The Subversion of Women's Anger in Travel Guidebooks

Abstract

Guidebooks have a privileged role in tourism as they direct bodily engagement with destinations, and yet few feminist leisure scholars have analysed guidebooks. This paper applies a feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA) to explore Lonely Planet's online travel advice for women. The results of the FCDA reveal that Lonely Planet advice acts to subvert women travellers' anger, particularly when confronted with gender-based violence such as sexual harassment. The guidance offered to women travellers transmits the message that anger at gender-based violence is not legitimate and suggests that feeling anger when abroad is culturally inappropriate. This paper contributes to the literature by demonstrating that women's anger is routinely subverted, particularly in contexts where freedom is ostensibly promised, such as leisure. The findings of this paper illustrate the value in applying FCDA to instances of otherwise hidden subversion and oppression and should inform future advice offered to women travellers.

Introduction

The suppression of women's anger is well documented (Holmes, 2004b; hooks, 1995), and evidence suggests that it is ubiquitous; from infancy to adulthood and pervading all aspects of a woman's existence (Lerner, 1980; Brown, 1998). The psychological damage of this suppression is also apparent (Collier, 1982; Cox, Van Velsor, & Hulgus, 1999) and as many societies become increasingly comfortable with a move towards 'getting in touch with our emotions' the sustained absence of women's anger is notable. The suppression of women's anger is so endemic and so successful that women need only the lightest-touch reminder of the societal rule that she be 'emotional but not angry' (Brown, 1998; Holmes 2004a) to trigger the self-suppression of her anger. This creates a particular problem when it comes to leisure and travel. Leisure is believed to

be an opportunity to 'relax' and 'let go', and the search for an 'authentic self' is a dominant understanding of leisure tourism (MacCannell, 1976; Wilson & Harris, 2006). Therefore the experience of women's leisure travel is one which is particularly fraught with tensions (Stephens, 2020) when femininity demands the constant suppression of one's own authentic anger. Travel guidebooks offer a unique insight into the way in which instructions regarding women's emotions, including anger, are transmitted. Guidebooks are positioned to provide helpful advice on how people should behave in unfamiliar situations and the 'advice for women' section offers a particular insight into the gendered demands and expectations of behaviour when abroad (Wilson, Holdsworth & Witsel, 2009). Much has been written on the female experience of risk when travelling (Yang, Khoo-Lattimore & Arcodia, 2017) and it is this perception of risk of encountering gender-based violence to which the advice in guidebooks is ostensibly responding (Wilson & Little, 2011). Gender-based violence is violence directed against a person on the basis of gender including 'physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering (...) including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life' (UN General Assembly, 1993, p. 2).

To be a target of violence because of your gender - or belonging to any oppressed group - is, of course, infuriating (bell hooks, 1995); it is a precise instance of gross injustice, and any response which does not include anger is inappropriate. When considered from a feminist perspective, the absence of (women's) anger in guidebooks - particularly in the context of advice regarding sexual harassment and gender inequality, which are aspects of gender-based violence suggests that the experience of leisure travel might not be a radically freeing experience. Sexual harassment includes unwanted sexual attention, sexual coercion, and hostility and bullying (Finniear, Morgan, Chambers, and María Munar, 2020), and so instead travel may reinforce the gendered status quo which requires women to suppress any emotion deemed socially unacceptable at the expense of her own authenticity. The advice we examine in this paper appears to target solo female travellers primarily, and the evidence of suppression and subversion as opposed to the freedom and authenticity often associated with travel reflects previous feminist theorising. For instance, leisure is often not available to women due to the domestic labour they are expected to perform for free (Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw, & Freysinger, 1989) or due to particular spatial constraints

associated with the seemingly inherent danger facing women who leave the domestic sphere (Wilson & Little, 2008).

In conducting FCDA on the advice offered to women travellers in the Lonely Planet, the most popular guidebook publication (Bender, Gidlow & Fisher, 2013), we highlight how women's anger is subverted. The subversion of women's anger by Lonely Planet reinforces gender inequality in a context which would otherwise appear to be encouraging transformation in the ideal of freedom experienced through leisure travel. Anger has been acknowledged as a necessary emotion for social change (Holmes, 2004a), but the institutions that shape our mobilities (such as Lonely Planet) are at risk of reinstating suppression rather than freedom. Contributing to the feminist leisure literature, the findings of this analysis demonstrate that women's anger when travelling is belittled, dismissed and ultimately denied.

