



# **Desirability, Values and Ideology in *CNN Travel* -- Discourse Analysis on Travel Stories**

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## Abstract

**Title:** Values, Desirability and Ideology in *CNN Travel* -- a Discourse Analysis on Travel Stories

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**Aim:** The aim is to examine which values and ideologies *CNN Travel* fulfills in their stories.

**Method:** Qualitative discourse analysis.

**Summary:** This Bachelor's thesis asks what is desirable, which are the values of *CNN Travel*, the major U.S. news corporation *CNN*'s online travel site. The question has been answered through a qualitative discourse analysis on 20 chosen travel stories, picked by their relevancy, diversity, and their expressive tone. Due to the limited space and the specific textual method, the analysis was restricted to the editorial texts of these stories. The chosen method was discourse analyst Norman Fairclough's model of evaluation, which revealed the explicit and implicit ways the media texts suggest desired characteristics. These linguistic devices took the readers' agreement for granted, as they imposed a shared cultural ground with common values, which is a base for a mutual understanding.

After identifying the explicit and implicit evaluations, they were organized according to some major discursive themes found in the texts, and finally analyzed in order to expose their underlying values. The results showed how these certain values brought forth certain ideologies, to some extent in keeping with recent research of tourism and travel journalism. As the study has been put into a larger context of related research, the following pages will first explain some larger concepts of discourse analysis, such as representation, cultural stereotypes, ideology and power. A cross-section from older to more contemporary theories in culture studies has been utilized; moving from Edward Said's postcolonial classic *Orientalism*, an example of cultural stereotyping, to the more recent topics of 'promotion culture' and consumerism, and tourism researcher John Urry's ideas about the consumption of places and the 'tourist gaze.' In the end, the study considers what kind of power does travel journalism possess over the represented tourism destinations. Finally, when questioning the travel journalists' legitimacy and power to represent the travel destinations, poststructuralist Michel Foucault's theory about the 'regime of truth,' as well as Antonio Gramsci's ideas of 'hegemony,' theory of dominance through consent, were discussed and confirmed.

**Keywords:** *CNN Travel*, travel journalism, online journalism, discourse analysis, representation, values, ideology, power, hegemony, the regime of truth, consumerism, the tourist gaze, othering.

# Contents

<b>1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>6</b>
1.1 Research questions .....	7
1.2 Choice of material and limitations.....	7
<b>2. Background.....</b>	<b>8</b>
2.1 CNN Travel, Policy .....	8
2.2 CNN Travel, Sponsorships policy .....	9
<b>3. Previous research about travel journalism (TJ) and tourism .....</b>	<b>9</b>
3.1 Globalization discourses in travel magazines.....	9
3.2 Myths around tourism places and the travelers' identity construction.....	9
3.3 'Othering' and the search of authenticity .....	10
<b>4. Theory .....</b>	<b>11</b>
4.1 Motivation for the chosen theories .....	11
4.2 Discourse and ideology .....	12
4.3 Representation and cultural understanding.....	13
4.4 Hegemony, Antonio Gramsci.....	13
4.5 The regime of truth, Michel Foucault.....	14
4.6 Consumerism .....	14
4.7 The tourist gaze, John Urry .....	15
4.8 Othering, Edward Said.....	16
<b>5. Method .....</b>	<b>17</b>
5.1 Motivation for the social constructivist viewpoint and the method of qualitative discourse analysis (DA).....	17
5.2 Operationalization of Norman Fairclough's DA .....	18
5.2.1 Fairclough's four categories of evaluation .....	18

5.2.2 Fairclough's fourth category of evaluation: value assumptions.....	19
5.3 Evaluation of my method, qualitative DA.....	20
<b>6. Analysis.....</b>	<b>21</b>
6.1 Explicit evaluations: Fairclough's first category of evaluative statements.....	21
6.1.2 The scale of intensity in the evaluative statements: chosen positive adjectives, superlatives, and the formation of new evaluative words.....	22
6.1.3 Conclusions about the explicit evaluations.....	23
6.2 Implicit evaluations: the construction of knowledge.....	24
6.2.1 Harnessing scenes by gazing and participating in them.....	24
6.3 Implicit value assumptions in travel stories.....	27
6.3.1 Time perspective: construction of prestigiousness from the old to the contemporary..	27
6.3.2 Diversity, the discourse for marketing to various target groups.....	28
6.3.3 The myth around the special, the authentic, the true.....	29
6.3.4 The construction of the exotic, pristine paradise, and its inner contradictions with marketing.....	31
6.3.5 The discourse of popularity, yet excluding other tourists.....	33
6.3.6 Othering foreign cultures into exotic.....	34
6.3.7 The discourse of reverie, fiction and entertainment.....	35
6.3.8 Affordable luxury -- the discourse of a bargain.....	38
6.3.9 'How to' stories: Instructing tourist action and naturalizing the capitalist ideology.....	39
<b>7. Conclusions and discussion.....</b>	<b>41</b>
7.1 The desired values.....	41
7.1.1 Major value themes of uniqueness, diversity and exoticism.....	41
7.1.2 The imaginary consumption of places and travelers' identity construction.....	43
7.1.3 Problematic values and stereotyping.....	44
7.2 Power relations in CNN Travel stories.....	45
7.3 Proposal for further research.....	46

<b>8. References.....</b>	<b>48</b>
8.1 Books.....	48
8.2 Dissertations .....	49
8.3 Journals.....	49
8.4 Web sources.....	49
8.5 CNN Background .....	49
<b>9. Appendix.....</b>	<b>50</b>
9.1 Appendix 1: Empirical material.....	50
9.2 Appendix 2: Method .....	52
9.2.1 Norman Fairclough's four categories of evaluation.....	52
9.2.2 Fairclough's three types of assumptions .....	53

# 1. Introduction

To travel is to desire; to see and experience something new and foreign. It is an earnest wish for any labored, routine-burdened person to take a holiday. To detach, to break free, to let go. But in the larger perspective of modern tourism business, the scene becomes more complex than that; travel agents selling package tours, travel magazines hinting about “must-see” spots, and on-site, local performers offering cultural shows to fulfill the tourists’ expectations. What are the desires of this multifaceted industry?

As a student of journalism, and as an ambitious traveler myself, my interest in this picture is travel journalism (TJ). What is the function of it in the modern tourism business? According to media researcher Emilia Ljungberg: “Travel narratives offer stories about the world while at the same time presenting places as products of the tourism industry.”<sup>1</sup> So travel stories commodify places, packaging these unconventional products attractively. As many postmodernist media researchers agree, these stories cannot be read as reflections of reality, but as constructed representations about it. Now reversely then, could these final packages, the media texts be examined for *how* they are constructed; with which values and ideologies? This is the core of my fascination and my mission in this thesis.

Fortunately, I have found a fitting method for exploring the evaluations and values of travel discourse. This is Norman Fairclough’s method of discourse analysis, conducted to the visible explicit and hidden implicit evaluations found in chosen 20 *CNN Travel* stories. This material is carefully selected from *CNN Travel*, a major news website with a global approach. My method should answer the question; *what* is desirable by this specific travel writing? Moreover, I will ponder *why* are certain values prioritized, bringing the discussion into a deeper level of ideologies of *CNN* travel journalism.

I find these questions feasible and worth for asking. TJ has an unauthorized power to form images of certain cultures, which comes with democratic risks in these increasingly globalizing and culturally interlinked times. Even if the reporters’ representations have an arguably large potential

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<sup>1</sup> E. Ljungberg, *Global Lifestyles, Constructions of Places and Identities in Travel Journalism*, Doctoral Dissertation, Lund University, Halmstad, Bulls, 2012, p. 11.

for misrepresentation, they appear realistic and make promises about the tourism destination, the product. If these constructed discourses become the widely considered truth about a destination and its people -- as one theorist Michel Foucault has suggested -- TJ has a democratically crucial position which should require responsible conduct. In this case, the representers should watch out for their desires, as they may come true.

## 1.1 Research questions

My core focus is to examine the values, the appreciations in *CNN Travel* stories. Here are my research questions:

1. According to their explicit and implicit evaluations, which values does *CNN Travel* construct as desirable?
2. What kind of ideologies do these values serve?

## 1.2 Choice of material and limitations

When choosing the material, I found an abundance of travel magazines, often linked to a specific promotion purpose, such as an airline or a certain destination. Instead of this obvious commercial bias, I preferred a more neutral travel news provider with a wider selection of destinations and approaches. In explanation, if I wanted to conduct a valid and a relevant research, I should be able to trust my source with appropriate expectations for a high-quality journalistic product, such as diversity, fairness and relevancy. This is why I chose *CNN Travel* website, which is part of the major U.S. news broadcaster *CNN*, the “world's leading global 24-hour news network,” according to *CNN Asia Pacific*.<sup>2</sup> Serving my goals, the website has a global approach, frequent updates and a relatively unbiased political status.

I have browsed the site since the start of my thesis period, September 2013, and chosen stories which have a particularly expressive tone and cover many topics from different parts of the world. The schedule allowed me to include the last stories for my selection in mid-December 2013. Altogether I have chosen 20 *CNN Travel* stories, an amount which I have estimated to be somewhat

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<sup>2</sup> *CNN Asia Pacific*, ‘CNN International launches new digital travel platform ‘CNN Travel’’, 14 November 2012, <http://www.cnnasiapacific.com/press/en/content/849/> (accessed 13 December 2013).

comprehensive, yet manageable for a qualitative research. These stories can be found in the Appendix 1.<sup>3</sup> I acknowledge this selection and my approach is certainly not all-encompassing, the only truth about them; other *CNN Travel* stories, other period of time, other researcher should definitely have other results and interpret them differently. Following the most recent journalistic ideals, my viewpoint is admittedly subjective, yet thriving to reach the most valid result in this context.

## 2. Background

### 2.1 *CNN Travel*, Policy

“*CNN Travel* is *CNN International*’s new travel website” says the “About Us” section on the website.<sup>4</sup> The site is a part of *CNN* brand, available to two billion people via 18 TV, internet and mobile services produced by *CNN Worldwide*, which is a division of American companies Turner Broadcasting System Inc. and Time Warner Inc.<sup>5</sup> Their most-recent global travel site was launched in 2012, bringing together the existing digital portfolio of *CNNGo.com*, an Asia Pacific-focused and Hong Kong-based travel start-up launched in 2009.

“About Us” continues with a description of their work: “Through a network of more than 800 travel contributors and insiders around the world, and a dedicated global team of staff, *CNN Travel* delivers up-to-the-minute travel news, destination insights, inspirational travel ideas, original observation and thoroughly researched city and country insider guides with directions to the world’s hottest restaurants, bars, hotels and activities.”<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, *CNN Travel* features destination guides and stories on Latin America, North America, Europe, Asia Pacific, the Middle East and Africa.

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<sup>3</sup> Appendix 1: Empirical material, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> *CNN Travel*, About Us, <http://travel.cnn.com/about>, (accessed 13 December 2013).

<sup>5</sup> *CNN Asia Pacific*, 14 November 2012.

<sup>6</sup> *CNN Travel*, About Us, op. cit.



## 2.2 *CNN Travel*, Sponsorships policy

In the modern times of blurred lines between travel magazines' editorial content and advertorials, I find it relevant to cite *CNN* "Sponsorships policy" here: "Parts of *CNN*'s coverage beyond the daily news are produced as Special Reports, which attract sponsors who pay to associate their products or services with the editorial content." "At no stage do the sponsors have a say in which stories *CNN* covers, which people *CNN* interviews or how we present our editorial content on television or our digital services, nor do sponsors review or approve any content before it airs or is published."<sup>7</sup> Thus some of the analyzed material may be sponsored, with a possible effect on *CNN*'s values and somewhat diminishing the source's reliability in terms of objectivity.

## 3. Previous research about travel journalism (TJ) and tourism

### 3.1 Globalization discourses in travel magazines

The genre of travel magazines is rather unexplored in a scholarly sense, so the few studies have been particularly inspirational to me; one of them being Emilia Ljungberg's dissertation *Global Lifestyles*. In short, her study about *RES*, a Swedish travel magazine and *Business Traveller A/P*, an Asia Pacific edition of the international *Business Traveller*, showed: "Globalization discourses were utilized by the magazines in their construction of a tourist world that is exotic, harmonious, comfortable, and, increasingly over the years, stylish and luxurious."<sup>8</sup> Even if my material differs from hers, as her chosen magazines had Swedish or Asian focuses and *CNN Travel* is a global online publication tied to a large news corporation, in the scale of larger travel news trends, her findings encourage and support mine.

### 3.2 Myths around tourism places and the travelers' identity construction

Travel journalism is commonly connected to myths, as Ljungberg said: "They [travel stories] are co-producers of the myths that surround places."<sup>9</sup> Also Jonas Larsen said in his Ph.D: "Places are full of circulating myths, desires and fantasies that are materialised and mobilised in and through

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<sup>7</sup> *CNN Travel*, Sponsorships policy, 9 August 2012, <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/08/09/world/sponsorships-policy/index.html> (accessed 13 December 2013).

