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SOUVENIR-PURCHASE BEHAVIOR OF WOMEN TOURISTS

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Abstract: Women tourists were interviewed to see if they fit the liberal or the cultural gender ideology, how they varied in souvenir purchases, and if they bought authentic souvenirs. The women represented the range of ages of early adulthood (EA) and middle adulthood (MA), and were frequent travelers who purchased many souvenirs. They exhibited characteristics of both ideologies and purchased authentic souvenirs. EA women made unplanned purchases in malls with their children. MA women made planned purchases in specialty stores and tourist shops with friends or husbands. Retailers should develop promotional messages that appeal to EA nonplanners, MA planners, and seekers of authenticity. **Keywords:** women travelers, gender ideologies, authenticity, souvenirs, life-span theory.

Résumé: L'achat des souvenirs par les femmes touristes. On a étudié des femmes qui voyageaient beaucoup et qui achetaient beaucoup de souvenirs pour voir si leur comportement correspondait à l'idéologie libérale ou culturelle, comment leurs achats variaient et si elles achetaient des souvenirs authentiques. Elles montraient des caractéristiques des deux idéologies et achetaient des souvenirs authentiques. Les jeunes adultes faisaient des achats imprévus de moins, aux centres commerciaux avec leurs enfants. Les femmes d'un certain âge faisaient des achats prévus, dans des boutiques spécialisées ou touristiques, avec leurs amis ou leur mari. Les détaillants devraient développer des messages publicitaires pour attirer les achats imprévus des jeunes adultes, les achats prévus des femmes d'un certain âge et les chercheurs d'authenticité. **Mots-clés:** voyageuses, idéologies des sexes, authenticité, souvenirs, théorie des métamorphoses de la vie.

INTRODUCTION

Tourism remembrances are psychologically important to many women tourists based on studies conducted in North America. Often the physical presence and economic value of these "souvenirs" help their owners define and situate in time experiences they wish to remember (Gordon 1986). The souvenir is a tangible symbol and reminder of an experience that differs from daily routine and that otherwise would remain intangible, such as memories of people, places, and events (Gordon 1986; Littrell 1990; Smith 1979). Individuals often

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identify objects purchased on trips among their most valued possessions (Wallendorf and Arnould 1988).

The present study focuses exclusively on women because Littrell et al (1993) documented that women made the majority of craft, gift, and souvenir purchases, during trips, for over 70% of the households used in the survey. The economic impact of the souvenir market is shown by a study in Wisconsin where "shopping," at \$1.7 billion annually, accounted for 31% of total tourism expenditures, and exceeded other expenditures on transportation and on overnight accommodations (Davidson-Peterson 1990). Despite this evidence that shopping by women accounts for a large share of tourism expenditures, few details are known about these tourists as purchasers of souvenirs (Mick 1986). The present study begins to fill this void in knowledge through the evaluation of two gender ideologies of women (liberal vs. cultural), desire for authenticity, and the roles of age and education in souvenir purchases.

Behavior that is characteristic of each gender influences and reflects a society's values, beliefs, and preferred ways of organizing social life based on the social significance of being male or female. As individuals are socialized into their culture, they learn to express their masculinity or femininity in social interactions (Wood 1994). This difference in socialization of each gender influences who makes travel decisions and who makes which tourism purchases.

Two extreme ideologies of gender exist. The first, liberal, enlightenment, or minimalist (Crawford 1988; Friedan 1963; Hare-Mustin and Marecek 1988; Wood 1994; Yellin 1990), contends that women and men are fundamentally alike and equal in all important respects. Therefore, they perform the same roles and hold the same rights, privileges, and opportunities to participate in various aspects of life that include tourism.

The second, the cultural, structural, or maximalist ideology, says that women and men are basically unlike (Welter 1966; Wood 1994). Therefore, they have different roles, rights, and activities. The cultural ideology of masculinity in America is to be strong, ambitious, rational, and emotionally controlled. "Typical" men are successful and powerful in their professional and public lives, and strive for hegemony. In contrast, to be feminine is to be attractive, deferential, unaggressive, emotional, nurturing, and concerned with people and relationships (Wood 1994). Those women who represent the cultural ideology of femininity do not outdo men (especially their mates), do not disregard others' feelings, or do not put their needs ahead of the needs of others. Also, "typical" women look attractive, adore children, and esteem homemaking. In this ideology, despite all of the changes in views of the rights and needs of women and men, the basic differences remain relatively constant (Cancian 1989; Wood 1994).