Literature Review

The subversion of women's anger

Women's anger is a phenomenon with which society is demonstrably uncomfortable. Although evidence suggests that women are believed to be more emotional (i.e. to experience and express more emotions more often) than men, it has also been shown that anger is the exception to this rule (Plant, Hyde, Keltner, & Devine, 2000). For example, observers are much more likely to interpret an infant's emotional state as one of anger when told that the baby is a boy than when the observers believe the baby to be a girl (Condry & Condry, 1976), demonstrating a reluctance to acknowledge female anger, even when the female is an infant. A psychoanalytic account of why this might be can be offered with an appeal to the Freudian castration complex. The simple version of the castration complex maintains that children become aware that boys have penises and girls do not; girls conclude that their penis has been cut-off, and boys become terrified that theirs will meet the same fate. One of the consequences of this may be that women are conceived of not only as castrated but also as potential castrators, should their anger be roused (Lerner 1980; Miller 1983). A more sociological account suggests that women's anger is denied because anger is conceived of as a destructive phenomenon, which is anathema to the societal conception of women as caring, nurturing and ultimately as creators, upon which the continuance of the current social structures depends (Bernardez, 1988; Holmes, 2004a).

Elizabeth Spelman (1989) adopts a cognitive approach to emotions, which posits that anger must have an object (to be angry we must be angry *at* someone or something) and argues that to be angry at someone entails a judgement of someone, which in turn suggests a belief in equal status between the judge and the judged. A belief which would, of course, be wholly unsuitable for someone who is in a subordinate position, as women are often thought to be. This account offers some insight into the intersectional way in which society struggles with the anger of women, for example, the angry black women trope, where black women are both perceived as angrier and as having less legitimate anger than women of other races and men (hooks, 1995). This example no doubt reflects the subordinate position black women are considered to hold. Evidence suggests that black women are in fact, more likely to suppress their own anger than women from other ethnic groups (Walley-Jean, 2009). Regardless of the roots of societies' insistence that women 'are not angry, must never become angry and should never have been angry' (Cox et al., 1999: 242), it is clear that perceptions of women's anger tend to be negative and that their anger is met with attempts at subverting or diverting at least the demonstration of anger (Bernardez, 1988). Women learn the societal structures are such that compliance with the demand that their anger is repressed will be rewarded (bell hooks, 1995). External pressures are eventually met with an internalised, self-suppression of anger by girls and women (Brown, 1998) who self-regulate and 'discipline' themselves to benefit the bureaucratic order of things (Holmes, 2004a).

However, the ability to feel and express anger is a significant, natural response to instances of injustice or unmet expectations which allows the individual to reassert a sense of power over situations which threaten their autonomy (Brown, 1998; Cox et al., 1999; Lorde, 1984). The danger in suppressing female anger lies not so much in the risk of limiting women's actions but in exerting pressure in such a way that limits their ability to *feel* emotions which society has deemed ill-suited to womanhood. Action is important, but angry action must logically be preceded by, or at the very least accompanied by, a feeling of anger. Effective suppression entails the suppression of the feeling, thus removing from women the choice to act on their feelings. Anger is an invaluable catalyst for 'courageous action' bell hooks (1995:16) and the denial of women's anger poses a significant threat to the psychological wellbeing of women, while serving the purpose of limiting their agency which is required to bring about change. Some evidence shows that women are

becoming increasingly in-touch with their own experiences of anger, notably in relation to instances where they feel powerless or are witness to or victims of injustice and irresponsibility (Thomas, 2005).

Emotional leisure

Rejecting the subversion of women's anger creates the potential for a societal backlash; an increased, concerted effort to reinforce the status quo and ensure that women's anger remains under control, and this tension is particularly apparent when considering the experiences of women in leisure and travel. The demand that travellers' find themselves' (MacCannell, 1976) in their experiences of leisure travel is in direct contradiction to the demand that women deny themselves and their experiences of anger. The burden borne by women to enable the leisure of others, which has been addressed in the literature (Henderson et al., 1989; Lloyd et al., 2018; Parry & Fullagar, 2013), may be even more significant in the context of travel than is currently acknowledged. Not only must women continue to perform the caring duties which their gender demands, but she must do so while sublimating her own anger.

