; purposive sampling; inductive data analysis; grounded theory; emergent design; negotiated outcomes; case study reporting mode; idiographic interpretation; tentative application; focus-determined boundaries; and special criteria for trustworthiness (1985:39–43). For qualitative research, the context and the associated interactions of natural surroundings are crucial because they shape the entity being studied. Equally crucial is the investigator(s)-as-instrument because only the human instrument can grasp the interactions of context and the multiple realities that are known through tacit understanding. Inductive analysis is employed to grasp these multiple realities as they are discovered; therefore, the research design emerges to accommodate realities that cannot be predicted *a priori*. Finally, outcomes are negotiated with the entity(ies) because various situations are interpreted as reality in different ways and will have different consequences (Lincoln and Guba 1985).

Based on the work of Peter Schwartz and James Ogilvy (1979), Lincoln and Guba further delineated this new form of inquiry by offering a comparison between dominant and emerging paradigms.

As Table 1 demonstrates, qualitative research offers a different way of knowing, suggesting a new way of viewing the world.

ANALYTIC FRAMEWORKS

The framework of analysis for this study was based on Denzin and Lincoln's (1994) qualitative research which describes the ontological, epistemological, and methodological thought in this area of inquiry. In addition, the levels of intensity using this research were formed from the work of Miller and Crabtree (1994) and Henderson and Bedini (1995). In one of the most thorough of interdisciplinary efforts, Denzin and Lincoln outlined "five moments" that characterize the complexions of qualitative research. These moments were not delineated by increasing sophistication in qualitative methods, but were descriptions of successive initiatives to create techniques that best fit the situations and settings being explored. They included the traditional period, the modernistic phase, blurred genres, crisis of representation, and the fifth moment.

The presence of positivistic "science" provided the foundation for the first moment. This "traditional period" was characterized by qualitative quests to locate the objective "truth" as seen in the life of the Other. This classic ethnographic approach involved extensive field experiences in other cultures with efforts directed at discovering "reality." The results were grand narratives as told by omnipotent observers, which resulted in museumification, colonializing, and monumentalizing the Other. Examples of the first moment included Margaret Mead's (1928) *Coming of Age in Samoa* and Bronislaw Malinowski's (1922) *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, where the Other was situated in an unchanging culture, evaluated by Eurocentric mores, and romanticized or valorized as "noble savages."

Table 1. Changes in Basic Beliefs: Dominant Versus Emergent Paradigms ✓

Dominant paradigm from	Emergent paradigm toward ^a
Simple	Complex
Hierarchy	Heterarchy
Mechanical	Holographic
Determinate	Indeterminate
Linearly causal	Mutually causal
Assembly	Morphogenesis
Objective	Perspective

^a Source: Lincoln and Guba (1985:52); Schwartz and Ogilvy (1979:13).

The second moment, termed the “modernistic phase,” was post-positivistic in nature. The methodological emphasis shifted to a formalized, standardized, and rigorous approach to qualitative inquiry. Qualitatively equivalent measures of reliability, validity, and generalizability were developed under various labels (such as trustworthiness) in an effort to respond to the criticisms about qualitative research leveled by positivists. Issues in this moment included social processes, deviance, social control, and society’s underclasses. This phase resulted in texts voicing social realism, slices of life, and naturalism. Glazer and Strauss (1967), Lofland (1971), and Miles and Huberman (1984) characterized the second moment with their respective frameworks for standardizing qualitative data collection and analysis.

The third moment, “blurred genres,” was an indefinite period where the qualitative forum was receptive to research of earlier moments as well as emerging paradigms, subjects, and techniques. Feminism, ethnic perspectives, post structuralism, deconstructionism, semiotics, neo-Marxism, and naturalistic inquiry provided new ways of examining previously held notions. Positivists, post-positivists, constructionists, and critical theorists all contributed to the discourse. A key event in this moment was Geertz’s (1973) call for pluralist, interpretative, and open-ended perspectives. This fueled a movement “to make sense out of local situations,” through thick description (Denzin and Lincoln 1994:9).

The fourth moment, the “crisis of representation,” entered an era of the self as integral to the process of knowing. Writing oneself into the text was the way in which fieldwork and interpretation came to be recognized as a single process. These personalized accounts revealed the world of “real,” lived experiences. Hirschman’s (1992) battle with cocaine addiction and Rosaldo’s (1989) process of grieving for the death of his wife can be held as examples of merging lived experience, interpretation, and writing. This orientation to research renewed the debate about validity, reliability, and objectivity in qualitative research.