The purposes of this study were to investigate if women tourists fit either the liberal or the cultural ideologies of gender (Wood 1994); how these women vary in their souvenir purchases during two stages in the life span (Levinson 1986); and if they buy "authentic" souvenirs as defined by Littrell et al (1993).

Because women in the middle stage of the life span (MA) formed

their initial values, beliefs, and patterns of behavior during the 1930s, 1940s, and early 1950s, many experienced American society's acceptance of a cultural gender ideology. A cultural ideology may guide their travel and souvenir-purchase behavior.

Women in an early stage of the life span (EA) were born during the late 1950s and after. During their formative years they experienced the liberal feminist movement energized by Betty Friedan's book, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963). Acting from a liberal ideology that women and men are alike in important respects and, therefore, entitled to equal rights and opportunities, women competed with men for such opportunities as employment, financial credit, sports, and political offices. The liberal ideology may guide many women born after the mid-1950s in their travel and souvenir-purchase behavior.

This study scrutinizes whether or not extreme gender ideologies influence travel and souvenir-purchase behaviors. If so, characteristics of two extremes in gender ideologies could be used to identify behavioral groups of women tourists for advertising emphases.

SOUVENIR-PURCHASING BEHAVIOR

Two studies of gender and souvenirs constitute the literature of the past five years. Littrell (1990) found that textile craft souvenirs prompted tourists to contrast trips with everyday experiences, to expand their world view, to differentiate the self from others, and to sample authentic cultural life. Based on the sample ($n = 98$: 10% male and 90% female) no differences in reasons for owning tourism souvenirs were found between genders.

Littrell et al (1993) found that criteria used by both genders to define authentic crafts included eight major themes: a craft's uniqueness and originality; workmanship; aesthetics; function and use; cultural and historical integrity such as Native American items from a Native American area; craftsperson and materials; shopping experience; and genuineness or truth in advertising. Gender differences in definitions of authenticity for tourist crafts did not emerge among the tourists of this study ($n = 385$: 29% male and 71% female). Because these two previous studies found no differences in gender relative to reasons for owning souvenirs or for authenticity; because personal interviews are time-intensive and restrict the number of informants; and because women account for a large share of tourism expenditures, the present study focused exclusively on women.

Littrell et al (1993) also addressed age. When defining authenticity, younger tourists of both genders emphasized uniqueness and originality, whereas older tourists of both genders focused on cultural and historical integrity. For authenticity in craft souvenirs, tourists in the early stages of their travel careers emphasized uniqueness, whereas seasoned tourists preferred genuineness.

Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) believed that in "pre-retirement adulthood," adults tended to define the self through what a person possesses rather than what a person does. The household possessions that women valued were more likely to give testimony to

domesticity and the tendency to stay put, and to be concerned with reproduction and relationships. Women ($n = 174$) were more likely than men ($n = 141$) to choose handicrafts, textiles, antiques, and representational items, such as photographs of family members, as favorite objects (Belk 1988; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981; Wallendorf and Arnould 1988).

Gordon (1986) suggested that souvenirs often are given by returning tourists as gifts to those who remained at home. The gifts may be "re-entry fees" typical for the culture. Gordon suggested that there are at least five types of souvenirs: "pictorial," such as images on postcards; "piece of the rock," a natural item such as driftwood; "symbolic shorthand," a manufactured item such as an Eiffel Tower pepper mill; "markers," such as inscribed t-shirts; and "local products," such as olive oil from Greece.

Despite the emphasis on possessions in general (Belk 1985, 1986, 1988; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981; Wallendorf and Arnould 1988; Wallendorf and Belk 1987), research related to travel souvenirs is limited.

Study Methods

This study of souvenir purchases and shopping experiences of women was based mostly on qualitative research (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Strauss and Corbin 1990; Taylor and Bogdan 1984) that inductively identifies themes that emerge from the informants' descriptions of their own experiences. Demographic characteristics and age-group differences were based on quantitative data.