Leisure studies scholars have studied emotions in a variety of contexts. Adolescent girls' bedrooms have been conceptualised as a site of leisure and one where they can vent their anger (James, 2001) and stress, an emotion that is seldom associated with leisure activities, has been linked to serious leisure (Kerr, Fujiyama & Compano, 2002). However, perhaps more widely accepted as an enjoyable or relaxing time, leisure has also been studied as a counter depressant (Fullagar, 2008). More recently leisure scholars have looked to positive psychology (Harmon & Kyle, 2016: Mitas, Yarnal, Adams & Ram, 2012), and a plethora of topics have emerged, such as leisure and wellbeing (ollanen & Voutilainen, 2018), resilience and leisure (Denovan & Macaskill, 2017), and in 2016 the *World Leisure Journal* dedicated a special issue to happiness and leisure (Robertson, 2016). Within the feminist leisure literature, there has been a clear research trajectory focusing on women's participation in leisure and their emotional wellbeing (Lloyd, O'Brien & Riot, 2019; Fullagar, 2008; Fullagar & Brown, 2003; Henderson & Ainsworth, 2002; Shannon & Shaw, 2005;

Wearing, 1990). However, despite this few studies have focused on anger as an emotion potentially linked to women's leisure.

Gladwell and Bedini (2004) explored the emotions of caregivers while travelling for leisure, showing that anger and resentment are not uncommon. However, while the authors acknowledge that most caregivers are women and their participants appear to be women, a gender analysis is missing from the paper. For some feminist researchers, emotions are considered to move us, to (re)orientate our bodies towards a thing or person and shape how we appear on the outside (Ahmed, 2014). Yet, despite acknowledgement that emotions are important leisure researchers have arguably paid them insufficient attention (Parry & Johnson, 2007). More specifically, the dearth of research on women's leisure and anger may be in part explained by the social expectation that women are not angry (Holmes, 2004b), and yet we are angry. Some women's anger is evidenced through the Women's Day Marches protests that occur throughout the World to protest inequality and this anger is linked to leisure when, women are murdered or attacked while travelling or partaking in other leisure activities. #YoViajoSola exemplifies how fourth-wave feminism affords a community of feeling (Berezin, 2002) and anger towards not only the femicide of two Argentinian women travellers in 2016, but also the response to their murder from the public and the media (Yang, 2020). However, these are counter-cultural responses to extreme events and their exceptional nature highlight the more general absence of an emotional range when discussing women's travel experiences.

While commonly accepted definitions of leisure suggest freedom from work, much of the feminist leisure research and studies into women's leisure have emphasised the importance of constraints, or the hidden labour they must perform for others (partners, children, parents etc.) to enjoy leisure (Lloyd et al., 2018; Parry & Fullagar, 2013). As such, the promise of a lack of social restriction afforded by leisure is questionable. Nevertheless, resistant leisure practices, those that do not conform to gender norms, do exist (Parry & Fullagar, 2013), and alongside the politics of women's leisure (Henderson & Gibson, 2013) both have long been considered pertinent topics, but not anger. Anger is relevant to women's leisure primarily when understood as 'something recognised as a response to perceived injustice' (Holmes, 2004a:123). And yet, while there is evidence of a societal willingness to express anger at human rights violations and issues of animal welfare

through organised tourist boycotts, comparable action is not taken for destinations known for poor women's rights or gender equality (Shaheer, Insch, & Carr, 2018). As anger is an often-repressed emotion for oppressed groups, insights into anger can aid an understanding of power and inequality (Holmes, 2004b) in all social spheres including leisure.

Methods

Feminist critical discourse analysis

The research for this paper was undertaken using feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA). Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is not a method of data collection or analysis, but a term which refers to numerous approaches to research (Daniel, 2011; Wodak, 2001). CDA is characterised by its orientation to the social problem often creating an eclectic mix of methods, and its researchers share a 'common interest in de-mystifying ideologies and power through the systematic and retroductable investigation of semiotic data' (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 3). 'In tourism, as in other social dimensions, discourse is embedded with complex layers of meaning representing important socio-cultural underpinnings' (Wang & Morais, 2014: 79), which demand the use of CDA to understand the phenomenon. Numerous strands or schools of thought have emerged out of CDA, including for example feminist poststructural discourse analysis and FCDA (Baxter, 2008). CDA is utilised to investigate social inequalities, but FCDA is a specific school of CDA focused on action for gender equality (Lazar, 2005; 2014; Wodak, 2005). FCDA signifies a commitment to feminist theorising and praxis, which is not present in CDA, and which we believe necessary to understand how women's anger is subverted. FCDA's eclectic theoretical nature is built out of certain tenets, such as an understanding of intersectionality, or a lack of neutrality of social practice, and an understanding of gender as ideology that appears natural in society (Lazar, 2014). Both ideology and power are central to critical analysis, and ideology is described as the 'hidden and latent type of everyday beliefs' (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 8), which is studied through the normalisation of different discourses. FCDA works through the interpretation of discourse that illustrates how power perpetuates hierarchical gender relations. 'The interest lies in how gender ideology and gendered relations of power get (re)produced, negotiated, and contested in representations of social practices, in social relationships between people, and in people's social and personal identities in texts and talk.' (Lazar, 2014: 190). Like CDA, FCDA is committed to an