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, p. 231.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, p. 11.

books, brochures, postcards and photo-albums.”<sup>10</sup> In definition, these myths are socially constructed notions, narratives and assumptions, which become taken for granted within a particular culture and time and are thus naturalized. John Urry has developed this term into ‘place-myths,’ regarding myths around tourism locations. According to him, the time of modernity has developed many social spaces which are wholly or partly dependent on visitors, and that the visitors to these places are attracted to exactly the place-myths that surround and constitute such places.<sup>11</sup>

The myths around tourism places can also be used as positions for identity construction. Torun Elsrud’s doctoral thesis *Taking Time and Making Journeys* (2004), a qualitative analysis of travel magazines, guidebooks and backpacker interviews showed how the travel media reproduces certain images of a tourism destination, and how independent travelers use these places as arenas for constructing their individual identity.<sup>12</sup> She proved that in the service of this identity-building, the foreign culture is often constructed as something primitive, in a slackened or a frozen time without materialism and the ‘ownership,’ and its people naïve, free-spirited and childish. Consequently, the representations of the foreign countries and nations are often stereotypical and repressive to the diversity of local lifestyles.

### 3.3 ‘Othering’ and the search of authenticity

In culture studies the primitivizing and patronizing description of foreign people is termed ‘othering,’ familiar from Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978), a classic reference book in postcolonial studies. This theory turned out to explain a great deal of my findings, so it will be concentrated more in my theory and analysis chapter. The interesting part for my study is the motivation for this cultural repression. Inspired by Said, David Brown linked the othering with tourists’ search for an ‘authentic Self’: “Tourism is characterised by a tension between the pursuit of authenticity in the

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<sup>10</sup> J. Larsen, *Performing Tourist Photography*, Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Geography and International Development Studies, Roskilde University, Denmark, 2004, p. 28.

<sup>11</sup> S. Lash, J. Urry, *Economies of signs and space*, Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1994, cited by J. Urry, *Consuming Places*, London, Routledge, 1995, p. 194.

<sup>12</sup> T. Elsrud, *Taking Time and Making Journeys. Narratives on Self and the Other among Backpackers*, Doctoral Thesis, Linnaeus University, 2004. p. 143.

‘Other’ and the search for an authentic ‘Self’ through experience and spectacle.”<sup>13</sup> Othering thus creates a contrast between one’s own and the foreign culture.

Ljungberg instead hinted how TJ could bring different cultures closer, and create cultural understanding: “The genre is seen as having the potential of representing the world to the readers in a way that would make the reader better able to understand the foreign, to gain knowledge of the exotic Other, but instead it is argued that travel writing is being held hostage by commercialism and a heritage of colonial discourses.”<sup>14</sup> Thus her and many other postmodernist researchers work seems pessimistic to this cultural convergence. By this field of cultural research, TJ thus has its own agenda when representing and contrasting different cultures, often with discriminating results.

## 4. Theory

### 4.1 Motivation for the chosen theories

Despite their soft feature status, travel stories have a significant ideological level, arguably important for scrutiny. These stories are discursive *offers* for the readers, powerful in their ways to represent the world while suggesting what the readers should find interesting in it. For example, these offers involve *prioritizing* certain destinations and activities; a beach holiday in Mauritius, shopping in Paris or skiing in Japan? Moreover, these destinations are *described* differently, some are ‘ancient’ while others ‘all about the new,’ some ‘pristine’ while others ‘popular.’ In order to explain why the stories bring forth certain values while disregarding others, I have found the following theories, demonstrated in more detail below. General terms of discourse, representation and ideology are explained, and then more specific theories of hegemony, the regime of truth, consumerism, the tourist gaze and othering are employed for further use. After identifying the major values in *CNN* discourses, my aim is to examine which deeper ideologies do they serve.

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<sup>13</sup> D. Brown, ‘Genuine Fakes, The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism,’ in T. Selwyn, (ed.), pp. 33, Chichester: Wiley, 1996, cited in A. Jaworski, A. Pritchard, *Discourse, Communication and Tourism*, Great Britain, Channel View Publications, 2005, p. 151.

<sup>14</sup> Ljungberg, 2012, p. 39.

## 4.2 Discourse and ideology

My study is based on Norman Fairclough's definition about discourse: "A discourse is the language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view. Discourses appertain broadly to knowledge and knowledge construction."<sup>15</sup> This link to knowledge construction is explained in more detail later in Michel Foucault's regime of truth. Culture researcher Stuart Hall refines this definition: "Discourse constructs the topic. It governs the way that a topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about." But at the same time: "So also, by definition, it 'rules out,' limits and restricts other ways of talking, of conducting ourselves in relations to the topic or constructing knowledge about it."<sup>16</sup> The power of discourse thus includes, it constructs the tourism places, but simultaneously excludes other ways of representing them.

According to Fairclough, discourse is inevitably connected to ideology, which he defined as "meaning in the service of power," citing sociologist John B. Thompson.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, Fairclough debated that discourse has the power to naturalize ideologies. "A characteristic of a dominant IDF (ideological-discursive formation) is the capacity to 'naturalise' ideologies, i.e., to win acceptance for them as non-ideological 'common sense.'"<sup>18</sup> This included a warning: "The concept of ideology often implies distortion, 'false consciousness,' manipulation of the truth in the pursuit of particular interests."<sup>19</sup> He continued: "Understanding how relations are constructed in the media between audiences and those who dominate the economy, politics and culture, is an important part of general understanding of relations of power and domination in contemporary societies."<sup>20</sup> Consequently, my aim is to find which particular interests are naturalized, and to expose these power relations.

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<sup>15</sup> N. Fairclough, *Media Discourse*, New York, Oxford University Press Inc., 1995, p. 56.

<sup>16</sup> S. Hall, 'The Work of Representation,' in S. Hall (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, London, SAGE Publications Ltd., 1997, p. 44.

<sup>17</sup> J. B. Thompson, *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*, Berkeley, L.A., University of California Press, 1984, cited in N. Fairclough, *Media Discourse*, New York, Oxford University Press Inc., 1995, p. 14.

<sup>18</sup> N. Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, Malaysia, Pearson Education Limited, 2010, p.30.

<sup>19</sup> N. Fairclough, 1995, p. 46.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*, p. 126.

### 4.3 Representation and cultural understanding

Most contemporary media researchers agree that even if discourse constructs certain knowledge, this is not a reflection of reality, but a representation about it. Stuart Hall defined the term by large: “Representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people.”<sup>21</sup> In broad definition representations are stories, narratives, and especially travel stories have a chance to make something foreign and distant into something up-close and understandable. To represent is to mean. Hall concluded: “To belong to a culture is to belong to roughly the same conceptual and linguistic universe.”<sup>22</sup> Thus in order for the representations to be meaningful, the author and the implied reader must share a culture to some extent, as a kind of a common ground for their information exchange. However, it is commonly known that this mutual belief system simultaneously forms cultural stereotypes, which are a kind of communicative shortcuts for shared meanings.

Language use thus has crucial social functions. Fairclough said: “Language use is moreover, constitutive both in conventional ways which help to reproduce and maintain existing social identities, relations and systems of knowledge and belief, and in creative ways which help to transform them.”<sup>23</sup> Inspired by Fairclough and Hall, I consider the representations can be examined reversely; as an endeavor to say something meaningful and appreciated while at the same time maintaining the existing social identities, systems of knowledge and power.

### 4.4 Hegemony, Antonio Gramsci

Antonio Gramsci, a famous Marxist theorist has explained the character and function of these unequal power relations with his idea of hegemony. This is a “theory of power and domination which emphasizes power through achieving consent rather than through coercion, and the importance of cultural aspects of domination which depend upon a particular articulation of a plurality of practices.”<sup>24</sup> Gramsci saw the capitalist civil society as a protracted struggle between the dominant and the subordinate classes, each seeking for hegemonic dominance. Down below, the

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<sup>21</sup> S. Hall, 1997, p. 15.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.* p. 22.

<sup>23</sup> N. Fairclough, *Media Discourse*, New York, Oxford University Press Inc., 1995, p.55.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*, p. 67.

lower groups aim to gather the capital, which is politically, intellectually, culturally and economically dominated by the society elites. On top, the interests of the dominant classes appear to be the 'common sense' for the whole society. Gramsci questioned why the lower classes don't rebel, and came up with his theory of manipulated consent. According to this hegemonic model, the journalists' do not strive for truthful representations, but aim to upgrade their position in the given society's power matrix. On the side, they gather economical capital, and as a profiting part of the hierarchy, aim to maintain the existence of this power system.<sup>25</sup> I shall discuss this theory when analyzing the ideology of TJ.

#### 4.5 The regime of truth, Michel Foucault

As Fairclough and Hall pointed out earlier, discourse constructs knowledge and excludes other ways to reason about the topic. Michel Foucault, a contemporary French philosopher has taken this approach further by his theory of the regime of truth: "Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth; that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true, the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements."<sup>26</sup> Foucault's studies were based in the institutions of a society; schools, hospitals and mental asylums, and he dealt much of the power to the professionals, concerning "the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true."<sup>27</sup> Travel news has a less serious status and travel reporters profession is not as institutionalized as Foucault's subjects, but his ideas inspire my work in more general terms. Especially his predictions regarding the 'truth,' this context-bound discursive formation, uttered here by Stuart Hall: "Knowledge linked to power, not only assumes the authority of 'the truth' but has the power to *make itself true*."<sup>28</sup> In short; those who dominate the representations of the world, have a chance to shape its future. A dangerous idea, as shall be seen in my analysis.

#### 4.6 Consumerism

Many media researchers have criticized the Western mainstream media from its capitalist ideology and commercialization, the increasing economic priorities. The genre of travel journalism especially

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<sup>25</sup> D. Kellner, et. al., 'Michel Foucault,' *21 Century Schools*, 29 November 2013, [http://www.21stcenturyschools.com/Michel\\_Foucault.htm](http://www.21stcenturyschools.com/Michel_Foucault.htm) , (accessed 29 November 2013).

<sup>26</sup> M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, Brighton, Harvester, 1980, p. 131.

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.*, p.131.

<sup>28</sup> S. Hall, 1997, p. 33.

has a fame of commercial feature journalism, and as *CNN Travel*'s "Sponsorship policy" suggests, many travel stories actually are ordered advertorials.<sup>29</sup> By Fairclough, this media commercialization is a part of a larger trend, and some researchers have started to refer to the contemporary societies as 'consumer' or 'promotional' cultures.<sup>30</sup>

Consumption, however is not only limited to the material and economical aspects of booking a promoted tour or a hotel room. Instead, consumption is a complex cultural practice, and it has many gratifications, as Emilia Ljungberg noted, citing Patrick Mullins: "In consumerist societies, consumption does more than satisfy needs; it serves as a source of desire, as well as fun, enjoyment, and pleasure."<sup>31</sup> Tourism places can for example be used as a stage for identity-construction and as a canvas for individual expression, as Torun Elsrud's study about backpacker identities showed. Consumption can also be directed to images and myths about a place, as John Urry argumentated in his book *Consuming Places* (2002). These increasingly complex ways of consumption will be discussed later in my analysis.

#### **4.7 The tourist gaze, John Urry**

Tourism researcher John Urry has coined the practice of imaginary consumption by term the "tourist gaze," a concept which has been especially influential in my study. "The concept of the gaze highlights that looking is a learned ability and that the pure and innocent eye is a myth."<sup>32</sup> Instead: "Gazing at particular sights is conditioned by personal experiences and memories and framed by rules and styles, as well as by circulating images and texts of this and other places. Such 'frames' are critical resources, techniques, cultural lenses that potentially enable tourists to see the physical forms and material spaces before their eyes as 'interesting, good or beautiful.'" "And without these lenses the beautiful order found in nature or the built world would be very different."<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> *CNN Travel*, Sponsorships policy, 9 August 2012.

<sup>30</sup> N. Fairclough, 1995, p. 11.

<sup>31</sup> P. Mullins, 'International Tourism and the Cities of Southeast Asia,' in Judd, Dennis R. and Fainstein, Susan S. (eds.), *The Tourist City*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999, cited by E. Ljungberg, 2012, p. 48.

<sup>32</sup> J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, London, SAGE Publications Ltd., 2011, p. 2.

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*, p. 2.

Consequently, seeing the Eiffel Tower or the Giza Pyramids can never solemnly be a pure physical observation. Instead it is an experience prepared by tourism institutions as well as travel reporters, and finally interpreted in different ways by different tourists in these travel destinations. "Gazing is not merely seeing, but involves cognitive work of interpreting, evaluating, drawing comparisons and making mental connections between signs and their referents, and capturing signs photographically. Gazing is a set of practices."<sup>34</sup> Thus the physical practice of gazing has many functions instead of a simple reflection of the reality, as Urry said: "People gaze upon the world through a particular filter of ideas, skills, desires and expectations, framed by social class, gender, nationality, age and education. Gazing is a performance that orders, shapes and classifies, rather than reflects the world."<sup>35</sup> This tourist gaze is one of my major ideological theories in the following analysis.