Forty-two women tourists from Iowa (USA) were purposively chosen to illustrate a range of behaviors based on their tourism experiences, their purchases of souvenirs, and their personal characteristics. Purposive sampling, according to Toulantos and Compton, "involves hand picking the cases to be included so that they appear to be representative of the population in which the researcher is interested" (1988: 65). Even though the sample provided variety in marital status, number and ages of children, stage in family life cycle, and occupation, they do not represent a random cross section of women. While a sample of 42 informants may seem small, it far exceeds the eight suggested by McCracken (1988:17) as sufficient for generating themes or cultural categories in qualitative research.

A telephone screen was used to select informants from 20 names suggested by a university instructor who belonged to an Altrussa Club, 8 names submitted by a travel agent, 27 and 18 names submitted by 2 extension home economists, and 3 names suggested by other informants. All informants exceeded the criteria of having completed one trip inside and three trips outside Iowa during the past three years (the sample represented women who traveled often), and of regularly purchasing souvenirs on their trips.

Half of the informants belonged to each of two groups of adult development (Levinson 1986): early adulthood (EA), ages 17-45, and middle adulthood (MA), ages 40-65. Levinson (1986) proposed a five-

year overlap, ages 40–45, as a transition. Levinson's (1978, 1986) theory was selected because his sequence of development in a life span apparently is valid for men and women of different cultures, classes, and historical epochs. His theory provides a general framework of adult development within which differences, such as those resulting from travel, may exist among individuals. Socially and psychologically, early adulthood is the time for making major choices that constitute life structures (such as marriage, occupation, residence, and style of living) and that establish a person's niche in society. A significant difference between the life structures of early and middle adulthood is that, with favorable development, the middle adult life structures are more congruent with the inner self. As people become more secure about themselves as individuals, they define more clearly what they want from work, family, and leisure. The validity of Levinson's two age groups is shown by the documentation of a sharp increase in numbers of purchases made by the informants in this study at age 43 (Anderson 1993: Figures 6 and 7).

This study is based on data collected during a two-hour interview with each female participant in her home. Prior to the interview, each informant recorded her souvenir purchases and travel destinations of the past three years. At the end of the interview, each informant recorded demographics for herself and her family.

During the interviews, informants described their most recent trips and who made travel decisions for their trips. These interviews also explored the women's values, beliefs, and ways of organizing their travel lives. This information was crucial to understanding their ideology of gender. Women in both age groups described special souvenir purchases of the past three years in terms of where and why they purchased souvenirs, whether they planned or spontaneously purchased souvenirs, how their shopping experiences had changed through time, and the influence of in-state and out-of-state travel on selection of souvenirs.

Analysis of the qualitative data of this research systematically generated themes through inductive coding of categories until no new categories appeared in additional interviews (Anderson 1993). This constant-comparative method generates and plausibly suggests, but does not empirically test, categories and properties about general issues (Strauss and Corbin 1990). No attempt was made to identify either the universality or the proof of causes of suggested themes.

Demographics and Gender Ideologies

Analysis of the quantitative data provided the demographic description of the sample (Table 1). Due to purposive sampling all 42 of the informants were women. Fifty percent were between the ages of 22 and 42, with the others between the ages of 43 and 60. The mean age was 43. Forty women (95%) had been educated beyond high school: 28 (67%) had completed college; of these, 4 (10%) had done some graduate work, and 10 (24%) had earned graduate degrees. Seventeen (40%), reported an annual family income of \$75,000 or above; 18

Table 1. Demographics of Informants

Demographics	Early	Middle	Total
	Adulthood <i>n</i> = 21	Adulthood <i>n</i> = 21	Sample <i>n</i> = 42
Age: Range (mean)	22-42 (35)	43-60 (52)	22-60 (43)
	Freq	Freq	Freq
Education:			
Less than 12 years	0	0	0
Completed high school	0	2	2
1-3 years technical, vocational, or college	6	6	12
Completed college or university	8	6	14
Some graduate work	3	1	4
A graduate degree	4	6	10
Family Income:			
Not divulged	2	0	2
Less than \$10,000	2	0	2
10,000 up to 24,999	3	0	3
25,000 up to 49,999	6	5	11
50,000 up to 74,999	2	5	7
75,000 and over	6	11	17
Marital Status:			
Married	15	20	35
Not married	6	1	7
Number of Children at Home:			
0	7	18	25
1	3	0	3
2	7	3	10
3	2	0	2
4	2	0	2
Number of States Visited in the USA:			
0-10	2	0	2
11-20	5	3	8
21-30	8	2	10
31-40	4	6	10
41-50	2	10	12
Number of Foreign Countries Visited:			
0	1	2	3
1-5	12	8	20
6-10	5	6	11
11-15	2	2	4
16-20	1	1	2
21-25	0	0	0
26-30	0	0	0
31-35	0	2	2