emancipatory project, and both are ideological research paths in line with critical theory (Guba, 1990). The 'discursive turn' has been critiqued for leading critical scholars away from their activist roots, but the deconstruction of normative and restrictive discourses can be a preliminary step in emancipation or at least the beginning of an undoing of subordination (Caton, 2013; Riach, Rumens & Tyler, 2016). Lazar (2007) has termed this 'analytical activism'.

FCDA is primarily an interpretive project (Baxter, 2008), which includes manifest content that is clear to the audience, but also hidden meanings. While there is a tradition of poststructural approaches to feminist leisure research (Wearing, 1998; Aitchison, 2005), FCDA has had little uptake in either leisure studies or tourism studies. Tourism researchers, Santos et al. (2008) have previously mobilised discourse analysis by focussing on statements, groups of statements and the relationships between those and social events of 'another kind'. This approach allows the analysis of each separate data set and then the discourses in their entirety, to analyse the relationship between the discourses. Similarly, for Fairclough (1995) CDA involves three dimensions: description of the text, interpretation, and explanation. The explanation involves a broader societal analysis that links the interpreted discourse to social practice. Inspired by both Santos et al.(2008) and Fairclough (1995) in this study, we analyse each entry, before grouping entries according to the identified discursive practice. These discourses are then discussed in relation to the corpus and their social implications.

Analysing the Lonely Planet

Discursive approaches to research reject the notion of a 'correct answer' and generalisability due to the acceptance of subjectivity inherent in interpretation (Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b), as such there are no sampling criteria to be accepted wholesale (Wodak,2001). A wide variety of data and sampling have been utilised by tourism researchers studying discourse, for example, Pritchard and Morgan (2005a: 58) analysed comic postcards depicting Wales:

> but no sample criteria was used and we make no attempt to address issues such as validity or triangulation, as we believe this would be forcing our study to succumb to the agenda of a scientific orthodoxy

In a discursive analysis of tourism, place and gender (Pritchard & Morgan, 2005b) Condé Nast Traveller was chosen for its popularity, circulation statistics and typification of a high-class lifestyle magazine. Similarly, in Galasinski and Jaworski's (2003) study the Guardian was chosen as the source of typical travel writing and analysed for discourses on hosts (Galasinski & Jaworski, 2003). Discourse studies in tourism have not been limited to the written word (while this is a popular medium); extracts from two British holiday programme series, BBC's *Holiday 2000/1* and ITV's *Wish You Were Here?* were analysed by Jaworski, Ylanne-McEwen, Thurlow and Lawson (2003), and one episode of televised travelogue, *No Reservations* by Yoo and Buzinde (2012). Small, Harris and Wilson (2008) identified advertisements from seven issues of the *Air New Zealand Magazine* and five issues of *Qantas: The Australian Way* published in 2005.

On the other hand, much wider textual sources were included in a CDA of the intersection between race, travel and violence (Historical documents, legal texts, journal articles, as well as broad internet searches from an array of news and journalistic news magazines) (Duffy, Pinckney, Benjamin & Mowat, 2019). Muldoon and Mair (2016) analysed 36 blog posts from Eighteen distinct travel blogs on slum tourism. Wang and Morais (2012) explored official tourism representations of the matriarchal Mosuo in 46 articles published between 1990 and 2010 in major Chinese newspapers. Santos et al. (2008) identified discourses on Chinatown in Chicago as they circulated in physical tours of the area, promotional materials and audience reception of the tours. In leisure studies, Lafrance (2011) analysed discourses of femininity through 14 women's accounts of leisure, and Mainland, Shaw and Prier (2015) utilised 70 magazine documents from *Parents* and *Today's Parents*. In light of the previous studies in tourism and leisure using discursive approaches, it is evident that a wide range of sampling techniques and materials have been collected, but discourse analysts privilege the rich, in-depth insights interpreted from small data rather than large data sets that must be quantified if to be comprehended (Goodman, 2008; Pritchard & Morgan, 2005a).