The “fifth moment” continued the crises of representation and legitimation discussed above, but replaced the tradition of cultural investigation through grand narratives with a localized focus, resulting in small-scale theories that responded to specific personal situations. The goal of this research was one of advocacy and writing reflected “tales of the field” (Van Maanen 1988), which encouraged action and activism on the part of the reader. Scholars working in the fifth moment include Richardson (1985, 1992) and Trinh (1989). For example, Trinh detailed the tensions and complexities of her competing roles as a Vietnamese woman, mother, scholar, and artist. While the fifth moment (for Denzin and Lincoln) is the current frontier of qualitative research, most investigators operate in the moments that best fit the needs of their situation and setting.

In addition to the framework posited by Denzin and Lincoln, it was necessary to distinguish between the different levels of intensity with which qualitative research was employed in the tourism litera-

ture. In this case, intensity refers to the degree with which qualitative methods have been used in conjunction with quantitative methods. Qualitative research has been used in many ways with varying degrees of prominence in the research design. Miller and Crabtree (1994) have suggested four possible designs involving qualitative inquiry: concurrent, nested, sequential, and the combination design. Speaking from a background in clinical psychology, they explicated the contributions of qualitative research to their discipline. They characterize a concurrent design as one where quantitative and qualitative research are conducted simultaneously on the same question. The purpose of this design is to offer added insights to quantitative findings. Nested designs involve the incorporation of qualitative and quantitative techniques in a system of checks and balances to avoid addressing the wrong problem. Sequential designs suggest that qualitative research be used to inform subsequent measurement and evaluation for hypothesis testing. Finally, combination designs utilize qualitative approaches to contextualize and elaborate situation-specific cases.

Adapting Miller and Crabtree's framework, Henderson and Bedini (1995) offered variations of their research designs: antecedent, encapsulated, concurrent, and the primary/secondary combination design. The first three parallel the originals, respectively. However, Miller and Crabtree's combination designs were amended to reflect the emphasis on qualitative approaches. A "primary" combination design would rely on qualitative methods but also involve quantitative data to determine representativeness *a priori*. In contrast, a "secondary" design would utilize qualitative methods *post hoc* to enrich, explain, or elaborate qualitative findings.

Investigative Intent

With these frameworks in mind, four tourism journals were examined: *Journal of Travel Research* (JTR); *Annals of Tourism Research* (ATR); *Tourism Management* (TM); and *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* (JTTM). These journals were chosen to represent the broad range of disciplines that publish tourism research. Recreation, park, leisure, and hospitality journals were excluded for their lack of primary emphasis on tourism. Feature articles were examined from the time of each journal's inaugural publication through to the end of 1996. Government reports, agency documents, research notes, conceptual literature reviews, conference reports, and editorial commentaries did not qualify for this investigation.

Although many new journals are being introduced, ATR (published since 1973), JTR (since 1970), and TM (since 1980) are well established, widely recognized, and represent a broad readership, while JTTM (since 1992) is the most established of the new journals introduced in the five years prior to 1996. Three of the journals are published in the United States, while TM is a British publication. In addition to the texts *per se*, information was collected on the academic field and institutional location of each author (such as UK,

Canada, USA) to examine disciplinary and geographic patterns regarding the use of qualitative techniques. For example, the question here was whether certain disciplines or author location influence the propensity for the use of qualitative methods.

Each article identified as being qualitative in nature was evaluated using the descriptors embedded within Denzin and Lincoln's discussion of the five moments. These descriptors included the treatment of issues, depth of investigator immersion, data gathering techniques, means of analysis, and the role of the investigator. Treatment of the issue referred to the epistemological, ontological, and methodological perspective from which the investigator viewed the research question. Table 2, adapted from Guba (1990) and Denzin and Lincoln (1994), describes the distinctions between the four alternative paradigms.

Immersion was operationalized by the degree to which the investigator allowed and encouraged a connectedness with the subject or entity. At one end of the immersion continuum was the omnipotent observer and at the other end was the author's reflections of his/her personal lived experience. Assessment of immersion was based on the content of the article which typically implied or stated the investigator(s) connectedness through writing style or explicit descriptions. For example, some researchers were an integral part of the

Table 2. Alternative Paradigms^a

Alternative paradigms	Ontology	Epistemology	Methodology
Positivism	<u>Realism</u> : truth exists and can be identified or discovered	<u>Objectivism</u> : unbiased observer	Hypothesis testing, falsification, quantification, controlled conditions
Post-positivism	<u>Critical realism</u> : truth exists but can only be partially comprehended	<u>Objectivism is ideal</u> but can only be approximated	Modified quantification, field studies, some qualitative methods
Critical theory	~~Value-laden~~ <u>realism</u> : truth shaped by social processes (e.g. feminist, ethnic, neo-Marxist)	<u>Subjectivism</u> : values influence inquiry	Interactive process that seeks to challenge commonly-held notions
Constructivism	<u>Relativism</u> : knowledge is socially constructed, local, and specific	<u>Subjectivism</u> : knowledge created and coproduced by researcher and subject	Process of reconstructing multiple realities through informed consensus