#### 4.8 Othering, Edward Said

Many of the mentioned scholars, for example Ljungberg and Elsrud have been inspired by Edward Said's theories in his book *Orientalism* (1995 [1978]). This literary classic debated and exposed the history of Western dominance through manipulative discourse of the colonized Orient in literary and scholarly texts. I have found Said's related theory of 'othering' useful for my study. This cultural practice is based on binary oppositions, each end enforcing the other's characteristics: the Western countries were represented as strong, rational, masculine, active, the imagined "Us" who left the colonial countries behind in development, leaving them weak, irrational, feminine, passive. "Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient -- dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it; in short Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."<sup>36</sup>

The 1978-published work, however is based and limited to the literary and scholarly texts of the Middle East, and it is likely these theories do not fully explain more recent travel journalism and commercial tourism material. Still, his findings are a prime example of how discourse can and has

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<sup>34</sup> J. Urry, 2011, p. 17.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>36</sup> E. W. Said, *Orientalism*, England, Penguin Books, 1995, [1978], p. 3.



been powerful and created shared identities of inclusion and exclusion -- with disastrously discriminating results.

## 5. Method

### 5.1 Motivation for the social constructivist viewpoint and the method of qualitative discourse analysis (DA)

My scientific viewpoint is that of a social constructivist, which is motivated by my theorists and by my method. Stuart Hall summarized this scientific approach: “Meaning is thought to be produced -- constructed -- rather than simply ‘found.’”<sup>37</sup> As my theory chapter suggested, the representations are constructed and they have an ideological agenda. Fairclough’s initial definition of discourse as “the language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view” also points to the social constructivist viewpoint.<sup>38</sup> Consequently, I see media texts as social constructions, full of discursive power. Adjectives ‘unique,’ ‘exotic’ or ‘enchanted’ are not only words, but they are encoded with values of being different, far away from everything else, to the extent of being paradisaical, magical, beyond real. Fairclough encouraged the research of this power: “Analysis of texts and practices should be mapped on to analysis of the institutional and wider social and cultural context of media practices, including relations of power and ideologies.”<sup>39</sup>

Fairclough hinted these ideologies could be revealed by exposing the implicit assumptions of texts. “Ideologies are propositions that generally figure as implicit assumptions in texts, which contribute to producing or reproducing unequal relations of power, relations of domination.”<sup>40</sup> This quote motivated the choice of my method; a qualitative discourse analysis of implicit and explicit evaluations in *CNN Travel*. What confirmed my choice was Fairclough’s comprehensive, hands-on instructions for finding these linguistic devices. These are stated shortly below and more concisely in Appendix 2.<sup>41</sup> The method is qualitative, as these evaluations are often embedded in the text.

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<sup>37</sup> S. Hall, 1997, p. 5.

<sup>38</sup> N. Fairclough, 1995, p. 56.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>40</sup> N. Fairclough, *Media Discourse*, New York, Oxford University Press Inc., 1995, p. 14.

<sup>41</sup> Appendix 2: Method, p. 52.

Their meanings must be interpreted and not just counted by frequency or space requirements, such as in a quantitative content analysis. Alas, they escape the quantitative methods' scope. *CNN Travel* uses discourse which is ambiguous, rich and deep, and thus my material encourages to focus in quality and detail, instead of measurable quantitative factors. With this focus I aim for a more reactive, field-based approach to my material, even if scientifically less generalizable or repeatable, and surprisingly time-consuming at the analysis part. This qualitative approach, however offers a more insightful way of interpreting my data, even if it simultaneously requires a notably higher level of self-reflection.

## 5.2 Operationalization of Norman Fairclough's DA

The point of my study is to examine *CNN Travel* stories by Norman Fairclough's model of evaluation, also found in Appendix 2.<sup>42</sup> Fairclough defines the evaluations as "explicit or implicit ways in which authors commit themselves to values."<sup>43</sup> An example of an explicit evaluation would be: "This destination is excellent," where the adjective 'excellent' evaluates the destination positively. Both types of *CNN Travel*'s evaluations will be examined, but for the ideological motivations, my final focus is on one of Fairclough's categories of implicit evaluation, value assumptions.

### 5.2.1 Fairclough's four categories of evaluation

Fairclough distinguished these four categories of evaluation, three of which are explicit and the last one implicit:

1. Evaluative statements ("statements about desirability and undesirability, what is good and what is bad," e.g. 'this book *is* good')
2. Statements with deontic (obligational) modalities (e.g. 'the values we believe in *should* shine through what we do')
3. Statements with affective mental process verbs ("generally subjectively marked evaluations," e.g. 'I *like* this book')

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<sup>42</sup> *ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>43</sup> N. Fairclough, 2003, p. 171.

4. Value assumptions (“cases without the relatively transparent markers of evaluation,” i.e. assumed values which “depend upon an assumption of shared familiarity with (not necessarily acceptance of) implicit value systems between the author and interpreter,” e.g. in a neo-liberal discourse to say that social cohesion is ‘a source of efficiency and adaptability,’ means desirable)<sup>44</sup>

Fairclough, however acknowledged the evaluations come in more depths than these four categories can explicate. Accordingly, he pointed to the evaluations’ ‘scale of intensity.’<sup>45</sup> Amounts of low to high intensity can be interpreted from the chosen verbs, such as ‘I like/love/adore this book,’ or from adjectives ‘this book is good/wonderful/fantastic’ or from adverbs ‘it’s badly/dreadfully/appallingly written.’ These levels of intensity appear later in my analysis.

### 5.2.2 Fairclough’s fourth category of evaluation: value assumptions

Value assumptions, the fourth and the only implicit category of evaluations, is the core tool in my study, so this methodology will be explained in more detail. Fairclough defined assumptions by large as “the types of implicitness which are generally distinguished in the literature of linguistic pragmatics (Blakemore 1992, Levinson (1983), Verschueren (1999) as presuppositions, logical implications or entailments, and implicatures.”<sup>46</sup> According to Fairclough, these implicit assumptions are inevitable in all texts and: “What is said in a text is ‘said’ against a background of what is ‘unsaid,’ but taken as given.”<sup>47</sup>

More specifically, these ‘unsaid’ suppositions are “assumptions about what is good or desirable.” Fairclough explained how they may be ‘triggered’ by their linguistic features: “Value assumptions can also be triggered by certain verbs -- for instance, ‘help’ (e.g. ‘a good training programme can *help* develop flexibility’) assumes that developing flexibility is desirable.”<sup>48</sup> Sometimes, however they do not have to be triggered: “There is no need for a trigger such as ‘threaten’ for ‘a sense of unease,’ ‘inequality’ and ‘polarization’ to be implicitly undesirable, one can interpret it as such on

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<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*, p. 171-173.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*, p. 172-173.

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>47</sup> *ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>48</sup> *ibid.*, p. 56.

the basis of one's knowledge and recognition of the value system which underlies the text."<sup>49</sup> My work will thus be seeking these taken-for-granted presumptions in *CNN Travel*, which should lead me to their common sense-ground of cultural values, and finally expose deeper ideologies.

### 5.3 Evaluation of my method, qualitative DA

According to media researcher Helge Östbye, the evaluation of a research method often discusses these three aspects: generalization, validity and reliability.<sup>50</sup> First, my material is quite limited and from only one content provider, so this study cannot generalize truths about travel journalism in whole. Secondly, my method is qualitative and goes beyond the measurable and widely generalizable nature sciences. As a part social sciences, discourses are more complex and bound to their sociocultural context, as well as I, as a researcher am bound to mine. This goes together with the latest postmodernist theories of relativism, which urge the researchers to admit their interpretation is subjective, only one of many truths. Positively, the humanities of today are thus open to more viewpoints, yet some scholars disagree if these interpretations are equally valid. Andrews has negotiated the dilemma by saying some scientific explanations can be more 'adequate' than others, so far the best options available until a more comprehensive paradigm arises.<sup>51</sup> I find this perception inspiring to my research, minding too broad generalizations yet seeking for the most adequate and relevant truth for this context.

Another aspect for the evaluation of my method is its reliability. This mainly involves my data processing, whether the reader can trust my material is competent and truthful, whether I have examined it with precision and insight, and whether I now thrive to represent it transparently. In order to maximize the reliability, I have carefully chosen my information source with preference of accuracy, fairness and diversity. I have read and support my findings with many recent theories of qualitative research, travel and tourism studies and discourse and narrative analysis, which can be seen in my references. The empiric material has been directly quoted and all the original stories can be easily found online for later inspection.

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<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>50</sup> H. Östbye, et al., *Metodbok för Medievetenskap*, Malmö, Liber, 2003, p.120.

<sup>51</sup> M. Andrews, C. Squire, M. Tamboukou, *Doing Narrative Research*, London, SAGE Publications Ltd., 2008, p. 54.

In critics to my data collection, my study lacks a visual analysis, essential for a complete examination of largely visual type of journalism such as this. Unfortunately, pictures bear a risk of an excessively subjective interpretation, whilst I prefer intersubjective results, which may be confirmed by other researchers. Accordingly, I want to keep my focus firmly based on my discourse analysis method, which by Fairclough's evaluations model is solemnly textual. Positively, the method concentrates much on grammar, rules which can be demonstrated and proven. The emphasis is particularly on the adjectives of sentences, which often are distinctive, extractable and have a clear meaning. This clear grammatical focus helps me to verify my findings, and adds the reliability of my method.

Thirdly, my analysis should prove its validity by answering the initial research questions. As shall be seen in the end, my inductive study identifies some emerging values in *CNN* stories and analyses their deeper connotations to ideologies. Thanks to my qualitative method, my study is able to introduce new surprising information, instead of only confirming or falsifying an initial hypothesis. The weakness of my method however is its openness to many interpretations and my inescapable subjectivity. It must be said; this study does not try to offer the *only* truth about *CNN Travel*. My aim is to offer one interpretation of the desires of their discourses, and encourage a larger discussion about travel journalism of our time.

## 6. Analysis

The analysis chapter shall first concentrate on the explicit evaluations in *CNN Travel*, and then move onto the implicit ones -- or as Fairclough put it; the value assumptions, which show the underlying appreciations of the travel site.

### 6.1 Explicit evaluations: Fairclough's first category of evaluative statements

*CNN Travel*'s explicit evaluations were easy to find in the form of Fairclough's first category, evaluative statements. This example demonstrates their function; "The food in San Sebastián is also fantastic."<sup>52</sup> Grammatically the sentence is simple: the noun 'food,' which is related to the culture of the tourism destination is activated by an assertive verb 'is,' instead of for example a modalized,

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<sup>52</sup> '11 places to go in 2014,' *CNN Travel*, 14 December 2013, [http://edition.cnn.com/2013/12/13/travel/best-destinations-2014/index.html?hpt=travel\\_hp\\_heroibox](http://edition.cnn.com/2013/12/13/travel/best-destinations-2014/index.html?hpt=travel_hp_heroibox) , (accessed 15 December 2013).

optional ‘can be,’ and described by ‘fantastic,’ a highly intense positive adjective. This short evaluative clause has a clear and an understandable flattering meaning. It also appears at the end of a chapter and concludes the message; San Sebastián is worth visiting for its food. Moreover, here the evaluative statement has an implicit assumption; as the food is described ‘also’ fantastic, the author assumes many other things about the destination should be, too. By this simple clause, the author has assertively evaluated the destination as a positive tourism experience, and offered the reader a way to take part in the action, by visiting and tasting the ‘fantastic food.’

### **6.1.2 The scale of intensity in the evaluative statements: chosen positive adjectives, superlatives, and the formation of new evaluative words**

In keeping with the previous example, also other stories’ approach was predominantly positive. Already the choice of adjectives was revealing in the following evaluative statements. One story described Macau food: “The dense texture of the olive oil adds a golden color and a fruity flavor.”<sup>53</sup> Here the positive evaluation is included in words ‘golden’ and ‘fruity’ -- attractive adjectives chosen instead of for example ‘yellow’ and ‘syrupy.’ In general, instead of ‘good,’ things were more likely ‘great,’ ‘wonderful,’ ‘tempting’ or ‘striking,’ such as “incredible wildlife experiences across East Africa.”<sup>54</sup> Or: “London shopping at its best is bold, eclectic and international.”<sup>55</sup> In the scale of intensity, these evaluations were strong, highly intense, and constructed an elaborate and attractive image of the destination.