In this research, we analyse women's travel advice sections available on the Lonely Planet website as it is a household name (Bender, Gidlow & Fisher, 2013; Butler & Paris, 2016; Laquinto, 2011) and the most widely sold travel guidebook in both the UK and the US (Ogden, 2019). The

popularity of Lonely Planet endows it with the potential to reinforce the problematic social and cultural tensions which are inherent to the experience of travel (Tegelberg 2010). Acknowledging the shift in popularity from print guidebook to online sources accessible on the go and before (Butler & Paris, 2016) we utilise the online advice available for free from the website, which receives around 13 million monthly visits (Lonelyplant.com, 2020). The free online advice sections directed at women travellers uniquely position the Lonely Planet website above other mainstream competitors such as Rough Guides or Eyewitness who either do not have a distinct section for women travellers online or do not have free content available. In addition to this, Lonely Planet has been identified to censor women's travel advice where it might potentially portray a destination in a negative light (Laquinto, 2011) despite claiming to promote ethical 'humanitarian' change in destination countries (Lisle, 2008). The pages of Lonely Planet guidebooks, perhaps like other guidebooks, are imbued with Western morality and work to discipline the reader to enact a responsible traveller. For example, the book will not discuss sex tourism and leave it up to the reader to decide whether or not to engage (Lisle, 2008).

We selected travel advice for women for particular countries based on those identified as high-risk destinations by Asher and Lyric Fergusson on their travel blog (Fergusson & Fergusson, 2019), where countries were given a grade based on their aggregate ranking for the following factors: safe to walk alone at night; intentional homicide of women; non-partner sexual violence; intimate partner violence; legal discrimination; global gender gap; gender inequality index (UNDP) and violence against women attitudes. This list was chosen as targets a similar audience as the online Lonely Planet advice for women travellers, and has received mainstream publicity including Forbes (Begley Bloom, 2019) and Insider (Cash, 2019). As such this list is likely to influence the opinions of women travellers on the most dangerous destinations to visit, which in turn may drive women travellers to seek advice from sources such as the Lonely Planet which, as is discussed below, tends to focus their advice on instances of risk and harassment. The twenty most dangerous countries identified by Fergusson and Fergusson (2019) were:

1. South Africa	6. The Dominican Republic	11. Malaysia	16. Cambodia
2. Brazil	7. Egypt	12. Saudi Arabia	17. Bahrain
3. Russia	8. Morocco	13. Turkey	18. Tunisia

| 4. Mexico | 9. India | 14. Argentina | 19. USA |
| 5. Iran | 10. Thailand | 15. Chile | 20. Ukraine |

There was no entry of advice for women travellers in the Lonely Planet Chile, which might be a discussion point for further research), so we included 19 countries (all minus Chile). The lonely planet entries were analysed in NVivo using the FCDA method described above. Each author analysed the data independently and then discussed the findings together to identify the most salient discourses. A primary limitation of the sample included here for analysis is language; we have only analysed entries published in English. The Lonely Planet website is available in a number of languages, and it would be useful to compare the entries directed at various audiences.

Findings

FCDA is reflexive in its application, and it is pertinent to highlight that our interpretation of the women's travel advice sections is not the only interpretation. We are two white women in our thirties (we both hold British passports, and one of us is also a citizen of the USA), and we have both faced situations of misogyny, sexism and violence when travelling to international destinations and cultural relativism or the lack of it in our interpretation has been a point of reflection. Relativism is one of the elements that distinguishes critical theory from constructionism (Guba, 1990). Research seeking transformation is often aligned with critical theory and must tackle the issue of relativism (Caton, 2013). Postcolonial feminists also highlight the barrier that relativism can create for critical theoreticians as 'if the dominant discourse is the discourse of cultural relativism, questions of power, agency, justice and common criteria for critique and evaluation are silenced' (Mohanty, 2003: 520). The methodological choice of utilising FCDA rather than CDA to study a gendered issue highlights our political positioning in relation to this research project.