^a Adapted from Guba (1990) and Denzin and Lincoln (1994).

phenomenon they were studying, while others lived in the setting but were outside the phenomenon — especially when they were temporary observers or foreigners to the situation. Also examined was the treatment of qualitative material in terms of collection and analysis. The range and scope of qualitative methods used in tourism research were reviewed, and new, alternative approaches were noted. Some traditional approaches included classic ethnography, participant observation, interviews, and focus groups. Emerging qualitative approaches included personal experiences, diaries, conversations, and semiotics.

The concept of a continuum was also useful when describing the analysis of qualitative data. At one extreme, the findings were presented with no explanation about the process of analysis. At the other extreme, the investigator detailed the process through which findings emerged. It should be noted that detailed descriptions will likely diminish as broadly accepted qualitative phrases become known and people are more familiar with qualitative techniques. However, the key for this continuum-like assessment was the ability of a reader to audit the study described in the article.

The role of the investigator was considered with respect to self-reflexivity, multivocality, and position of privilege. When fully reflexive, a text was constructed from the investigator's experiences; it represented the voices of those who shared the experience and no one voice was privileged. When reflexivity was absent, the investigator adopted the role of omnipotent observer and privileged his or her interpretation. The resultant text was a seemingly objective observation of reality — devoid of personal experiences.

Using the frameworks presented by Miller and Crabtree (1994) and Henderson and Bedini (1995), the present researchers modified these categories to more closely describe the use of qualitative techniques in tourism research. When qualitative research was used to explore issues and develop questions for subsequent quantification, the design was identified as a *precursor*. If the research employed both qualitative and quantitative techniques that contributed to the findings, it was identified as multimethod. When findings were based entirely on one or more qualitative techniques, the design was identified as sole method.

An important note about this “mixed methods” research is that the central issue is whether “triangulation” can be achieved by the use of multiple methods, especially if quantification and qualification are used together. The three classifications used here (precursor, multi-method, and sole method) acknowledge the difference between mixing methods but not the mixing of paradigms which falls beyond the scope of this effort.

For this study, an iterative, interpretive process was adopted for reviewing the articles identified in the four journals. The model of pattern analysis offered several advantages when compared to traditional methods (Huberman and Miles 1994; Kaplan 1964; Lincoln and Guba 1985; Reason 1981). Pattern theory recognizes that phenomena are multifaceted, with each contributing to understand-

ing. This analytical approach emphasizes the connections among phenomena. Patterns emerge through an iterative process and can change over time. The investigators analyzed each article separately and then shared their insights about the subject, method, and the process of analysis. If agreement was reached, the findings were recorded, but in cases of disagreement, the article was read jointly to complete the analysis. In this way, trustworthiness was established through collaboration and negotiation. The previous qualit-