Altogether the stories lifted ultimate tourism places and experiences. “Zouk is Singapore's most famous and popular club. Definitely a best of Singapore attraction.”<sup>56</sup> Seen here, superlatives were used for an extremely positive image, yet the chosen adjectives were highly subjective, such as “the most famous and popular” -- by whom? This Zouk was also described as a “global super club,” and other stories included similar exaggerating structures of a “super-cool boutique hotel” and an “ultra-crispy crust.” These prefixes of ‘super,’ ‘mega,’ and ‘ultra’ uplifted the tourism destinations into an

<sup>53</sup> ‘Egg tart odyssey: The quest for real Macanese food,’ *CNN Travel*, 2 December 2013, [http://travel.cnn.com/chefs-guide-traditional-portuguese-cooking-767031?hpt=travel\\_hp\\_blogroll](http://travel.cnn.com/chefs-guide-traditional-portuguese-cooking-767031?hpt=travel_hp_blogroll), (accessed 15 December 2013).

<sup>54</sup> ‘11 places to go in 2014,’ *CNN Travel*, 14 December 2013.

<sup>55</sup> ‘World's 12 best shopping cities,’ *CNN Travel*, 26 November 2013, <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/11/18/travel/worlds-best-shopping-cities/>, (accessed 15 December 2013).

<sup>56</sup> ‘Insider Guide: Best of Singapore,’ *CNN Travel*, 17 December 2013.

extremely positive status. However, the discourse of exaggeration lacked an obvious validation, yet still assuming the reporter's authority to evaluate.

Also other intensely promoting expressions suggested the author's legitimacy to evaluate. One example: "The Brazilians' love of a party is going to make it a must-visit long haul destination for 2014."<sup>57</sup> These 'must-see' or 'must-try' expressions had a highly demanding tone, suggesting an absolute necessity to visit the destination. To consume the destination by experiencing it. Another story mentioned shopping items in Madrid; "work-of-art statement umbrellas and "souvenir-worthy fans."<sup>58</sup> Here the reporters invented new evaluative words. 'Souvenir-worthy' was especially revealing in an ideological sense; to be valuable, is to be worth of buying. The capitalist ideology was thus embedded into the evaluation, assuming objects should be evaluated by their economical features. In this way, the reporters naturalized an ideology of consumption.

### **6.1.3 Conclusions about the explicit evaluations**

These previous evaluations were explicit, and showed how *CNN Travel* stories described and promoted tourism destinations. In summary, the destinations were uplifted with positive, exaggerated and superlative adjectives, offering an ultimate tourism experience for the suggested reader. The evaluation was thus a hidden offer. These evaluations were also prime examples of naturalizing an ideology of consumption and self-legitimizing the reporter's right to judge. The implied readers were assumed to agree with these reporters' claims, to adopt their ideology and consume their offers.

The two other categories of explicit evaluations; deontic modalities and affective mental process verbs were rather few in the stories so they will be included in the chapter of Implicit evaluations. The reason for the low number of these verb-linked evaluations is possibly the rare occasion of first-person narrators, of 'I's in texts. The reporters' appearance as all-knowing narrators can be seen as a hegemonic strategy, as they appeared objective and used this position to evaluate the destinations, yet often without a verification.

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<sup>57</sup> '11 places to go in 2014,' *CNN Travel*, 14 December 2013.

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.* *CNN Travel*, 26 November 2013.

## 6.2 Implicit evaluations: the construction of knowledge

After these explicit evaluations, against what was visibly said, I will move on to the implicit evaluations, sometimes even more revealing in terms of ideology. For example, in a story about Budapest Zoo, the Hungarian capital was described as “a city already renowned for its architecture.”<sup>59</sup> Here the reporter proposed that Budapest *has* some famous architecture, but moreover implicitly implied that the reader is *already* aware of it. Another example: “You've seen elephants, hippos and bears, but never in a setting like the Budapest Zoo.” Here the author addressed the reader directly with a generic ‘you,’ and predicted what they *have* and *have not* seen. In this way, the reporter positioned the reader according to their assumed amount of knowledge about the destination. A fitting offer followed: “So one of the finest collections of animals in the region is held in a setting with few rivals anywhere in Europe -- two good reasons to visit.” These examples showed how *CNN* reporters introduced information and assumed the implied reader’s pre-obtained awareness about the destination, altogether constructing and reproducing a system on knowledge.

This example links to the theory of Foucault’s regime of truth. As Foucault suggested, the construction of knowledge mounts up to what is considered the ‘truth,’ what is sayable about the destination. Consequently, the story brought forth a myth about Budapest being architecturally glamorous, yet it is possible that after reading, only few of the agreeing readers could name any renown buildings nor prove the claim inaccurate. In this way, the circulation of these myths could by time become the considered truth, the public opinion about the destination.

### 6.2.1 Harnessing scenes by gazing and participating in them

John Urry would point out that the praise to the Budapest Zoo prepared some of the destination pleasure for the reader/traveler. In his theory of the tourist gaze Urry said that pure and innocent eye is a myth, and visiting a famous sight is always a socially constructed event, a crash of pre-obtained and new information.<sup>60</sup> It is a situation where the tourist makes sense of the sight by their gathered

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<sup>59</sup> ‘Is this Europe's most interesting zoo?’ *CNN Travel*, 17 December 2013, <http://travel.cnn.com/wild-animals-and-wilder-buildings-budapest-zoo-275336>, (accessed 19 December 2013).

<sup>60</sup> J. Urry, 2011, p. 2.



knowledge, tourism material, expectations, prejudices and finally the actual experience on the holiday spot.

In keeping with this theory of the tourist gaze, watching and viewing was a major activity offered in many *CNN Travel* stories. "It's obviously all about the view here," said the reporter for example about Singapore observation wheel.<sup>61</sup> This gaze was constructed by diverse structures: "Budapest's most scenic park, Margaret Island," or "it's worth peeking inside" or "be sure to admire the Opera House."<sup>62</sup> The scenes were evaluated positively. Particularly article "8 of the world's cutest, coziest, wintriest scenes, and how to find them yourself" included many examples: "from the top the views over the Swiss, French and Italian Alps are incredible" or "from here (Whitefish Mountain Resort), the views of the jagged peaks of Glacier National Park are breathtaking."<sup>63</sup> The underlying assumption was that the beauty of the nature should be watched and appreciated. A photographer said about Diana's Baths, the U.S.: "What I find so enchanting about Diana's Baths is the multi-layered nature of the cascading falls... Between the ledges, pools, and rock formations there's endless beauty for the curious mind and hungry eye." In this way the waterfalls were turned into an object of gaze, an awe for 'the curious mind and hungry eye.'

This action of tourists' gazing turned its subjects into articles of consumption. Ultimately this capture could be seen in travel photography, a common tourist activity, as Urry cited Sontag: "[Photography's] main effect is to convert the world into a department store or a museum-without-walls in which every subject is depreciated into an article of consumption, promoted into an item for aesthetic appreciation."<sup>64</sup> Thus consumption is not only a material, economical transaction. In fact, instead of the actual products, "rather, satisfaction stems from anticipation, from imaginative pleasure-seeking,"<sup>65</sup> as Urry cited Colin Campbell. In a similar way, my material proved that the gratifications from their consumption indeed went beyond the material level.

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<sup>61</sup> 'Insider Guide: Best of Singapore,' *CNN Travel*, 17 December 2013.

<sup>62</sup> 'Insider Guide: Best of Budapest,' *CNN Travel*, 13 November 2013, <http://travel.cnn.com/insider-guide-best-budapest-087601>, (accessed 15 December 2013).

<sup>63</sup> '8 of the world's cutest, coziest, wintriest scenes, and how to find them yourself,' *CNN Travel*, 22 November 2013, [http://edition.cnn.com/2013/11/20/travel/winter-scenes/index.html?hpt=travel\\_hp\\_row4right](http://edition.cnn.com/2013/11/20/travel/winter-scenes/index.html?hpt=travel_hp_row4right), (accessed 15 December 2013).

<sup>64</sup> S. Sontag, *On Photography*, Penguin Books, London, 1977, cited by J. Urry, 2011, p. 166.

<sup>65</sup> C. Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1987, cited by J. Urry, 2011, p. 51.

However, the traveler was not only made into a gazer, but also positioned as a participant in a new culture. One of the three motorcyclists in the U.S. story said: "The whole community came out and let us be part of it [parade for Independence Day] and accepted us into the community."<sup>66</sup> The goal was to discover, as the motorcyclist said: "With motorcycles you feel the scenery and the microclimate change." Here the mental process verb 'feel' reveals the goal is to experience the scenery with one's senses, not just see it. Finally: "The three friends credit each other with making it an amazing experience." The credited outcome is the 'amazing experience,' instead of simply viewing the sights.

The value of experience was thus crucial in *CNN Travel*. However, this value of discovery could collide with cultural discretion and safety. A caption to a landscape picture about Russian climbers to the Giza Pyramids said: "Sorry for the illegal climb, not so sorry for the outrageous pics." An interview bite from one of the climbers said: "We didn't want to insult anyone. We were just following the dream."<sup>67</sup> Attaining experience may thus be risky, but it is approved for achieving "dreams," personal goals. After a visit to Budapest Zoo; "Your head will be spinning with all the bits of the Earth you've covered (albeit in miniature) in a day."<sup>68</sup> In a similar manner as in a zoo, it was given that the exotic could be tamed, the destinations utilized, 'covered.' As Jaworski and Pritchard pointed out, tourism has a specific power to harness its destinations: "Nature is transformed into landscape, containing images of trees, meadows and mountains that are to be known about, compared, evaluated, possessed."<sup>69</sup> The travel stories thus represented their objects as available for experiencing and possession, and in this way practiced a self-legitimized right to define their character over their own definitions. This reporters' possession of definition is a central realization in my study, and signals their exploitation of power.

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<sup>66</sup> 'Exploring America's Main Streets on a motorcycle,' *CNN Travel*, 6 November 2013, <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/11/06/travel/finding-main-street-motorcycle-journey/>, (accessed 15 December 2013).

<sup>67</sup> 'Poop cruise! And 30 other outrageous travel stories of 2013,' *CNN Travel*, 19 December 2013, [http://edition.cnn.com/2013/12/19/travel/outrageous-travel-stories-2013/index.html?hpt=travel\\_hp\\_heroibox](http://edition.cnn.com/2013/12/19/travel/outrageous-travel-stories-2013/index.html?hpt=travel_hp_heroibox), (accessed 19 December 2013).

<sup>68</sup> 'Is this Europe's most interesting zoo?' *CNN Travel*, 17 December 2013.

<sup>69</sup> A. Jaworski, A. Pritchard, 2005, p. 25.

### 6.3 Implicit value assumptions in travel stories

Next, I shall identify some major implicit value assumptions, which were identifiable and repetitive in *CNN* stories. These desirable characteristics are organized by their broader discursive concepts, such as time perspective, diversity, authenticity, exoticism, popularity, othering, reverie and economical prospects.

#### 6.3.1 Time perspective: construction of prestigiousness from the old to the contemporary

In time perspective, *CNN Travel* valued many options from the old to the new. First, historical interests were evident in many chosen topics, attractions and evaluations about them. Article “Britain’s oldest pub -- who deserves the crown?” was one example.<sup>70</sup> The lead: “You want to find the most ancient inn in Britain?” addressed the reader directly, assuming they wish to find ‘the most ancient inn.’ History was appreciated when it linked to a cultural tradition: “Try it [foie gras] the traditional way: accompanied by a glass of sweet Tokaj wine.”<sup>71</sup> Or: “Macau’s world famous cuisine -- a centuries-old fusion of Asian and Mediterranean cooking.”<sup>72</sup> In general, the adjective ‘old’ was however described with other, more attractive words, such as ‘ancient,’ ‘venerable,’ ‘rustic,’ ‘old-time elegance,’ ‘classic,’ even ‘olde.’ Or with names of foregone styles, such as Neo-Baroque, Art Deco or Edo-period. The value of oldness was thus mostly connected to prestigious cultural traditions.

Interestingly, value of the old often appeared with the new. The Singapore Guide hinted: “Old becomes new again, so goes the current restaurant trend of new dining concepts taking over old environs.”<sup>73</sup> And: “Mixing old and new Singapore together, Wong serves cocktails in vessels ranging from vintage glasses to scooping them out from a hawker center-style drink container.”<sup>74</sup> Also in a department store in London: “Liberty may have a Tudor-style exterior and

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<sup>70</sup> ‘Britain’s oldest pub -- who deserves the crown?’, *CNN Travel*, 11 November 2013, <http://travel.cnn.com/britains-oldest-pub-which-inn-deserves-crown-740196>, (accessed 13 December 2013).

<sup>71</sup> ‘Insider Guide: Best of Budapest,’ *CNN Travel*, 13 November 2013.

<sup>72</sup> ‘Egg tart odyssey: The quest for real Macanese food,’ *CNN Travel*, 2 December 2013.