We write from a position that is both anti-essentialist and anti-relativist, we are not all the same, but difference must be tended to carefully. As such, we believe women's rights to be human rights, here there and everywhere, we are entitled to travel and not be harassed, raped or murdered the

same as anybody else. Women in countries Other to our own are entitled to this too (present tense as this is their right whether they - and indeed we - have been 'allowed' it or not). Yet, this topic is beyond the scope of this article and deserves future discussion and research but positions us in relation to our reading and interpretation of the guide book, which does take a culturally relativist stance. It is this culturally relativist stance that works to subvert women travellers' anger towards misogyny and sexism in Other cultures. The FCDA revealed four overarching discursive moves: it's not worth getting angry about (don't overreact), just ignore it, their comfort matters most, and don't *you* tolerate it. These discursive moves were identified because together, they form a discourse that subverts women travellers' anger towards inequality and potential violence in Other cultures. The discourses are discussed one by one below.

Discursive strategy One: It's Not Worth Getting Angry About (Don't Overreact)

Lonely Planet often downplays harassment, and the idea that it is not worth getting angry about presents itself again and again in the entries. This is the most commonly identified discursive strategy in the advice sections we analysed, and it works to delegitimise women's anger. Evidence of this strategy includes the adjectives used to describe encounters of harassment; in Argentina ' catcalling' is described as 'highly irritating', in Bahrain 'a nuisance (more of the hassle)' and in the Dominican Republic 'Although it may be unwanted, it's more of a nuisance than anything else'. The language in each of these examples compares a potentially real experience with an imaginary - much worse - alternative experience, with the effect that the severity of the real experience is downplayed.

In the advice for Iran, the experience of being groped is contrasted with that of violence, with the clear implication that unwanted sexual contact is not violence and is therefore not behaviour worthy of a woman's anger.

> 'Violence against foreign women is almost unheard of in Iran, even if the odd grope in a savari isn't (consider yourself warned)'

In Egypt, being groped we are told would merely put a 'dampener' on your trip, there is no suggestion that it could have a serious impact on some women's mental health:

> 'For the most part, this presents as wearying amounts of catcalling, declarations of love, leering or being followed down the street, and minor groping in crowds or closed-in spaces such as buses or taxis. This can all put something of a dampener on your travels. (...) For many women travellers being catcalled in Egypt can be particularly unnerving if you can't understand what is being said. Once you know what the wannabe Lotharios are actually muttering as you walk past, you may find it more cringeworthy than scary'

Catcalls are a form of verbal street harassment where a male stranger makes sexual comments about a woman passerby (Fisher, Lindner, and Ferguson, 2019). Catcalling is often understood as something to be laughed off rather than a discursive practice which works to enable other forms of harassment and contribute to women's subordinate position in society (Bates, 2016) and Lonely Planet is perhaps perpetuating this discourse. The suggestion that if you know what is being said, you might feel less 'unnerved', could work to support the idea that women like being catcalled or mild harassment. This discursive strategy suggests that none of these events warrants women travellers anger, which works to reinstate gender inequality through the suppression of women's anger (Holmes, 2004b; Lorde, 1984). Brazil is the advice section that is closest to suggesting anger when the writer(s) suggest 'you should be able to stop it by merely expressing displeasure', but the adverb 'merely' and the noun 'displeasure' again belittle the woman traveller and her emotions.

Discursive Strategy Two: Just Ignore It

Alongside 'it's not worth getting angry about', 'just ignore it' is one of the most common discursive strategies in the Lonely Planet advice for women sections analysed here. This discourse includes clear directions not to get angry. The instruction suggests that 'ignoring' the behaviour is not just a viable option, but the *sensible* option. It is an instruction to women to stop being 'so emotional' and to be rational (Spelman, 1989). In Argentina the advice is clear 'the best thing to do is completely ignore the comments', and facing harassment in the Dominican Republic you are told:

'If you don't like it, dressing conservatively and ignoring the comments are probably your best lines of defence'.

There are two implications here; the first is that some women like the harassment, and you can tell which women this applies to by looking at what they are wearing, and the second is that if after altering her appearance a woman continues to receive unwanted attention she is still not entitled to anger. Interestingly, even though at one point in the Egypt advice section, we are advised to 'create a scene', there is also a section on 'Adopting The Right Attitude'. In this section, you are explicitly advised against causing a scene, which appears to be likened to public shaming:

'It's easier said than done, but ignoring most verbal harassment is usually the best policy. If you respond to every one, you'll wear yourself out, and public shaming seldom gets satisfying results.

Lonely Planet's instructions on how to behave in Egypt is ambivalent but read within the broader fourth-wave feminist context (Yang, 2020) and alongside other entries that suggest women might enjoy harassment, could be understood as a criticism of recent feminist campaigns such as #MeToo. In India, Morocco and Tunisia, the guidebook directs women to ignore stares, catcalls, sexist remarks and other 'annoying' behaviours.