(43%) between \$25,000 and \$75,000; and only 7 (17%), less than \$25,000. Thirty-five (83%) were married. Over half (60%) of the informants had no children (EA = 7; MA = 3) or no children living at home (EA = 0; MA = 15), whereas 40% (EA = 14; MA = 3) had between 1 and 4 children living at home. They had visited an average of 32 states in the United States and an average of 7 foreign

countries. One-third of the women were in business-related occupations, one-third in education-related occupations, and one-third in service-related occupations (Table 2).

As to gender ideologies, themes of both liberal and cultural emerged from these women's descriptions of their trips. The interview questions explored indirectly the gender ideology of each informant. Many questions were open-ended, to avoid influencing responses, so that answers at times were not definitive. Only definitive responses to 12 criteria were recorded in Table 3.

For this analysis, six criteria represent each extreme in gender ideology (Table 3). A cultural gender ideology, including male hegemony, is represented by a male (spouse, boyfriend, or brother) or a parent who dominates places to go (EA = 4; MA = 5); others make travel plans (EA = 3; MA = 5); the informant has different and clearly defined roles during travel, such as child care and packing (EA = 4; MA = 5); the informant has different activities during travel, such as shopping for gifts or attending wives' activities during professional meetings (EA = 5; MA = 6); the informant places (or once placed) children's needs ahead of hers (EA = 6; MA = 9); and the informant places others' interests before hers (EA = 1; MA = 7). A liberal ideology is represented by informants who travel alone commonly or to professional meetings (EA = 8; MA = 13); are equal (or dominant) in making trip plans (EA = 18; MA = 17); share same roles as males (EA = 9; MA = 12); enjoy and share the same activities as her spouse, boyfriend, brother, or father (EA = 20; MA = 17); shop extensively for self while accompanied by children (EA = 1; MA = 2); and shop with males as equals in objectives and decisions on purchases (EA = 11; MA = 16).

For both EA and MA women, there were more than twice the responses for liberal ideology (EA = 58; MA = 75) compared to cultural ideology (EA = 23; MA = 36). Forty-one of the 42 informants were employed outside the home. Overall, they exhibited more characteristics of the liberal gender ideology (EA = 58; MA = 73) than of the cultural ideology (EA = 23; MA = 33). Twelve women (EA = 5; MA = 7) exhibited 3 or more responses characteristic of liberal ideology and no responses characteristic of cultural ideology, whereas only 5 women (EA = 3; MA = 2) exhibited 3 or more responses characteristic of cultural ideology and none or only 1 characteristic of liberal ideology. Compared to women who have less education (EA = 6; MA = 8), women who are college graduates (EA = 15; MA = 13) exhibited more characteristics of the liberal gender ideology than of the cultural ideology. One difference is that women in MA, overall, exhibited more characteristics of the cultural gender ideology (EA = 23; MA = 36) and also of the liberal gender ideology (EA = 58; MA = 75) than women in EA.

The quotations that follow were selected from Anderson (1993) to emphasize the qualities in souvenirs that define authenticity, to illustrate similarities and differences in souvenir purchases in each age group, and to link liberal and cultural ideologies of women with their souvenir purchases. The labels CU (cultural) and LI (liberal) that accompany each quote indicate the author's analysis of gender ideology