<sup>73</sup> ‘Insider Guide: Best of Singapore,’ *CNN Travel*, 17 December 2013.

<sup>74</sup> *ibid.*, *CNN Travel*, 17 December 2013.

fireplaces, but its stock is contemporary and cool.”<sup>75</sup> Alas, the trend was to take a new approach to old things, such as a Budapest restaurant “takes a contemporary approach to Hungarian cuisine.”<sup>76</sup>

This new seemed to be desirable when it was a sign of development, often referred to as ‘contemporary’ or ‘modern.’ “Ecuador is evolving fast, and a visit to this Andean nation has never been more tempting,” said a Rough Guides editor, an interviewee in “11 places to go in 2014.”<sup>77</sup> Insider Guide to Singapore instructed “how to do the world's most up-to-date city” and the caption explained: “Singapore is all about the new.”<sup>78</sup> Budapest Insider Guide predicted: “It [Budapest] has made so much progress over the past two and a half decades since the fall of the Iron Curtain, yet everywhere there are unmistakable signs that still better things are yet to come.”<sup>79</sup> Altogether this time perspective showed how *CNN Travel* appreciated the history, and traditions, but often approached them with a contemporary take and progressive ideas. The base for a destination’s desirability was a spectacle around its prestigiousness, which could its ancient character, fusion of the new and the old, or the contemporary culture.

### 6.3.2 Diversity, the discourse for marketing to various target groups

Another desired characteristic was diversity, apparent in many stories. This showed in the exquisite descriptions of versatile landscapes, such as on cycle trails in New Zealand: “trails, which snake through lush rainforests, glacial-fed lakes and along old railway lines once used by miners during the Gold Rush.”<sup>80</sup> Also in Panama: “However, Panama has a lot more to offer travelers than just the canal -- volcanoes, rainforests, coffee plantations and beautiful beaches on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts.”<sup>81</sup> Or in motorcycle routes in the U.S.: “Along the journey, the vastness and diversity of the American landscape became apparent.”<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> ‘World's 12 best shopping cities,’ *CNN Travel*, 26 November 2013.

<sup>76</sup> ‘Insider Guide: Best of Budapest,’ *CNN Travel*, 13 November 2013.

<sup>77</sup> ‘11 places to go in 2014,’ *CNN Travel*, 14 December 2013.

<sup>78</sup> ‘Insider Guide: Best of Singapore,’ *CNN Travel*, 17 December 2013.

<sup>79</sup> ‘Insider Guide: Best of Budapest,’ *CNN Travel*, 13 November 2013.

<sup>80</sup> ‘11 places to go in 2014,’ *CNN Travel*, 14 December 2013.

<sup>81</sup> *ibid.*, *CNN Travel*, 14 December 2013.

<sup>82</sup> ‘Exploring America’s Main Streets on a motorcycle,’ *CNN Travel*, 6 November 2013.

In this way, the destination was made to offer versatile experiences, and seemed open for many preferences. For example Singapore club Zouk was said to have “three rooms offering different club experiences, Zouk tries to offer something for everyone.”<sup>83</sup> And in Budapest: “But here the selection is wider...” and; “there are extensive opportunities for fun.”<sup>84</sup> In Singapore Zoo: “There are various shows and tours to enjoy — great for a family outing.”<sup>85</sup> Here the discourse of diversity marketed the destination for a target group, families with different age groups and interests. Also in Yakushima eco-paradise: “There are shorter routes, too, and suitable to almost all ability levels.”<sup>86</sup> Diversity also meant tolerance to many styles, as a fashion editor said about New York shopping: “This town has so much diversity in style and interpretations of chic.”<sup>87</sup> Altogether the discourse of diversity could be seen as a marketing strategy to promoting a destination for many target groups.

### 6.3.3 The myth around the special, the authentic, the true

In general, the stories seemed to be made about the special, the unique. In Budapest Zoo: “What’s special here is the chance to see the polar bears having a swim.”<sup>88</sup> And the story continues: “...watching through the glass wall of the pool, you realize the awesome power of these huge creatures.” A rare example an affective mental process verb, ‘realize’ triggers the evaluation; the power of the polar bears is ‘awesome.’ Here again the reader was constructed as an awed spectator, a gazing tourist in front of nature, usually exclusive to the human eye.

The unique was often an object or a phenomenon, which identified the culture of the destination. As Reykjavik blogger Auður Ösp said about a ‘lopapeysa,’ a traditional Icelandic sweater: “They’re as Icelandic as it gets.”<sup>89</sup> Or: “Ruin bars are a phenomenon unique to Budapest.”<sup>90</sup> Another article

<sup>83</sup> ‘Insider Guide: Best of Singapore,’ *CNN Travel*, 17 December 2013.

<sup>84</sup> ‘Insider Guide: Best of Budapest,’ *CNN Travel*, 13 November 2013.

<sup>85</sup> ‘Insider Guide: Best of Singapore,’ *CNN Travel*, 17 December 2013.

<sup>86</sup> ‘Explore the enchanting ancient forests of Yakushima, Japan’s eco-paradise,’ *CNN Travel*, 6 December 2013, [http://edition.cnn.com/2013/12/04/travel/enchanting-ancient-forests-japan-yakushima/index.html?hpt=travel\\_hp\\_blogroll](http://edition.cnn.com/2013/12/04/travel/enchanting-ancient-forests-japan-yakushima/index.html?hpt=travel_hp_blogroll), (accessed 15 December 2013).

<sup>87</sup> ‘World’s 12 best shopping cities,’ *CNN Travel*, 26 November 2013.

<sup>88</sup> ‘Is this Europe’s most interesting zoo?’ *CNN Travel*, 17 December 2013.

<sup>89</sup> ‘How to be a Reykjaviker: 8 ways to be cool in Iceland,’ *CNN Travel*, 13 November 2013, [http://travel.cnn.com/how-be-reykjaviker-388586?hpt=travel\\_hp\\_blogroll](http://travel.cnn.com/how-be-reykjaviker-388586?hpt=travel_hp_blogroll), (accessed 15 December 2013).

<sup>90</sup> ‘Insider Guide: Best of Budapest,’ *CNN Travel*, 13 November 2013.

“Egg tart odyssey: The quest for real Macanese food” started: “On a mission to find original family recipes in Macau, chef Raymond Wong discovers the charm of a unique culinary legacy.”<sup>91</sup> Already this lead had many loaded words for the longing of authenticity: ‘real,’ ‘original,’ ‘charm of unique’ and ‘legacy.’ These implicit assumptions didn’t need a trigger, but were clearly interpretable as desirable. In the shopping story, this unique was a product: “When searching for items unique to Madrid, we fell in love with Capas Seseña.”<sup>92</sup> Other examples were a “shopping gem unique to NYC,” or in another story, Tallinn’s old town area was described as the “medieval pearl of Europe.”<sup>93</sup> Here the positive evaluation was embedded into a noun ‘gem’ and ‘pearl.’

The uniqueness was often motivated by its contrast to the typical. “Pollen isn’t a typical fine dining experience.”<sup>94</sup> Or as a chef explains about Macau egg tarts: “It’s just a typical egg tart, just like we have in Hong Kong, but what makes it so different is its caramelization; it’s really sweet and fragrant.”<sup>95</sup> To be special was to be exclusive, artful and different from other cultures. Ljungberg explains this practice of differentiation, citing Thurlow, Jaworski and Ylänne: “Tourism...can also promote the specificity of places, and highlight the uniqueness of a location to differentiate it from other products of the tourism industry.”<sup>96</sup> Likewise, *CNN*’s evaluative discourse created ranks of different destinations, others with more desirable characteristics.

In conclusion, *CNN Travel* discourse valued and constructed unique, authentic and original images of their destinations. Simultaneously the stories used common symbols of these ‘authentic’ places, as in the oldest UK-pub story: “There is possibly no more cherished symbol of Britain than a snug pub with a fire crackling in the corner.”<sup>97</sup> As seen here, the discourse circulated myths, and consequently reinforced stereotypes about these cultures. The authenticity, however was not only reserved for foreign cultures. As an American motorcyclist described a farmland in Wisconsin: “It

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<sup>91</sup> ‘Egg tart odyssey: The quest for real Macanese food,’ *CNN Travel*, 2 December 2013.

<sup>92</sup> ‘World’s 12 best shopping cities,’ *CNN Travel*, 26 November 2013.

<sup>93</sup> ‘8 of the world’s cutest, coziest, wintriest scenes, and how to find them yourself,’ *CNN Travel*, 22 November 2013.

<sup>94</sup> ‘Insider Guide: Best of Singapore,’ *CNN Travel*, 17 December 2013.

<sup>95</sup> ‘Egg tart odyssey: The quest for real Macanese food,’ *CNN Travel*, 2 December 2013.

<sup>96</sup> C. Thurlow, A. Jaworski, Adam and V. Ylänne, *Tourism Discourse: Language and Global Mobility*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, cited by E. Ljungberg, 2012, p. 65.

<sup>97</sup> ‘Britain’s oldest pub -- who deserves the crown?,’ *CNN Travel*, 11 November 2013

felt like what we were looking for the whole time -- true America heartland.”<sup>98</sup> In comparison to Torun Elstrud’s studies of Western backpacker-identity construction in Asia, these motorcyclists’ interview bites showed the inspirational traveler identity was achieved by domestic tourism, in one’s own micro-cultural context. It was not necessary to go that far into the ‘Other’ to find the ‘authentic Self.’ This finding was supported by Emilia Ljungberg’s point that there are many types of authenticity, not simply either/or, and they are always constructed.<sup>99</sup>

### **6.3.4 The construction of the exotic, pristine paradise, and its inner contradictions with marketing**

The value of the exotic, the foreign appeared in *CNN Travel* explicitly and implicitly. It was a positive adjective, for example a Kuala Lumpur mall had a “massive rooftop garden with 500 species of exotic plants” and one could enjoy “exotic beverages” at a sky bar in Singapore. Implicitly the exotic appeared in the news-site’s choice of distant foreign locations and exquisite attractions. “Sleeping with the fish: Underwater hotel room open on remote African island,” for example was about a hotel “placed high on that list of ‘amazing hotels I wish I could get to’ many travelers have.” It was geographically situated 250 meters off shore of Pemba Island, Tanzania, floating above a “circular hole inhabited by large coral heads and vibrant marine life,” where “at night, spotlights under the windows attract and illuminate squid and octopus.”<sup>100</sup> The exclusive location, descriptive discourse and many exquisite pictures constructed this story exotic.

Exoticism was often connected to the beauty of the nature, such as in “Explore the enchanting ancient forests of Yakushima, Japan's eco-paradise.”<sup>101</sup> Already this headline had loaded adjectives; ‘enchanting’-- magical, ‘ancient’ -- old, and noun ‘eco-paradise’ -- a natural wonderland. “It’s an eco-paradise of stunning landscapes, crystal clear waters, and diverse wildlife.” Interestingly, this eco-remark was not explained in any other way than by its “unique ecology,” and altogether, the environmental perspective to traveling was not emphasized in other stories of my selection. The hazards of tourisms were not mentioned, possibly due to the promoting character of the travel site.

<sup>98</sup> ‘Exploring America’s Main Streets on a motorcycle,’ *CNN Travel*, 6 November 2013.

<sup>99</sup> E. Ljungberg, 2012, p. 43.

<sup>100</sup> ‘Sleeping with the fish: Underwater hotel room open on remote African island,’ *CNN Travel*, 26 November 2013, <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/11/17/travel/underwater-room/>, (accessed 15 December 2013).

<sup>101</sup> ‘Explore the enchanting ancient forests of Yakushima, Japan's eco-paradise,’ *CNN Travel*, 6 December 2013.

Instead, the paradisaical beauty and diversity was offered for the reader to admire and to consume. For example: “The surrounding waters are filled with flying fish, which figure prominently in local menus.” Here the travel story did not only present the reader with a paradisiacal abundance of produce, but also offered a way to consume it, here at local restaurants. Ljungberg explained this: “Travel magazines present the reader with different places and how the consumer can use them.”<sup>102</sup>

In conclusion, the destinations were portrayed exotic, pure and tranquil. However, this beautifying discourse somewhat clashed with the reporters’ acts of promotion, as they simultaneously constructed these destinations ready for the mass tourism to discover and to consume. The reporter said about Yakushima: “Life is quiet here,” yet after the eco-paradise’s UNESCO designation: “Tourism has flourished.” And at the end of the article, the story instructed how to get there, where to stay, and when to go. “Yakushima is enjoyable year round.” Sometimes even a direct link to a tour agent followed the editorial text, explicitly showing the promotional function of the story. The access to the destinations was thus made to appear easy, which materialized in maps and instructions: “Klapsons is a short walk from the metro (and only one stop from the central business district), a five-minute taxi to Chinatown and even closer to Club Street, which has some of the trendiest bars and cafés in Singapore.”<sup>103</sup> Even better if the access was new: “The real beauty of it is the fact that it is one of the few places where the non-climber can get an idea of the high altitude world that is normally only accessible to the alpinist,” as a photographer explained about a cable car to The Aiguille du Midi.<sup>104</sup>

These two contradicting discourses could be seen as marketing strategies. The destinations were made exotic, unique and pure, but somewhat controversially they were by rule also accessible, easy to experience and enjoy. The underlying assumption was that the destinations were something undiscovered, ‘hidden gems.’ Yet the *CNN Travel* discourse simultaneously commodified these destinations into objects, ready for anyone’s or everyone’s consumption. The contradiction between the pristine and the popular, ‘touristy’ culminated into an interview bite about San Sebastián, Spain: “I think it's important to get there [San Sebastián] before the masses discover this destination.”<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> E. Ljungberg, 2012, p. 46.