Discursive Strategy Three: Their Comfort Matters Most

In specific contexts, the Lonely Planet advises women to sacrifice the integrity of their own emotional experiences in order to keep the man happy. The most obvious example of this is in an entry on Thailand, where the instruction is to privilege the man's feelings above your own, due to the local sexist culture which favours men.

'A Thai man could feel a loss of face if conversation, flirting or other attention is directed towards him and then diverted to another person. In extreme cases (or where alcohol is

involved), this could create an unpleasant situation or even lead to violence. Women who aren't interested in romantic encounters should not presume that Thai men have merely platonic motives.'

This discursive strategy echoes findings in other areas of feminist leisure research which identify how women's invisible labour allows men and children to enjoy leisure time and activities (Lloyd, et al., 2018; Parry & Fullagar, 2013; Henderson et al., 1989), demonstrating that the suppression of women's anger can be well understood within a broader patriarchal context. In Tunisia, 'keep the peace' directs us to behave culturally appropriately, or not to get angry to maintain harmony. It is a further example of an instruction to subvert natural and helpful anger to preserve the privilege of the dominant group. In Tunisia it is suggested that if you do show anger at harassment, it will be repaid with anger, which highlights how certain sexist behaviours are not deemed inappropriate and how Lonely Planet does not suggest that women travellers challenge the status quo:

'A simple non merci or la shukran ('no thank you') is much more effective than reacting with aggression (which could be returned in kind).'

As anger (and perhaps its related demonstration of aggression) has emancipatory potentials (bell hooks, 1995), especially through social movements and communities of feeling (Holmes, 2004a), Lonely Planet is risking reinstating gender norms for both international tourists but also the host country. Related to keeping the peace, respect is highlighted in several entries; 'The key concept is 'respect', something that most Moroccans hold dear', in Tunisia 'The key concept is 'respect', something that most Tunisians hold dear'. It is not clear from either entry who should be respected, but from previous reading as presented in other discourses this could be understood as being asked to respect the local culture and the local men, even if this means ignoring women's rights. Interestingly, Turkey was the only country to make it clear that 'you have a right to be treated with respect'.

Discursive strategy Four: Don't *You* Tolerate It

This discursive strategy refers to instances that at first read may appear progressive by suggesting that women travellers should not accept harassment. This was a less dominant strategy in the advice sections, and a more connotative interpretation highlights that what is communicated is that it is for the woman to regulate and control the behaviour she encounters. For example, advice for women travelling in South Africa (ranked the most dangerous country for women travellers by Fergusson & Fergusson, 2019) is that 'Old-fashioned attitudes to women are still common among South African men, regardless of colour. However, this doesn't mean sexist behaviour should be tolerated.'

The advice for women travellers in Egypt encountering sexual harassment is that 'you should 'cause a scene', in Tunisia it's advised that 'Hashouma! ('shame!') can also be used to embarrass would-be harassers' and advice to women travelling in South Africa is 'you shouldn't tolerate it' (but what you should do instead is not clear). This discursive strategy puts the burden of responsibility on the woman traveller, which is internalised (Stephens, 2020; Yang, Khoo-Lattimore & Arcodia, 2017; Wilson & Little, 2008) – the underlying message is that men will and can behave as badly as is tolerated. The implication is that it is for women to set the boundaries, and if a woman does encounter harassment, then it might be her fault for not having set them.

Discussion and Conclusion

Women's travel is considered risky business, by the media and by many women themselves (Kinstler, 2018; Yang, et al., 2017), unsurprisingly then the women's advice sections in the Lonely Planet online appear to respond to this perception of risk. As anger has been identified in this paper as a normal (and useful) response to injustice, we would hope to find reference to the experience of anger in the advice analysed, much of which deals with experiences of sexual harassment and gender inequality. In omitting reference to emotion the advice is in fact targeting the emotional experience of women travelers; compare advice such as 'catcalling is common and it may make you feel very frightened and/ or very angry. For your own sake it is probably best to act as if you have not noticed, even though you might be fuming inside' with the actual advice given to women

travelling in the Dominican Republic; ''If you don't like it, dressing conservatively and ignoring the comments are probably your best lines of defence'. In the advice currently offered by the Lonely Planet, the name of the emotion which would indicate one's 'dislike' of harassment is notable in its absence, and the brevity with which it is dealt with has the effect of minimising the emotion itself. The absence of anger in the advice allows for the inference that anger at misogyny and gender-based violence is an inappropriate emotion at least when a woman is not at 'home' and represents the assumption that feeling (or displaying) anger when abroad is culturally inappropriate. This discourse is evident from the four discursive strategies identified in this paper: it's not worth getting angry about (don't overreact), just ignore it, their comfort matters most, and don't *you* tolerate it.