Table 2. Occupations of Informants

Age	Ed	Id# ^a	Business-Related	Age	Ed	Id# ^a	Business-Related	Age	Ed	Id# ^a	Business-Related
25 ^b	4	42	Accountant	25 ^b	3	22	Travel Agent	22 ^b	5	43	Graduate Student
29 ^b	4	23	Senior Loan Officer	31 ^b	6	18	Minister	38 ^b	5	24	Teacher, Elementary
33 ^b	3	25	Secretary	35 ^b	4	32	Registered Nurse	40 ^b	6	20	Graduate Student
35 ^b	3	14	Secretary	38 ^b	4	7	Photographer	41 ^b	5	21	Director of Youth, Extension
35 ^b	4	29	Bank Teller	38 ^b	4	41	Dental Hygienist	42 ^b	6	16	Director of Education, Hospital
35 ^b	4	30	Bed and Breakfast	41 ^b	4	13	Registered Nurse	44 ^c	6	6	Area Education Agency
37 ^b	6	12	Computer Manager, Extension	41 ^b	3	38	Registered Nurse	45 ^c	6	6	Associate Professor, University
40 ^b	3	11	Systems Manager, University	43 ^c	3	28	Cosmetologist-Crafts	47 ^c	5	40	Teacher, Elementary
41 ^b	3	34	Secretary	44 ^c	3	39	Cosmetics Salesperson	49 ^c	6	19	Professor, University
48 ^c	3	37	Buyer	47 ^c	4	27	Travel Agent	52 ^c	3	1	Lab Technician, University
55 ^c	4	5	Clerk-Typist	47 ^c	2	35	Homemaker-Caterer	53 ^c	6	4	Teacher, Elementary
57 ^c	2	31	Receptionist	49 ^c	3	17	Outreach Center	57 ^c	6	15	Instructor, University
60 ^c	4	8	Design Technician	55 ^c	4	33	Color Consultant	55 ^c	6	15	Assistant Professor, University
60 ^c	4	10	Secretary-Farm Manager	57 ^c	3	9	Homemaker	59 ^c	6	3	Professor, University
EA = 9; MA = 5				EA = 7; MA = 7				EA = 5; MA = 9			

Ed = Education; 1 = less than 12 years; 2 = completed high school; 3 = 1-3 years technical, vocational, college; 4 = completed college or university; 5 = some graduate work; 6 = graduate degree.

^aIdentification numbers correspond to those in Anderson (1993: Appendix IX).

^bEarly Adulthood.

^cMiddle Adulthood.

Table 3. Characteristics of Cultural and Liberal Gender Ideologies of each Informant

	22	25	25	29	31	33	35	35	35	35	37	38	38	38	40	40	41
Age of Informant	43	22	42	23	18	25	14	29	30	32	12	7	24	41	11	20	13
Informant Number																	
Cultural Ideology:																	
Male or Parent Dominates Places to Go												*	*	*			*
Others Make Travel Plans	*													*			*
Woman has Different Roles			*				*		*				*				
Woman has Different Activities	*	*					*						*				
Children's Needs Placed First	N	A	N	A	N	A	N	A	N	A	*		N	A		*	N
Other's Interests Placed First	*																
Liberal Ideology:																	
Travel Alone				*				*			*	*		*	*	*	*
Equal or Dominate Trip Plans	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Share Same Roles as Male						*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Enjoy Same Activities as Male					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Shop for Self Despite Children	N	A	N	A	N	A	N	A	N	A	*		N	A		*	N
Shop with Male as Equal			N	A	*	N	A	N	A	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	N

Until children were grown = 1; Husband is an invalid = 2; Not applicable = NA.

represented by the quote rather than the overall gender ideology of the informant.

EA,23 (identification number),LI I am more independent than I was five or ten years ago. And I have more of the financial capacity to do what I want to do and go where I want to go. If I want to buy a plane ticket somewhere, I just do it. . . . I don't usually coordinate with anybody, except to where I'm visiting.

EA,41,CU What I enjoy is a lot different than what the kids enjoy. Right now what I enjoy is pretty much on hold because we tend to do things that the kids want to do. [Husband] and I would go to museums a lot more. Or we would maybe take a longer . . . hike. . . . if I didn't have the kids, I would go to antique stores. I never get a chance any more because everybody hates it. . . . I absolutely lose on antique stores.

MA,37,LI A friend and I went. Our husbands had no desire to go overseas, so we went without them. We just really had a good time. We've had several trips together.

MA,35,CU Yes, [husband]'s the planner of the trips. Most of the time we go where he would want to go . . . either business, going to [state], or going to see the children.

All women in this study said that travel enhanced the quality and increased the meaning of their lives through time. Some women in both age groups showed liberal ideological characteristics in the outcomes of travel through their increased "tolerance of [foreign] people and circumstances," which allowed them to view other people of both genders as equal but different, whereas some women in both age groups showed cultural ideological characteristics when they learned

Table 3. Continued

41	41	41	42	43	44	44	45	47	47	47	48	49	49	52	53	55	55	55	57	57	57	59	60	60
21	34	38	16	28	26	39	6	27	35	40	37	17	19	1	4	5	33	15	9	2	31	3	8	10
									*			*		*		*	*		2					
							*		*			*					*		2					
			*		*	*										*	*		*		*			
*	*		*		*	*			NA	*	NA		*	NA	1					1		1	1	
							*	*	*	*		*		*		*	*		*		*		*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		2		*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		2	*	*	*	*	*
*	*								NA	NA		NA	1									NA		
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		2	*	*	*	*	*

“to overlook and accept differences” in family and friends, which then deepened personal relationships.