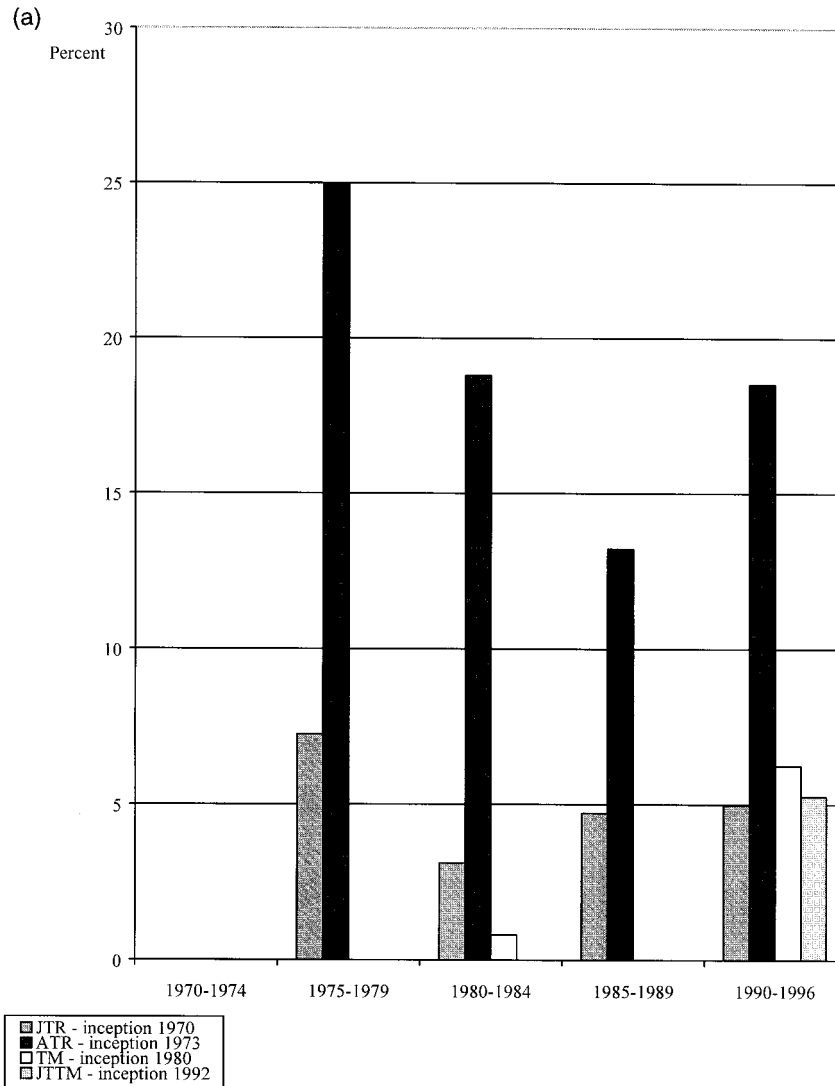


Figure 1. Percentage of Qualitative Articles in Five-Year Periods by (a) Journal and by. (b) Journal, Without Special Issues

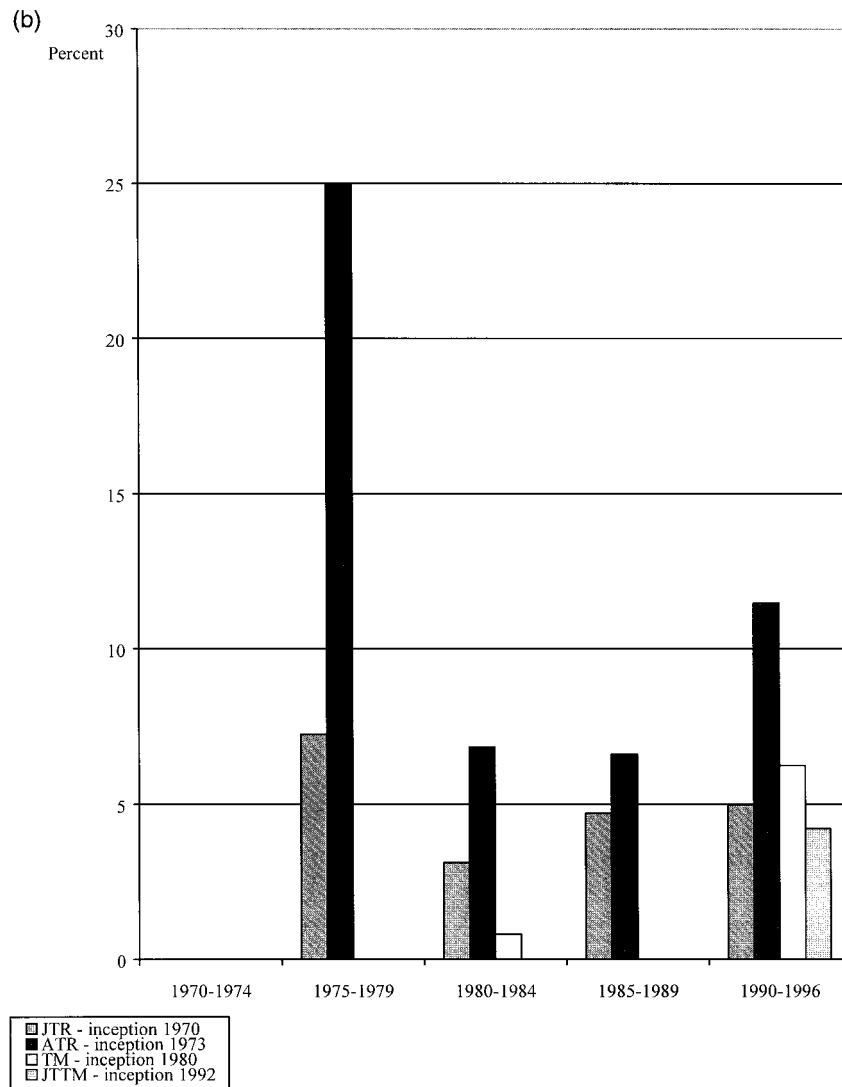


Figure 1 (*continued*)

ive experiences of the investigators suggested that these findings were supported by a strong degree of verisimilitude (Denzin and Lincoln 1994:577).