<sup>103</sup> ‘Insider Guide: Best of Singapore,’ *CNN Travel*, 17 December 2013.

<sup>104</sup> ‘8 of the world's cutest, coziest, wintriest scenes, and how to find them yourself,’ *CNN Travel*, 22 November 2013.

<sup>105</sup> ‘11 places to go in 2014,’ *CNN Travel*, 14 December 2013.



Here the reporter controversially formed an attractive representation about the city and invited the masses to visit -- but before the destination becomes too popular and the pristiness is spoiled.<sup>106</sup>

### 6.3.5 The discourse of popularity, yet excluding other tourists

Nevertheless, the values of the exotic, exclusive and pristine did not exclude the favor of the locals, and another value emerged; hype, trendiness, popularity among the elites. Such as in Macau: “There are often long queues at favorites such as Fernando’s, where on some weekends it can be almost impossible to get a table.”<sup>107</sup> And: “Local connoisseurs are also beating path to Wong’s IFT Educational Restaurant.”<sup>108</sup> This locals’ favor was thus a prove of a special character. As in Singapore: “The line is often long -- a classic Singapore sign that the food is special.”<sup>109</sup> Popularity was sometimes referred to as ‘hype,’ as in Beijing: “Nowadays, the hype surrounds its (Great Leap Brewing bar) second location.”<sup>110</sup> Celebrities’ favor increased this fashionable character, as next examples show: “Frequented by celebrities, KniQ stocks one-of-a-kind items...”<sup>111</sup> “Picasso was reportedly buried in his cape from the store [Capas Seseña].”<sup>112</sup> “Björk, has said she enjoys hiking in Yakushima.”<sup>113</sup> It could mean fashionable: “Seoul's trendiest late-night shopping mall: Doota” and “the hippest district in town:...Star Street Precinct” in Hong Kong.<sup>114</sup> Arguably the character of these superlatives the ‘trendiest’ and the ‘hippest’ were subjective and illegitimate. For example: “Il Salvagente (“the lifesaver”), Milan's best known and longest established outlet”<sup>115</sup> -- best known by whom and what does it actually mean to be the longest *established*? Arguably these evaluations were subjective, yet again assuming the reporter’s authority to evaluate.

<sup>106</sup> *ibid.*, 14 December 2013.

<sup>107</sup> ‘Egg tart odyssey: The quest for real Macanese food,’ *CNN Travel*, 2 December 2013.

<sup>108</sup> *ibid.*, 2 December 2013.

<sup>109</sup> ‘Insider Guide: Best of Singapore,’ *CNN Travel*, 17 December 2013.

<sup>110</sup> ‘Beijing beer boom: The capital's craftiest pubs,’ *CNN Travel*, 10 December 2013, [http://travel.cnn.com/beijings-beer-boom-where-find-best-743171?hpt=travel\\_hp\\_blogroll](http://travel.cnn.com/beijings-beer-boom-where-find-best-743171?hpt=travel_hp_blogroll) , (accessed 15 December 2013).

<sup>111</sup> ‘World's 12 best shopping cities,’ *CNN Travel*, 26 November 2013.

<sup>112</sup> *ibid.*, 26 November 2013.

<sup>113</sup> ‘Explore the enchanting ancient forests of Yakushima, Japan's eco-paradise,’ *CNN Travel*, 6 December 2013.

<sup>114</sup> ‘World's 12 best shopping cities,’ *CNN Travel*, 26 November 2013.

<sup>115</sup> *ibid.*, 26 November 2013.

Thus in conclusion, reporters constructed the destinations special by making them popular among the locals and celebrities, but other tourists' favor was not included into this desired image. Revealingly, one of Budapest spas was described: "The Gellért is the city's most expensive bath, and the crowd here consists of tourists more than locals."<sup>116</sup> Expensiveness and the touristy character were combined, and the lack of locals pointed out almost as a bad sign. In general, the stories maintained an illusion that the destinations were new and pristine for the reader to come and discover, just for themselves.

### 6.3.6 Othering foreign cultures into exotic

Not only foreign locations, but also foreign cultures were constructed as exotic. Especially stories about Iceland showed this practice of cultural stereotyping, othering. One story described an average Icelandic person: "A cool geography teacher in multicolored thermal underwear, with a beer in one hand and a ram's testicle in the other. Confused? That's the average inhabitant of the Icelandic capital personified."<sup>117</sup> In this way, the discourse narrowed the plurality of Iceland's inhabitants into one generalized and dramatized definition, into a stereotype.

In addition to the "hip, outdoorsy" looks of Icelanders, the story mentioned the nations' dry sense of humor, casual tub talk in urban thermal pools and traditional delicacies of ram's testicles and rotten shark meat. In this way, the Icelandic culture was othered, differentiated and contrasted with the implied reader's familiar culture, and making the tourism destination seem exotic while turning the others usual and normal. Another story paid attention to Icelandic folklore: "In a long-isolated nation such as Iceland, the language has remained pure enough that the population can read these thousand-year-old legends as if they were today's newspapers or websites."<sup>118</sup> A deontic modality, an obligation followed: "These elf stories must seem pretty fresh and modern." In this way, the author assumed to know how the Icelandic people feel about their language, and what they consider relevant. This if something was a clear example of Said's 'othering,' distantiating a foreign culture and people into primitive, old-fashioned, irrational, naïve.

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<sup>116</sup> 'Insider Guide: Best of Budapest,' *CNN Travel*, 13 November 2013.

<sup>117</sup> 'How to be a Reykjaviker: 8 ways to be cool in Iceland,' *CNN Travel*, 13 November 2013.

<sup>118</sup> 'Reykjavik Elf School spills secrets of the 'Hidden People,' *CNN Travel*, 13 November 2013, [http://travel.cnn.com/Reykjavik-elf-school-iceland-843166?hpt=travel\\_hp\\_blogroll](http://travel.cnn.com/Reykjavik-elf-school-iceland-843166?hpt=travel_hp_blogroll) , (accessed 15 December 2013).

Also another story emphasized cultural peculiarities, this time about private jet owners in the Middle East: “Among Arab clients there is a desire for separate areas for men and women on the plane, as well as specifications for the location of the bathroom.”<sup>119</sup> The motivation for this specific configuration was not explained. Reporter just concluded: “Cultural needs are taken into particular consideration,” without depicting and reasoning these cultural needs. In this light, the othered “Them” were portrayed irrational, demanding and gender-discriminating. Consequently, the foreign Arab culture was distantiated; the search was for cultural differences instead of deeper understanding.

This finding demonstrated Emilia Ljungberg’s prediction of how contemporary travel writing still plays hostage of colonial discourses.<sup>120</sup> In terms of knowledge construction, the example is democratically hazardous. As Stuart Hall pointed out, discourse ‘rules out’ other ways of talking about a topic and conducting oneself to it -- here it left an understanding to the Arab culture unexplored. Also Michel Foucault’s idea of the regime of truth would prove this example culturally discriminating. As he said, the system of society’s institutions holds the authority over knowledge construction, acquires an authority to the ‘truth,’ and “can furthermore *make itself true*.”<sup>121</sup> Ultimately, when this powerful and hegemonic idea is applied to the circulation of media texts, the stereotyped representation of the these cultures may become the main image, the public opinion about them, no matter if originally valid or not.

### 6.3.7 The discourse of reverie, fiction and entertainment

The description of destinations was thus not necessarily realistic, but sometimes even distinctively fictional, adding up a value of reverie. “When at last there is a clearing and you ride the chairlift to the summit, it's as if you have been transported to another world.”<sup>122</sup> Traveling took one into another world, and this world could be surreal: “In this [The Joshinetsu-Kogen National Park] surreal world of fog and snow...”<sup>123</sup> The resemblances were ideal: “The city of Tallinn resembles a

<sup>119</sup> ‘Sheiks on a plane: Middle East’s super rich fuel growth in luxe jets,’ *CNN Travel*, 19 November 2013, <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/11/18/travel/middle-east-private-jets/index.html?iref=allsearch> , (accessed 15 December 2013).

<sup>120</sup> E. Ljungberg, 2012, p. 39.

<sup>121</sup> S. Hall, 1997, p. 33.

<sup>122</sup> ‘8 of the world's cutest, coziest, wintriest scenes, and how to find them yourself,’ *CNN Travel*, 22 November 2013.

<sup>123</sup> *ibid.*, 22 November 2013.

scene from a Christmas card.”<sup>124</sup> And the scenes could even be magical, as a representative from Whitefish, Montana Visitors' Bureau said: "Winter in Whitefish is so magical probably because the mountain weather is so dynamic and extreme.”<sup>125</sup> Or mythical: “Iceland's otherworldly landscapes look like the kind of place Hidden People would call home.”<sup>126</sup> Here adjective ‘otherworldly’ added a fictional and spiritual level to a natural landscape, suggested as home to imaginary creatures.

The subjects were made into adventurers in this fictional world. Chef Wong explained his “type of culinary archaeology”: “It’s an endless field of fascination... Just hunting down the true recipes -- you feel like a culinary Indiana Jones.”<sup>127</sup> In this story “Egg tart odyssey: The quest for real Macanese food” already the headline referred to a mythological journey familiar from Homer’s epic poem *The Odyssey*. Antics’ literature inspired descriptions of Vienna shopping, too: “Vienna's venerable and gloriously lit Christmas markets, the Platonic ideal of a fairy tale Christmas. That's good for an extra "Experience" point.”<sup>128</sup> Also religious inspirations could be found: “of course, there's the holy trinity of Parisian department stores: Le Bon Marché dates to the 1850s...”<sup>129</sup>

These examples showed how the discourse mythified the tourism destinations, turned them into what John Urry called ‘place-myths.’ Through this discourse, the readers were promised exceptional, even magical experiences linked to the places. One revealing example was Yakushima, which “offers visitors ancient forests and mountains that look straight out of a magical Studio Ghibli production.”<sup>130</sup> Here a fictional narrative of Japanese animation movies was connected with the destination, and the reader was invited to take part in this reverie, make it true for themselves. Urry mentioned this practice in his theory of the tourist gaze, too, citing Löfgren and Rojek: “Gazing involves cultural skills of daydreaming and mind travelling (Löfgren, 1999). ‘The extraordinary,’ as Rojek says, ‘spontaneously invites speculation, reverie, mind-voyaging and a

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<sup>124</sup> *ibid.*, 22 November 2013.

<sup>125</sup> *ibid.*, 22 November 2013.

<sup>126</sup> ‘Reykjavik Elf School spills secrets of the 'Hidden People’,’ *CNN Travel*, 13 November 2013.

<sup>127</sup> ‘Egg tart odyssey: The quest for real Macanese food,’ *CNN Travel*, 2 December 2013.

<sup>128</sup> ‘World's 12 best shopping cities,’ *CNN Travel*, 26 November 2013.

<sup>129</sup> *ibid.*, 26 November 2013.

<sup>130</sup> ‘Explore the enchanting ancient forests of Yakushima, Japan's eco-paradise,’ *CNN Travel*, 6 December 2013.

variety of other acts of imagination.”<sup>131</sup> In conclusion, my findings confirmed this idea that TJ is not only a display of actual products, but an invitation to daydreaming about them, consuming them in more levels than their material dimensions entail.

In addition to offering the readers with an object for daydreaming, the discourse often had an entertaining and a fun tone -- another value of *CNN*'s. One story especially demonstrated this value of fun, and with its sarcastic tone separated it from the usual promotive stories for destinations. This article “Poop cruise! And 30 other outrageous travel stories of 2013” listed travel news of the past year, and started with: “Consider just some of the stories that weren't bizarre enough to crack our best-of-the-most-shocking list.”<sup>132</sup> These 30, evidently more “bizarre” stories made fun of haphazard travel-related phenomena around the world; peculiar accidents on holidays, silly mistakes by airlines, unstylish travel gear, strange art installations and odd social media campaigns. The sarcastic tone was evident for example in a chapter about a dead Georgian man forgotten in iFly plane for seven flights had a headline: “Two more flights and he'll get Elite Status.”