EA,21,LI [In] Europe . . . I really saw that the way they live is okay. But it’s very different than how I live. . . . It really helped me gain a new perspective on the world and my values. . . . I think it helps me stay up to date and see what’s going on in the world. It doesn’t make me better, but it makes me more in tune and aware of the total picture and how we fit into that total picture. . . . It makes me appreciate what I have here, and recognize the importance of the family that I have here, the value system that exists here, the feeling of family in this community.

EA,16,CU Travel enhances my relationships with my family. We’ve had that shared experience. We always have a New Year’s Eve party at our house, and we always talk about what’s happened that year. That always includes the vacation—what they liked, what they didn’t, and what they’d change. We keep talking about it so they don’t forget what they’ve done.

MA,27, CU . . . my husband and I, it makes us closer. The more places we see together, the more we have in common. We are best friends as well as husband and wife. We travel very well together. Travel is good, I’m sure, for our marriage. We travel some with his family, and we always have fun when we do that. We took a trip to Europe—he has two brothers and their wives and his mom and dad. That, again, cemented the family. We became closer as a larger family because of that.

Informants in this study exhibited the “connected knowing” of Benky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1986) who believed that women develop knowledge they value that is personal, particular, and

grounded in firsthand experience. Women in this study increased their knowledge, understanding, and tolerance of different geographic locations, cultures, and individuals. They gained a variety of experiences by interacting with people who hold different beliefs and values rooted in race, religion, education, economic levels, and ways of living everyday life. They noted that observing a variety of ways of doing things, eating a variety of foods, and browsing through myriad crafts and souvenirs offered alternatives to everyday experiences that connected them, through memory, to people in distant places. Responses included, "I've learned how to cook the different ethnic foods . . ." and, "I even know how to do linen napkins up. I like that." Travel ". . . widens knowledge, deepens understanding, and broadens horizons."

EA,12,LI In the western part of [nation] . . . men weave Kente cloth . . . He was an apprentice, so I bought a piece of fabric that he made. . . . And it's woven in six-inch strips by so long. . . . it was sentimental [because] it was a male doing it. . . . That's a feminine characteristic to me. A male to do that in a male-dominated culture is unique. . . .

MA,28,LI . . . when we were in Ireland, I was really critical. Why do these people live like this? Why are they freezing to death when they could have central heating? . . . I found the answer in the fact that they're contented people. They are not materialistic. They are not goal-oriented like we are. They are just happy with the way things are. They don't try to make things happen.

Souvenir Purchases and Authenticity

Memorable shopping experiences and purchases of special souvenirs formed an integral part of the search for authenticity by the women in this study. This was based on their shopping experiences; reasons for purchases of souvenirs, including Iowa souvenirs; their souvenir-purchase styles; and the changes through time in their shopping behavior related to souvenirs. The examples and quotes that follow were selected from Anderson (1993) to emphasize the qualities in souvenirs that define authenticity, to illustrate similarities and differences in souvenir purchases in each age group, and to link liberal and cultural ideologies of women with their souvenir purchases.

Shopping experiences. Themes related to meanings of souvenir purchases and to authenticity emerged from women's explanations of their shopping experiences. All of the women participated in shopping experiences during their travels. As one informant summed it up, shopping for souvenirs means:

EA,23, LI . . . something that you do for yourself. When you're shopping for a souvenir, you're looking for a remembrance of some place. That's probably the main thing that shopping for souvenirs means. It means also a chance to find something unique, something that maybe no one else will have. Especially if you're buying it from a long way away. Something that kind of reflects your mood at the time you were traveling. Where you were at. You want to buy a certain remembrance of a certain place.

When the women in this study traveled, shopping was an activity that provided entertainment, adventure, and discovery of unusual objects. Shopping sites, shopping companions, and interactions with shopkeepers and crafts producers comprised informants' shopping experiences. These women frequented a wide variety of shopping sites. Specialty shops (which included art galleries and shops for gifts, antiques, linens, and coffee) were cited slightly more often by MA women (18) than by EA women (15). Seasonal tourist shops (which included craft areas, artist communities, co-ops, specialty souvenir shops, and open markets) also were mentioned more frequently by MA women (16) than by EA women (11).