QUALITATIVE TOURISM RESEARCH

Four major findings emerged from the pattern analysis. One, journals aimed at solving industry problems published few qualit-

ive articles, while qualitative articles were more prominent in journals with a social science orientation. Two, scholars in sociology or anthropology often authored qualitative research, but an increasing number of qualitative scripts were noted in other fields. Three, in applied journals, qualitative articles were distributed equally among the three levels of qualitative intensity, while ATR contained a majority of articles relying solely on qualitative methods. Four, qualitative tourism research has yet to extend beyond Denzin and Lincoln's (1994) first three moments.

Journals with the mission of addressing industry issues, as characterized by JTR, TM, and JTTM, published few qualitative articles, while ATR, adopting a social science orientation, has published qualitative articles consistently since its inception (Figure 1a and b). In the case of JTR, for example, less than 5% of all feature articles contained a qualitative component, although this small representation has remained steady since the late 70s. While steady representation was evident, this phenomenon has not kept pace with a proportional increase in articles per volume. In contrast, TM did not publish qualitative contributions regularly until the early 90s, with two-thirds of all qualitative articles being published after 1992. Again, less than 5% of all TM articles had a qualitative component. In JTTM's short history, qualitative research articles have appeared sporadically, with one article per volume for the first three years, two appearing in 1995, and none in 1996. Only slightly more than 5% of feature articles were qualitative in nature. In marked contrast to the three applied journals, qualitative articles were clearly more prominent in *Annals*, reaching just short of 20% of all feature articles. It should be noted that special issues seemed to influence the methodological orientation of articles and increased the total number of qualitative articles in the journal (for example special issues focusing on "Gender and Tourism", "Anthropology of Tourism", and "Tourist Arts" were largely qualitative).

Figure 1a shows the ratio of the number of qualitative articles published relative to the number of all articles published in the given time frames. Figure 1b illustrates the same ratio, but removes those qualitative articles that appeared in special issues. It is important to note from Figure 1b that ATR still published almost double the number of qualitative articles when compared to JTR, TM, and JTTM. While it is conceded here that the choice of special issues topics might influence the choice of method, the authors assert that the inclusion of special topics is directly related to the journals' orientation, social science or otherwise. Thus Figure 1a represents a fair comparison of the state of qualitative tourism research in the four journals examined in this study.

Qualitative feature articles were also examined with respect to geographic location and departmental affiliation of author(s). No determination could be made with reference to geographical location and the propensity to undertake qualitative research because non-English-language publications were excluded from this analysis. However, each journal tended to favor author(s) of its own country

of origin. For example, American-based journals, such as JTR, tended to publish predominately US authors, while the British journal TM published the work of more European authors. Nevertheless, *Annals of Tourism Research* and *Tourism Management* seemed to have greater diversity of authorship when compared to JTR and JTTM.

With reference to author(s) departmental affiliation, overwhelmingly, anthropologists and sociologists (Table 3) published the most qualitative feature articles. Distant but emerging are qualitative researchers in the fields of tourism, recreation/leisure, and hospitality. Other contributing academic departmental affiliations included business, geography, and textiles/family and consumer science. This finding presented few surprises as anthropology and sociology have been acknowledged as embracing qualitative research earlier than other disciplines.

It should be noted that similar departmental disciplines were expressed in a variety of ways, so these categories were collapsed. For example, the business category included management, marketing, human resources, and business administration, to reflect the composition of many departments within university settings; and these groups were consistent with divisions along lines of disciplinary orientation and focus.

Specifically, ATR contained the majority of authors from departments of anthropology and sociology. In contrast, qualitative researchers affiliated with tourism, recreation/leisure, or hospitality departments were more evenly dispersed among the four journals, as were scholars representing business departments. Overall, *Annals* attracted qualitative contributions from a greater diversity of academic departments when compared to the other three journals.

Beyond the finding that social scientists publish more qualitative research than do their more applied counterparts, another trend emerged, suggesting that scholars in the social sciences were far more likely to utilize qualitative methods as their sole method of inquiry. Conversely, applied researchers were more likely to employ qualitative methods as a precursor to subsequent quantification or as one of several methods used in their research. Further, qualitative social scientists writing in the tourism literature were more likely to have moved beyond positivism over time, working in the second, third, or even fourth moments most recently, while

Table 3. Qualitative Contributions by Author(s) Departmental Affiliation

Academic departmental affiliation	Number of qualitative articles ATR, JTR, JTTM, TM
Anthropology & Sociology	66
Tourism, Recreation, Leisure & Hospitality	41
Business	22
Geography	8
Textiles/Family & Consumer Studies	8

researchers with a more applied orientation were situated predominately in the first and second moments.