This value of entertainment was revealing in terms of ideology. As Emilia Ljungberg pointed out, in consumerist societies consumption does more than satisfies needs; “it serves as a source of desire, as well as fun, enjoyment, and pleasure.”<sup>133</sup> It is central to the postmodern capitalism that the consumption of goods is ‘fun,’ and it must be apparent in the marketing of products of this time. Also a travel story is a product of a kind, an imaginary trip to a destination which may inspire the reader to materialize it by buying a flight or a tour, but the consumption of the product must offer some kind of a gratification for the suggested reader already on the spot. One way *CNN* enabled this gratification was through the stories’ implicit value of fun, entertainment.

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<sup>131</sup> C. Rojek, J. Urry, ‘Transformations of travel and theory’ in C. Rojek and J. Urry (eds.), *Touring Cultures, Transformations of Travel and Theory*, London and New York: Routledge, 1997, cited by J. Urry, 2011, p. 17.

<sup>132</sup> ‘Poop cruise! And 30 other outrageous travel stories of 2013,’ *CNN Travel*, 19 December 2013, [http://edition.cnn.com/2013/12/19/travel/outrageous-travel-stories-2013/index.html?hpt=travel\\_hp\\_heroibox](http://edition.cnn.com/2013/12/19/travel/outrageous-travel-stories-2013/index.html?hpt=travel_hp_heroibox) , (accessed 19 December 2013).

<sup>133</sup> P. Mullins, ‘International Tourism and the Cities of Southeast Asia,’ in D. R. Judd, and S. S. Fainstein (eds.), *The Tourist City*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999, cited by E. Ljungberg, 2012, p. 48.

### 6.3.8 Affordable luxury -- the discourse of a bargain

Another desired value was luxury, exclusiveness. This appeared in many offered activities, such as: “A new luxurious cruise train called Seven Stars offering visitors a spectacular new way to explore the prefecture of Kyushu” and a Titanic Artefact exhibition in Lennusadam Seaplane Harbour Museum, Tallinn: “in early 2014, the museum will host several gala dinners inspired by the last night in the first-class area of the ship.”<sup>134</sup> Various adjectives referred to this value of luxury: ‘high end,’ ‘high street,’ ‘high quality,’ ‘upscale,’ ‘top-notch,’ ‘haute,’ even ‘rough-luxe’ or just a price tag: “a multi-million-dollar art collection.” Article “World's 12 best shopping cities” was particularly distinguished in its praise to high end fashion consumerism, with its peculiar designer goods: “Whimsical concept shop Merci stocks a selection of designer goods that fall under the category of utterly useless but absolutely desirable, such as art deco Bakelite switches.”<sup>135</sup>

However, with this value of luxury appeared another contrasting value of affordability. In these high end products, an economical prize came as a sweet surprise: “Tokyo's shopping is also surprisingly affordable.” The optimal choice seemed to be a combination of the two values of high-quality and affordability, such as “high-quality leather at affordable prices” offered by a shop in Buenos Aires. This preference could be compressed into one term, ‘bargain.’ “Hungarian cuisine is worth traveling for, and the restaurants in Budapest -- from the traditional to the Michelin-starred -- are still a relative bargain.”<sup>136</sup> Also Hong Kong shop clerks’ “obsessive help can come in handy, especially if it leads to a world-class bargain.”<sup>137</sup> Altogether, Kuala Lumpur had a “winning combination of high quality shopping, affordable prices and reliable sales.”<sup>138</sup> In this discourse, the desired value of high quality was brought closer to the consumer by its surprising affordability. This could be seen as a marketing strategy; an incentive, a lower threshold for the reader to participate in the action of consumption.

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<sup>134</sup> ‘11 places to go in 2014,’ *CNN Travel*, 14 December 2013.

<sup>135</sup> ‘World's 12 best shopping cities,’ *CNN Travel*, 26 November 2013.

<sup>136</sup> ‘Insider Guide: Best of Budapest,’ *CNN Travel*, 13 November 2013.

<sup>137</sup> ‘World's 12 best shopping cities,’ *CNN Travel*, 26 November 2013.

<sup>138</sup> *ibid.*, 26 November 2013.

### 6.3.9 'How to' stories: Instructing tourist action and naturalizing the capitalist ideology

Stories also instructed the tourist's on how to prepare and behave in the destination, adding up a value of being 'travel-smart.' "Plan wisely," said a satirical article "7 ways to escape Christmas."<sup>139</sup> These 'how to' discourses often had a demanding tone. A safari story began with a deontic modality; "Things you should be worrying about on an African safari -- how to get better pictures of wildlife, where to pick up cool, authentic souvenirs."<sup>140</sup> The modalized 'should' brought a tone of obligation, and showed the author's view on what the traveler ought to be 'worrying about;' here common tourism activities, such as taking photos and buying souvenirs. Other imperative tenses were: "Wear your shoes in for at least a month before you go on safari so you know they're comfortable," "bring a shower cap," and "treat blisters the right way." Info box "story highlights" said: "Must-bring items: needle, shower cap, floss." Here the 'must-bring' structure suggested the author's insight and authority to evaluate. With this demanding tone, the reporter instructed the reader on how to act, while using their hegemonic position to authorize their opinions.

Another 'travel-smart' story was about flying and efficiency: "Airlines and airports look to take the pain out of boarding planes." It started with a question: "What's the most efficient way to board a plane?"<sup>141</sup> Different methods were listed, and KLM representative commented on their "Smart Boarding": "It works very well for us and we board faster." Efficiency was thus measured by the used time, not for example by enhanced safety. The motivation for improving efficiency followed: "Quicker boarding time means airlines save money." Thus the implicit values in this story were fastness and saving money. Here a capitalist ideology was prioritized, instead of for example customer satisfaction and safety.

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<sup>139</sup> '7 ways to escape Christmas,' *CNN Travel*, 15 December 2013, [http://edition.cnn.com/2013/12/14/travel/escape-christmas/index.html?hpt=travel\\_hp\\_herobox](http://edition.cnn.com/2013/12/14/travel/escape-christmas/index.html?hpt=travel_hp_herobox), (accessed 15 December 2013).

<sup>140</sup> '9 not-in-the-guidebook Africa safari tips,' *CNN Travel*, 4 November 2013, <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/11/04/travel/africa-safari-tips/index.html?iref=allsearch>, (accessed 15 December 2013).

<sup>141</sup> 'Airlines and airports look to take the pain out of boarding planes,' *CNN Travel*, 18 December 2013, [http://edition.cnn.com/2013/12/17/travel/four-innovative-ways-cut-boarding-planes/index.html?hpt=travel\\_hp\\_blogroll](http://edition.cnn.com/2013/12/17/travel/four-innovative-ways-cut-boarding-planes/index.html?hpt=travel_hp_blogroll), (accessed 19 December 2013).

The two values of economical profit and passenger comfort appeared in another flight-related story, too. It was called: "Feeling cramped? How to battle the shrinking airline seat."<sup>142</sup> As a result of diminishing seat width, the "airplanes can't help but feel overcrowded," failing to meet the passengers expectations of uncrowded plane-journeys. A representative from SeatGuru website explained: "Seats are getting smaller and smaller as airlines look to squeeze revenue from their economy seats." Here verbs 'look to squeeze' triggered the value assumption of airlines' search for revenue. On the other hand, Airbus representative said: "We risk jeopardizing passenger comfort." Verbs 'risk jeopardizing' triggered another value assumption of passenger comfort. Consequently, the story contrasted these two implicit values; airlines' interest for profit and customer satisfaction.

Boeing spokeswoman managed to combine the values of these two interest groups: "Airlines ask us for the flexibility to offer a great experience for passengers in a way that makes economic sense for the airline and economic sense for their passengers." The interview bite implied the smaller seats were 'making economical sense,' seemed rational for the passengers, even if they were not behind the idea. Thus the economically-driven ideology of the airlines was naturalized as a common sense approach to the diminishing size of the plane seats. This practice of naturalizing an ideology was explained earlier by Fairclough, who mentioned it as "a characteristic of a dominant IDF [ideological-discursive formation]," which wins acceptance to the dominant class' particular interests by making them seem as "non-ideological 'common sense.'"<sup>143</sup> Fairclough also warned: "The concept of ideology often implies distortion, 'false consciousness,' manipulation of the truth in the pursuit of particular interests."<sup>144</sup> This previous story was one example of how the stories naturalized a capitalist ideology, with a self-legitimized, hegemonic authority.

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<sup>142</sup> 'How airline seats have shrunk while we've gotten bigger,' *CNN Travel*, 11 November 2013, <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/11/07/travel/feeling-cramped-battle-airline-seat/>, (accessed 15 December 2013).

<sup>143</sup> N. Fairclough, 2010, p. 30.

<sup>144</sup> *ibid.*, p. 46.



## 7. Conclusions and discussion

This was a study about values, desire, power and ideology. Through my operationalization of discourse analyst Norman Fairclough's model of explicit and implicit evaluations, I examined 20 *CNN Travel* stories, and finally searched for their value assumptions. In short, the study showed how *CNN* discourse beautified its subjects, with a positive promotive effect. The destinations were thus persistently constructed as desirable. They were described by a scale of adjectives; from 'great' to 'striking,' but rarely just 'good.' Instead, the chosen adjectives were often highly intense, to the extent of "super-clubs" or "the trendiest shopping malls" or "the hippest districts." These consistently positive evaluations were often dubiously subjective, or lacked a validation, such as the "Milan's best known and longest established outlet."<sup>145</sup> Simultaneously, the evaluations however assumed the reporter's authority to make an upper-hand judgement. In this way, the reporters used their hegemonic position to introduce certain knowledge to their readers and claim one truth about their subjects.

### 7.1 The desired values

Which were the desired values in *CNN Travel*? In summary, three major value themes could be traced; uniqueness, diversity and exoticism, apparent in almost every story. In addition to these, the discourse conveyed an array of more specific implicit value assumptions; the most evident of them being prestigiousness, contemporariness, authenticity, fashionability, exclusiveness, fun, affordability and smartness. The opposite of them, an anti-value was being already 'seen,' too 'touristy.'

#### 7.1.1 Major value themes of uniqueness, diversity and exoticism

In most cases, to be attractive was to be something special, somehow pure and true to the destination's culture. This uniqueness was the most evident value theme. The keywords were 'real,' 'original,' 'authentic' and 'pristine.' The chosen subjects were different from others, extraordinary, and were contrasted with the typical, common and already 'seen' tourism experiences. They were prestigious, "must-see" or "must-visit" spots.

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<sup>145</sup> 'World's 12 best shopping cities,' *CNN Travel*, 26 November 2013.

This special character, however was not constructed of only one thing, but could be a mix of many characteristics. Diversity was another major theme. It was visible explicitly and implicitly in the choice of varied tourism locations and rich description of landscapes and services. Evidently, my *CNN Travel* material covered topics from European and Asian city-breaks to underwater hotels and safaris in Africa, and airline news about shrinking plane seats to an elf school in Iceland. The vast array of options offered versatile experiences fit for many preferences -- such as a nightclub in Singapore, “something for everyone.”<sup>146</sup> This approach served marketing purposes, fitting many different target groups.

Moreover, versatility could be seen in the time-perspective; both historical and modern tourism interests were appreciated. Budapest for example was portrayed as a city with old-time elegance, but “still better things are yet to come.”<sup>147</sup> In this way, the news-site offered varied destinations, with a heritage and traditions, as well as a vibrant contemporary culture. These two values of prestigiousness and contemporariness were sometimes even merged into one; a “contemporary approach to Hungarian cuisine”<sup>148</sup> or a bar “mixing old and new Singapore together.”<sup>149</sup> The optimal combination was a progressive, a fresh take on the traditions, such as a Hungarian restaurateur and a daughter of a fisherman serving “unexpected catfish gyros.”<sup>150</sup>

The representations of uniqueness and authenticity were sometimes taken to the extent of exoticism, the third value theme. The exotic appeared as an explicitly positive adjective, “exotic beverages” or as a criterium for choosing an exciting story location or an activity, as in “Sleeping with the fish: Underwater hotel room open on remote African island.”<sup>151</sup> The height of exoticism were paradisiacal or otherworldly descriptions of places, such as an Icelandic landscape looking like “the kind of place Hidden People would call home.”<sup>152</sup> Through this mystification the representations

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<sup>146</sup> ‘Insider Guide: Best of Singapore,’ *CNN Travel*, 17 December 2013.

<sup>147</sup> ‘Insider Guide: Best of Budapest,’ *CNN Travel*, 13 November 2013.

<sup>148</sup> *ibid.*, 13 November 2013.

<sup>149</sup> ‘Insider Guide: Best of Singapore,’ *CNN Travel*, 17 December 2013.

<sup>150</sup> ‘Insider Guide: Best of Budapest,’ *CNN Travel*, 13 November 2013.