Differences in shopping experiences resulted from the presence or absence of shopping companions. At different times women shopped by themselves (EA = 11; MA = 12), with friends (EA = 7; MA = 12), with their husbands (EA = 8; MA = 15), with their children (EA = 8; MA = 6), and with other family members (EA = 4; MA = 0). Women who shopped by themselves did not want to be distracted by shopping companions. They wanted time to discover unusual and unique souvenirs. They also felt independent and self-sufficient, "I shop by myself. I don't have any problem. . . . I just take my map and jump in the car and go."

Some women preferred shopping with the friends who are their traveling companions, ". . . my friend and I do a lot of shopping," or with friends they have made in places they are visiting, ". . . I would shop with someone from that country who knows where these little nooks and crannies are, or someone from here who has been there and knows those areas."

Many women also shopped with female family members who were their traveling companions, ". . . [daughter] and I went together to see this place where she had been buying sweaters for herself, for me, and for others . . ." and ". . . I was with my mother . . . and there was a real small, leather-woven [purse] . . . on sale for \$45, so I bought it."

Some women indicated that it was unusual for their husbands to go shopping with them at home, but their husbands would be shopping companions on trips. Several women smiled and recalled singular moments when their husbands purchased "special" souvenirs for them when shopping together:

MA,35,CU . . . these diamond earrings, I have on almost all the time . . . It isn't that I have a lot of jewelry, but what I have is special, and I wear everything I have. . . . They all are [gifts from my husband]. I would never go buy jewelry myself. I might suggest what I want, and I guess that's why we look at a lot of jewelry. . . . we looked at a lot of tennis bracelets.

EA,43,CU My boyfriend . . . bought me some pearls last Christmas. Then, on our trip . . . he bought me a little jewelry box. It plays a little song and I put my pearls in there. It's wood carved. It's really pretty. . . . That would be the most special souvenir ever because [we] looked all over for it and he wanted to get me something to keep my pearls in. It's real little, but it's really special.

EA,25,LI We were up there over our wedding anniversary. . . . We went to an art gallery . . . and we got a beautiful frame and a print . . . that I think is the most memorable because it's just something that we bought for our anniversary and we both loved it.

Women interacted with shopkeepers and crafts producers. One-third of the women in this study appreciated shopkeepers who visited with tourists and showed special souvenirs (EA = 5; MA = 9). These informants enjoyed learning from shopkeepers about authentic souvenirs for sale, such as types of pottery, local soapstone for making sculptures, and natural fibers for making fabrics. Interestingly, the informants in this study who interacted extensively with retailers were not accompanied by children, with one exception. Women's interactions with shopkeepers and crafts producers were woven into their stories of memorable experiences and authentic souvenir purchases during trips:

MA,1,LI The fellow that owned the store [allowed] me behind the counter to look at all these spectacular Indian pots. The reason they were behind the counter and behind glass is because they were a quality that was not the kind that just sat out where anybody could pick up and touch. So he said if you want to start a serious collection of Indian pottery, I have a piece of pottery that is made by the famous potter, Maria. . . . It was made by Maria and Santanna. So he showed it to me and we talked about it and this went on for . . . about 45 minutes. . . . I just decided well, if I'm going to start a pottery collection, I think I'll buy that.

MA,9,LI The experience of the interaction with the salespeople. I remember once in [country] . . . I decided that I had to have a piece of lace. . . . I couldn't speak the language. The lady looks at me and I look at her and I said I want that. . . . How much? I didn't know how to tell her, so I took the bolt of material and I held it up to the door, and I pulled it off and measured it. I bought a piece as tall as the door. . . . She smiled and gave me a hug, and [I] went on my way. So that was a neat experience.

As part of the shopping experience, some women (EA = 5; MA = 8) found pleasure in observing artisans who demonstrated batik, basket weaving, throwing pots, wood carving, and wood burning. When tourists observed craftspeople, the souvenirs took on special meaning so the tourists were more likely to make purchases. Several tourists spent more money on souvenirs made by craftspeople and artists with whom they became acquainted during their trips:

EA,41,LI . . . the guy who actually forged it, he showed the kids how he forged it, and talked to them a little bit about it. . . . So we tended to spend more money there because we were talking to the people that made it, and that had some meaning to us. . . .