As mentioned, each qualitative article was evaluated with respect to the three levels of qualitative intensity: precursor, multimethod, or sole method (Figure 2). In the three applied journals, JTR, TM, and JTTM, a fairly even distribution was noted among qualitative techniques as precursors to quantitative methods, as one of several methods used, or as the sole method of inquiry. These articles comprised relatively few of the qualitative articles and even fewer in proportion to the total number of articles within each journal.

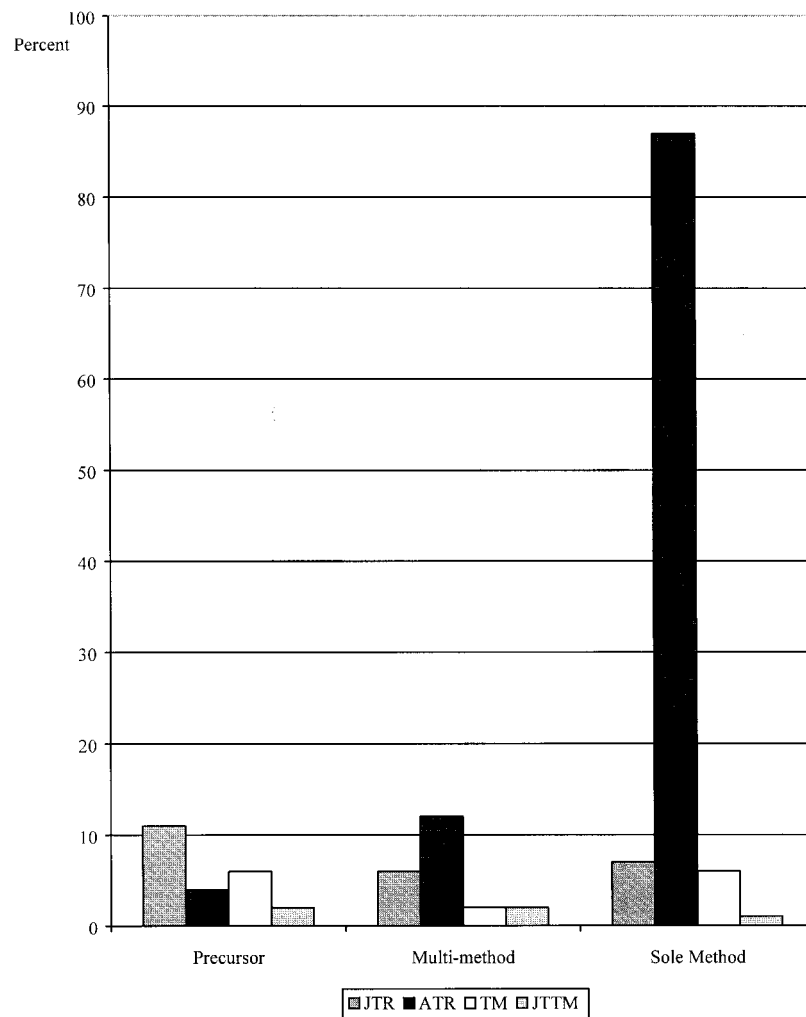


Figure 2. Levels of Intensity Among Qualitative Articles by Journal

Conversely, sole method dominated the qualitative articles appearing in *Annals*. In fact, more than three-fourths of these authors used it, and only a few utilized precursor and multimethod approaches in addressing tourism issues. This finding is not surprising given the propensity for sociologists and anthropologists to publish there and their wider acceptance of qualitative research as a stand-alone method.

Qualitative tourism research has yet to explore beyond Denzin and Lincoln's (1994) third moment, blurred genres, although the majority of such research is firmly entrenched in the first and second moments (Figure 3). For example, about one-half of all quali-