The first works to minimise negative and often violent experiences, the second directs you to ignore it (and therefore not get angry), the third advises women travellers to sacrifice their own wellbeing to ensure the (foreign) man's comfort, and finally, the fourth works to ensure the situation is the woman's own responsibility. Being told not to overreact or to ignore it (re)produces gendered discourses that pit women as irrational emotional beings in contrast to the rational man (Holmes, 1994b; Spelman, 1989). Whereas the advice to sacrifice women's own emotional wellbeing, highlights how the emotional labour of subverting anger perpetuates the invisible labour that enables the leisure of others (Lloyd et al., 2018; Parry & Fullagar, 2013; Henderson et al.,1989). Finally, the Lonely Planet advice sections suggest that women are responsible for the situations that they encounter, not the harasser or abuser. Other tourism researchers have highlighted this in women's own responses (Stephens, 2020; Wilson & Little, 2008), which evidences the importance of guidebook discourse as social practice. Together these discursive strategies form a discourse that subverts women's anger, which is a useful and necessary emotion in the face of inequality (Holmes, 2014a).

The subversion of anger observable in our dataset is indicative of a universal trend of suppressing female emotions, and of anger in particular. The suppression may be sought in order to limit a woman's opportunity and ability to a) notice her own subjugation and b) act against it. However the consequences are more severe than this – not only does the subversion of female anger effectively blinker a woman to gendered mistreatment, but it also has profound psychological

consequences (van Daalen-Smith 2008). The insistence that women suppress their anger when pursuing leisure is particularly damaging – not because a women is likely to be in more danger when travelling (Mehta & Bondi, 1999), but because the frustration wrought by being promised freedom and self-discovery while being simultaneously denied the opportunity to experience one of the most fundamental human emotions will be profound. Our analysis pursues the emancipatory agenda of FDA by explicating insidious gendered practices which both aim at and, if uncontested succeed at barring women from their own authentic emotional experiences. In this instance the explication is the emancipation; we do not seek to advise women on appropriate action or behaviour, instead we offer a crack in the barrier between women and their own anger in the hope that greater access to subjective emotional states will allow greater freedom for authentic action. The advice examined in the guidebook offers many examples of situations where a woman's anger would both help to keep her safe and allow her the opportunity to recognize the injustices she suffers in a patriarchal system, and we would hope that such a recognition would spur emancipatory action. However, we would go further than arguing that women must be permitted to access anger in response to gender-based violence; we insist instead that women be permitted access to their own anger in response to any situation which they find angering

Women's travel advice is discursively (re)enforcing the double-bind that exists for women leisure travellers (Stephens, 2020), where women are required to demonstrate enjoyment of the freedom of travel while simultaneously suppressing any emotional response which is deemed socially undesirable or culturally unacceptable. As such, for the sake of women's psychological survival, guidebooks must begin to understand the role they play in (re)producing discourses which deny women access to their own emotional states. The purpose of guidebooks is surely to furnish travelers with useful information, which readers can use to ensure that their trips meet their needs and desires- advice on behaviour may be appropriate, but guidance on the 'correct' spontaneous emotional response is not. Future guidebook entries aimed at women travellers should be informed by feminist researcher and activists and should offer specific, useable details which a woman may then use to inform her decisions and actions – not her emotions. A key advancement in travel writing would be to acknowledge the intersectional characteristics of womanhood and provide more useful advice to women with disabilities, women of colour, single women, married women, pregnant women, young women, and older women for example. This FCDA of women's travel

advice sections in Lonely Planet online has identified how women's anger is subverted in a tourism context and as such contributes to the feminist leisure literature, but also the emerging field of gender-based violence and tourism (Vizcaino, Jeffrey & Eger, 2020). FCDA is an underutilised tool in both leisure and tourism but could be usefully utilised to explore a variety of under-researched topics, such as the victim-blaming of solo women tourists. Future research trajectories might look to explore discourses on anger within the women's travel literature and guidebooks or advice targeting other groups.

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