<sup>151</sup> ‘Sleeping with the fish: Underwater hotel room open on remote African island,’ *CNN Travel*, 26 November 2013, <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/11/17/travel/underwater-room/>, (accessed 15 December 2013).

<sup>152</sup> ‘Reykjavik Elf School spills secrets of the 'Hidden People',’ *CNN Travel*, 13 November 2013.

were taken to a fictional level, and their readers were invited to daydream, with a potential to make their dreams come true by visiting the destination.

### 7.1.2 The imaginary consumption of places and travelers' identity construction

In short, the stories encouraged to discover, view and to experience their subjects. The reader was often positioned as an awed spectator in front of nature, adoring the “incredible” or “breathtaking” views.<sup>153</sup> In this sense, the stories demonstrated John Urry's theory of the ‘tourist gaze,’ offering imaginary products of consumption, and preparing the destination pleasure for the travelers. In addition to gazing the sights, tourists were also invited to experience, participate in the local culture. The stories thus entailed a social function. They demonstrated Norman Fairclough's definition of language use, which helps to “reproduce and maintain existing social identities, relations and systems of knowledge and belief.”<sup>154</sup> One story for example guided on ‘how to’ prepare for a safari, instructing how to act and what to ‘worry about,’ and adding up a value of being travel-smart. Stories thus helped their readers to construct backpacker identities. Interestingly however, compared to Torun Elsrud's study about Western backpackers in South East Asia, these identities did not always have to be canvased on faraway and foreign tourism settings. For example in the story about a motorcycle trip across the U.S., the North American travelers were able to build their backpacker identity in their own micro-cultural context.

The marketing and encouragement for the consumption of destinations did not come as a surprise, considering the site's Sponsorship policy, which allowed sponsors within editorial content.<sup>155</sup> This promotional bias should not significantly lessen the reliability of my study though, as the focus was not to analyze *which* destinations were covered, but instead *what* was valued in these subjects. Some of the offers were explicit, such as advertisements following an editorial text, but sometimes they were formed into evaluations; such as “souvenir-worthy” and “must-see,” which included a command for action. Implicitly they said; ‘to be worth of something is to be bought and to be seen.’

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<sup>153</sup> ‘8 of the world's cutest, coziest, wintriest scenes, and how to find them yourself,’ *CNN Travel*, 22 November 2013, [http://edition.cnn.com/2013/11/20/travel/winter-scenes/index.html?hpt=travel\\_hp\\_row4right](http://edition.cnn.com/2013/11/20/travel/winter-scenes/index.html?hpt=travel_hp_row4right) , (accessed 15 December 2013).

<sup>154</sup> N. Fairclough, *Media Discourse*, New York, Oxford University Press Inc., 1995, p.55.

<sup>155</sup> *CNN Travel*, Sponsorships policy, 9 August 2012, <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/08/09/world/sponsorships-policy/index.html> (accessed 13 December 2013).

Thus they naturalized a capitalist ideology and the author's authority to judge. The analysis showed how most of these offers were deeply embedded in the editorial texts, the deepest in the implicit assumptions, and retractable only by qualitative research methods. It also showed that the travel stories could be consumed in complex ways. For example, article "Poop cruise! And 30 other outrageous travel stories of 2013" actually entertained more than it promoted, adding up a value of fun. It showed how the travel stories offered entertainment in addition to some valuable information for tourism. Stories were consequently not only encouragements for actual future consumption, but were also products of imaginary consumption in themselves.

### 7.1.3 Problematic values and stereotyping

Some values proved problematic. Authenticity and uniqueness for example clashed with the reporters' simultaneous acts of promotion. Example 'enchanted' Yakushima, was constructed as a serene 'eco-paradise' with 'stunning landscapes,' yet accessible and abundant with local produce to enjoy. *CNN* discourse thus created a place, attractive for its untouched nature, and invited the reader to come and consume it. Similarly, the favor of the locals made the subjects fashionable, yet popularity among other tourists was portrayed unattractive. The goal was to visit "before the masses discover this destination."<sup>156</sup> Apparently the winning formula for a *CNN Travel* destination was an exotic, authentic and previously inaccessible spot on the world map, yet now surprisingly reachable, enjoyable and affordable to all *CNN* readers worldwide, the quickest being the luckiest.

Another controversial issue was stereotyping. In the process of making the subjects exotic, certain cultures were simplified, generalized and mythified. Simultaneously, the incomprehensible, unachievable and the inconsumable was disregarded. For example the Icelandic people were generalized by profiling an "average Icelandic person," and mystified by linking their "pure language" to folklore. Also the luxury jet owners in the Middle East were looked through their cultural peculiarities, this time related to plane configurations. These examples were explained Edward Said's theory of 'othering.' The lack of deeper, fair, and more modern explanation of the foreign cultures served as a profitable contrast to the Western culture, making it seem normal, logical and righteous. In contrast, the othered cultures were portrayed primitive, exotic, old-fashioned and somewhat irrational.

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<sup>156</sup> '11 places to go in 2014,' *CNN Travel*, 14 December 2013.

This power could prove majorly manipulative, when considering the knowledge they constructed about these nations and cultures. It could be largely discriminative if applying Michel Foucault's theory of the regime of truth. The poststructuralist theorist offered a warning; as the institutions of a given society control the concept of truth, they can also make themselves true, have real effects. In this case it could be the readers adopting the media representations as reality, and consequently imposing certain roles, expecting the destination and its people to fulfill them. My study however was not a reception analysis, and thus it is feasible to leave hope for readers' more variable, well-advised and open-minded opinions considering the 'truth' about the destinations.

## 7.2 Power relations in *CNN Travel* stories

Finally, what kind of power relations did these stories portray?

The answer is capitalist and hegemonic. Many examples showed *CNN* reporters active in the hegemonic systems of power, constructing knowledge, the 'truth,' sometimes at the expense of their subjects' integrity. They practiced their power to judge, and maintained the hegemonic hierarchy and maximized their capital in it. They sought for the readers' consent to their subjective evaluations, inviting them to participate in the material and imaginary consumption.

In this hegemonic power system, the readers, however were not the ones oppressed. Instead, the stories enabled pleasure, offered entertainment, and encouraged future action. These findings can be explained by Michel Foucault's words about the character of power: "Power is not only negative, repressing what it seeks to control. It is also productive. It doesn't only weigh on us a force that says no, but ... it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be thought of as a productive network which runs through the whole social body."<sup>157</sup> In conclusion, my study shows how this power can be both a positive force enabling travelers' identity work and inducing pleasure, but also a negative force, enforcing cultural stereotypes. Thus Foucault-inspired Koray Velibeyoglu's dual definition of power fits to conclude my examination of *CNN Travel* stories. Power, as Velibeyoglu says, is "'a mechanism of life' that includes strategies of self-development that both constrain and enable agency."<sup>158</sup> In a similar way,

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<sup>157</sup> M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, Brighton, Harvester, 1980, p. 119.

<sup>158</sup> K. Velibeyoglu, 'Post-structuralism and Foucault,' *Angelfire*, Feb 1999, <http://www.angelfire.com/ar/corei/foucault.html> (accessed 29 November 2013).

*CNN Travel* offered a way for the readers to imagine an exotic, magical destination, which they could come and make true for themselves.

### 7.3 Proposal for further research

This qualitative discourse analysis on desirability in *CNN Travel* has covered only a slight slice of what a study of travel news values could be. I acknowledge this is my subjective interpretation of the material, and due to this methodological restraint of qualitative discourse analysis, other researchers should come into other conclusions about it. The desired values of this journalistic genre could be examined from many other viewpoints. As my study focused on my interpretation on the material, one could do a broader reception analysis and ask focus groups of readers; what do they see desirable in these travel stories? Alternatively, one could ask *CNN* reporters what makes a destination desirable for them, and for this approach choose a method of a qualitative, semi-structured interviews. Interestingly, these two approaches would probably show different results.

My material could therefore be examined with a different focus. Instead of my concentration in *CNN*'s editorial texts, one could do an image analysis about their picture or video material -- what do they construct attractive visually and by sound? One could concentrate in a single destination, and examine what is desirable e.g. in Thailand according to *CNN Travel*? Another idea is changing the time perspective, picking stories from different periods and comparing how different things have been constructed as desirable over time. Desirability in *CNN Travel* material could also be studied by a quantitative method; my suggestion being a content analysis with a focus on the word 'attractive.' By browsing a larger amount of data one could systematically extract the hits for this specific word, and then examine in which contexts does *CNN Travel* use it.

One could also change the content provider, and see for example if the desirable means different things for dailies, travel-focused magazines, flight magazines, women's or men's magazines, tourism brochures and such. Online platforms could be another apt source, such as tourism promotion websites, or user-generated travel sites. These different platforms pose an up-to-date comparison; do the values differ in print and online? The comparison could also be ideological; a tourism authority website may construct a very different desirability from a backpacker forum.

My study showed *CNN* projects an ideology of material and imaginary consumption, but arguably the broadcaster and the reporters are not the only ones in blame. As Fairclough, so do I wonder to which extent does the media “operate as an agency for projecting cultural values -- individualism, entrepreneurialism, consumerism -- and whose values these might be.”<sup>159</sup> In answer, my theoretical framework proposed, and my analysis confirmed that the hegemonic practice of *CNN* travel journalism gains power from a larger cultural context, from the subordinate to the dominant actors in their broad readership with a global reach. A noteworthy fact is that these consumerist values also fit the dominant political and economical system of capitalism in the news-site’s origin, the U.S. That is why reversely, it could be interesting to study how travel news in other cultures and political systems construct desirability; how are the values different? Through my study I wish to encourage a wider examination about the values and ideologies of the contemporary traveling cultures.

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<sup>159</sup> N. Fairclough, 1995, p. 126.

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## 9. Appendix

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## 9.2 Appendix 2: Method

### 9.2.1 Norman Fairclough's four categories of evaluation

Fairclough used 'evaluation' in a sense of "explicit or implicit ways in which authors commit themselves to values."<sup>160</sup> He distinguished these four categories of evaluation:

1. Evaluative statements ("statements about desirability and undesirability, what is good and what is bad," e.g. 'this book *is* good')
2. Statements with deontic (obligational) modalities (e.g. 'the values we believe in *should* shine through what we do')
3. Statements with affective mental process verbs ("generally subjectively marked evaluations," e.g. 'I *like* this book')
4. Value assumptions ("cases without the relatively transparent markers of evaluation," i.e. assumed values which "depend upon an assumption of shared familiarity with (not necessarily acceptance of) implicit value systems between author and interpreter," e.g. in a neo-liberal discourse to say that social cohesion is 'a source of efficiency and adaptability,' means desirable)<sup>161</sup>

The first category, evaluative statements are statements about desirability and undesirability, for example 'this book is wonderful' or 'this book is awful.' The evaluative element in these evaluative statements may be the attribute, an adjective 'good' or 'bad' or a noun phrase 'a bad book.'

Fairclough explains: "With words such as 'good,' 'bad,' 'wonderful,' 'dreadful,' desirability is quite explicit. But evaluative statements also evaluate in terms of importance, usefulness and so forth (see Lemke 1998), where desirability is assumed."<sup>162</sup>

Accordingly, evaluations don't necessarily have to be formed into statements in order to be given a certain judgement. For example, in sentence 'This awful book costs a fortune,' "we can say that 'this awful book' presupposes the evaluative statement 'this book is awful.'" Evaluation can also be conveyed in other ways than just by a positive/negative attribute. Alternatively, the evaluative element can be the verb, "rather than saying 'he was a coward,' one might say 'he chickened

<sup>160</sup> N. Fairclough, 2003, p. 171.

<sup>161</sup> *ibid.*, p. 171-173.

<sup>162</sup> *ibid.*, p. 172.

out.”<sup>163</sup> Also adverbs can imply the author’s stance, such as ‘this book is written wonderfully.’ Or exclamations: ‘What a wonderful book!’ emphasizing a highly positive judgement. Fairclough points that sometimes the evaluation is discourse-related, for example ‘she is a communist’ may be desirable or undesirable, dependent on the context. In conclusion, a researcher must notice the meanings are often embedded, taken for granted, assumed. Consequently, Fairclough continued with three categories of assumptions.

### 9.2.2 Fairclough’s three types of assumptions

Fairclough distinguished the following three main types of assumptions, the third of which is relevant for my study, and thus under scrutiny of my method of discourse analysis:

1. Existential assumptions: “assumptions about what exists,” e.g. ‘there *is* globalisation.’
2. Propositional assumptions: “assumptions about what is or can be or will be the case,” e.g. ‘globalisation is *a process*.’
3. Value assumptions: “assumptions about what is good or desirable,” e.g. ‘social coherence is *threatened* by inequality,’ where no linguistic trigger is necessarily explicit, but the undesired value can be interpreted by one’s knowledge and recognition of the value system. (italics mine)

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<sup>163</sup> *ibid.*, p. 171.