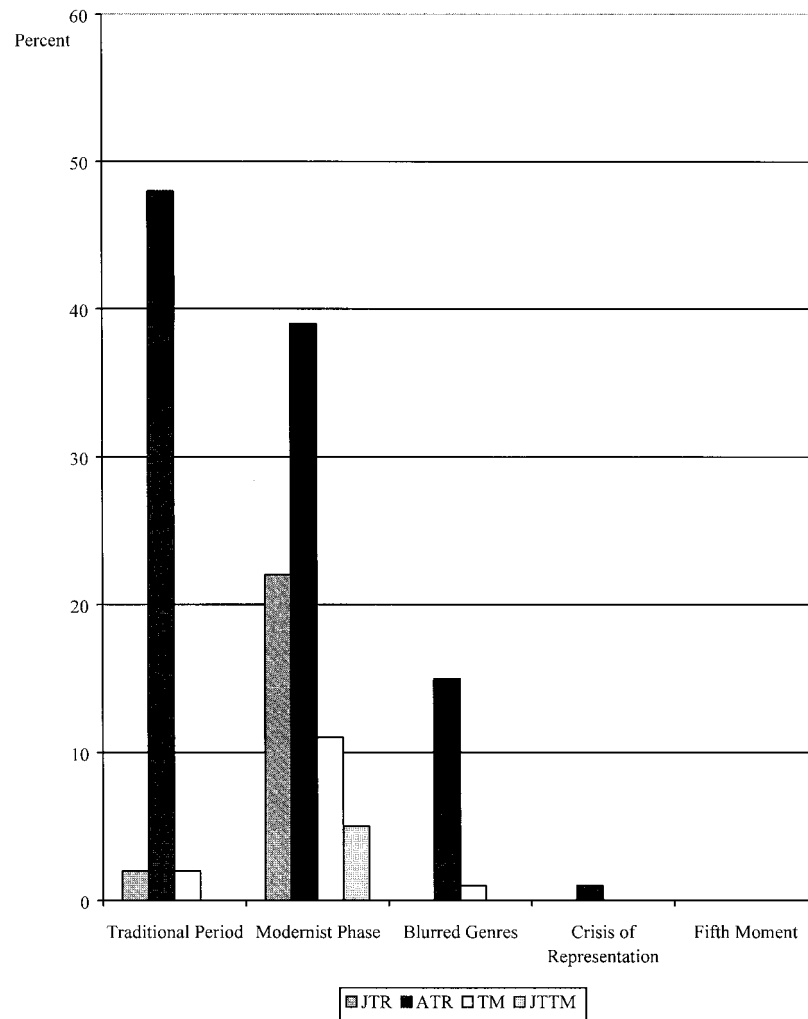


Figure 3. Moments of Qualitative Research by Journal

tative efforts appearing in *Annals* can be characterized as first moment or traditional period articles. In a large part, this can be attributed to the strong qualitative traditions found in the disciplines of anthropology and sociology. Further, techniques such as ethnography or participant observation are not the typical tools of applied research.

Although a few first-moment studies appeared in the three applied journals, the most common qualitative style was best described by the second moment, or modernist phase, usually used to emphasize the trustworthiness of data gathering and analysis. These findings were consistent with the regular use of qualitative techniques by applied researchers to frame or enrich quantitative data (i.e. precursors to quantification) and to test hypotheses, concepts, or theories. Similarly, qualitative researchers publishing in *Annals* also embraced the structure embodied in the second moment, as more than one-third of its qualitative articles displayed systematic, structured, and standardized approaches to data gathering. The dominance of first and second moment research may suggest a reliance on more familiar qualitative and highly documented methods. Conversely, it may suggest that these methods are most appropriate for the questions, situations, and settings found in published tourism research.

As to the third moment, *Annals of Tourism Research* was the only journal that published articles characteristic of blurred genres. These articles embraced wider views of data gathering as well as broader perspectives on issues to consider. For example, data sources such as photographs, advertisements, and personal experiences joined more traditional forms of qualitative data collection, such as participant observation, depth interviews, and ethnography. Further, the use of semiotics, phenomenology, critical theory, and deconstructionism were evident when addressing issues. In only one instance was an article noted that approached the characteristics of the fourth moment: in this article, in a recent issue of *Annals*, the author wrote himself into the text as one of many voices contributing to the description of the phenomenon.

CONCLUSION

Based on the number of quantitative versus qualitative articles in the four tourism journals, there is little doubt that the “dominant” paradigm is positivism. This finding is not surprising when considered chronologically, as interpretive paradigms have lagged behind their positivist predecessor. For example, it took 150 years before Kant (1781) questioned the objectivism and quantification of Descartes (1637) as a way to “truth.” While alternatives to Cartesian inquiry have been continuously promoted and explored, they have only reached a loud and collective voice since the 60s. The primary sources of these methods have largely come from sociology and anthropology, but have gained footings in many disciplines since that time (Hamilton 1994). Given their early acceptance and

development of alternative methods, it is not surprising that sociologists and anthropologists have led in the realm of qualitative tourism research. The findings of this study suggest that they are contributing to the bulk of the qualitative treatments while other academic communities have been slower (but emerging) to use methods in the interpretive paradigm. Thus, scholars and editors in these disciplines have been trained in qualitative techniques while scholars in other disciplines have had less exposure.

The philosophy and practice of qualitative inquiry also has been incorporated into most sociological and anthropological doctoral curriculums but rarely in tourism. This training limitation in some ways explains the reliance on the positivist paradigm and the use of qualitative techniques as a precursor to survey research. As an example from a closely related field, Riddick, DeSchriver and Weissinger (1984, 1988) found that qualitative methods were used in only three of 196 empirical studies in the *Journal of Leisure Research*, between 1978 and 1987. More recently, a review of two leisure journals between 1992 and 1996 revealed a sharp increase in qualitative publications. Perhaps this trend is a reason why leisure researchers publishing tourism articles, were identified as an emerging group in this investigation. Considering qualitative inquiry, Weissinger, Bowling and Henderson (1996) reviewed 16 of 19, US doctoral programs in leisure studies. Only three programs required one qualitative methods course while the average doctoral student took three statistics classes and one quantitative methods course. Furthermore, only 27% of doctoral students reported their advisors as supportive of qualitative methods. In a supporting study, Weissinger, Henderson and Bowling (1997) found that leisure researchers/advisors had very little qualitative training. While they averaged 3.5 courses in statistics and 2.1 courses in quantitative methods, they had taken an average of 0.82 qualitative courses. These findings are consistent with the applied science of education where Todd and Reece (1990) found that 70% of professors teaching educational research methods focused entirely on quantitative methods.

A review of each journal's "mission" suggests other reasons why qualitative tourism research is limited in number and found primarily in the journal with a social science orientation. ATR is a "social sciences journal focusing upon the academic perspectives of tourism. While striving for a balance of theory and application, *Annals* is ultimately dedicated to developing theoretical constructs". The other three journals (JTR, JTTM, and TM) invite researchers to submit applied research that is useful to practitioners of tourism. The minor contribution of qualitative research in these applied journals may be due to the underlying financial motive of the tourism industry and its orientation to the mass movement of people. In an industry where viability depends on economic success, research concerns are directed to issues that enhance this goal and justify its existence as an economic force. Thus, qualitative research may not provide the generalizability necessary to translate findings into increased

visitation and income. Likewise, funding sources are more likely to support generalizable studies that have an impact on practices affecting the bottom line. For example, studies about the commoditization of indigenous arts and sociocultural impacts on underdeveloped countries do not translate into practices and revenue like new segmentation strategies or models that predict tourism flows.

What was surprising about the state of qualitative tourism research was that the use of traditional techniques, Denzin and Lincoln's (1994) first two moments, are beginning to incorporate characteristics of the third moment. The first moment is characterized by research which adopts a Colonialist perspective, privileges the omnipotent observer, museumifies cultures of the Other, and reports timeless and unchanging accounts of "reality." Examples include Cohen's (1982) research in Thailand, Towner's (1985) renditions of the Grand Tour, and Greenwood's (1977) study of the Alarde in Fuenterrabia. In the second moment, the paradigm shifts to post-positivism, but with clear remnants of positivistic rigor. The underclass, deviants, and social processes are frequently the focus of the second moment. Examples are Dann's (1992) work using travelogues and Gottlieb's (1982) investigation of tourism as inversionary behavior. Forays into feminist and ethnic issues, flirtation with semiotics, and the examination of tourism rituals indicate that qualitative research is breaching the third moment. However, it will be difficult to move beyond the second moment given publication barriers such as the requirement to write in third person and to follow prescribed patterns of writing in the mode of classical scientific method. As a singular example, the necessity of writing in third person precludes reflexivity, which advocates the author's integral part in the construction of the text.

Therefore, the lower production of qualitative research may be a three-part issue. First, there are some editors and reviewers who are not familiar with qualitative research and treat it with suspicion. Second, it is difficult for non-qualitative researchers to understand and accept findings as reliable and valid if they are not fully explicated. In fact, only a few qualitative researchers disclosed their methods of analysis in commonly used terms or detailed description. Usually, qualitative scholars described many parts of the research process thoroughly, but often their explanations of their analytical procedures and interpretation were conspicuous in their absence. Third, the tourism industry is about the generation of dollars and qualitative research is less able (not unable) to translate its findings into practices that affect the bottom line.

Denzin and Lincoln's conceptual continuum of qualitative research foreshadows where qualitative tourism inquiry might go. This field is beginning to explore the potential of the third moment, and the need for deeper understanding will ensure continued growth toward contemporary qualitative research. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that the tourism industry is economically-driven, and thus has a clear place for quantification. At the

same time, because there are other ways of knowing, it must have an equally clear place for qualitative research. ■

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