Littrell et al (1993) and Littrell (1990) likewise found that observing the production of crafts was integral in the definition of souvenir authenticity.

Reasons for purchases of souvenirs. Informants stated three main reasons why they purchased souvenirs and why they considered specific souvenirs special: as reminders of their heritage, of first trips, and of international trips, because they were authentic products of the region, unique individual items, or unique additions to collections; for use, such as mugs, clothing, and food, because they represented personal interests; and to give as gifts.

Several women always bought souvenirs as reminders of first trips to any area, especially trips outside the United States, because those trips were "more important." Souvenirs served as reminders of special places where informants traveled, and for this reason they often sought authenticity in their purchases:

EA,12,LI I'd probably be looking for something that's unique to that particular [place]. If I go to the Amanas, then I'm more interested in having a woolen blanket or a piece of fabric to make something. Going to Dubuque and buying the candy because I know it's made by the monks.

MA,2,LI . . . the llama on the bell. That was purchased in [country]. I like bells. . . . That was when we did international travel. . . . That was a very meaningful one and one that's very important. It's been sitting up there on that shelf ever since. [It is] a souvenir from a travel that we went out of the United States. It was the first time that we had . . . been outside the United States.

MA,4,CU We also have a [ceramic] collection. . . . Probably one of the things that was neat was when we went to [country]. We purchased [ceramics] there. . . . Our whole family is 100% [nationality].

Littrell et al (1992, 1993) found that versatility in use was the most common reason for purchasing regional crafts for 53 women. Versatility also was important to the informants in this study, who purchased a variety of products with many uses. Noteworthy in the present study were the textile and clothing purchases that were "special" (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981), that were "favorite souvenirs," and that "held special meaning" for the women (EA = 19; MA = 20). The informants enjoyed wearing and using these items because they were authentic and, therefore, conversation pieces and sources of compliments:

EA,25,CU I got a beautiful linen tablecloth on one of the islands. . . . I use my tablecloth when we have special things because it's my most special souvenir. It is handmade. It's embroidery. This place that we went to was just beautiful. All they had was tablecloths. It was called the Linen Shop. Something handmade like that, you appreciate all the work they went through. There were many [colors] to choose from, and this just kind of fit in with what I had in the house. It brings back memories of the trip. [I] think of where [I] got it and what we were doing.

EA,20,CU [A meaningful souvenir] that comes to mind is a [type of] bag. I have a couple of them from [country]. That's a tribe [name]. Maybe that's because I lived in the communities, and I saw women

all over [country] making them. They wove them as they walked on the highways and as they waited for buses and as they carried their children. It was fascinating for me to watch them make them. . . . They use no tools or instruments. It's just their fingers weaving them. Then they would take them maybe to the shoe maker . . . and have leather handles put on. I think the reason that it's memorable is because I know how it was made and the work and the effort that went into it. . . . women [there] carry them with the leather straps across their forehead and the bag down their back with coconuts in them or whatever. I guess that's kind of . . . important . . . to me, although I spent very little money to buy it.

Another reason for purchasing souvenirs was to give as gifts to friends and relatives. Giving gifts is one way that these women encouraged relationships with others. It is noteworthy that many of the women purchased numerous Iowa souvenirs. Even though these souvenirs were not especially unique to Iowans, authenticity was important in their purchases. Of the 35 (EA = 17; MA = 18) women in this study who purchased Iowa souvenirs, 18 (EA = 8; MA = 10) gave them as gifts to relatives, friends, and dignitaries when traveling and when hosting:

MA,15,CU We have a lot of people from other countries who visit our home. And I think it's especially nice to have something made in Iowa to give to them. And since we are involved in agriculture, I guess I tend to think of that as a possibility of a gift. Frequently the people who visit us are also interested in agriculture; that's one of our common bonds. So I think they, too, would enjoy that aspect of a gift from Iowa. . . . Things that have corn on them. Things that have something about cattle or hogs. . . . Paper products. Even napkins with things like that on them. . . . Or Christmas-tree ornaments that have something about Iowa. . . . something made in Iowa or something typical of Iowa or from Iowa State [University] is an important kind of gift for me to select and take to those individuals that I work with.

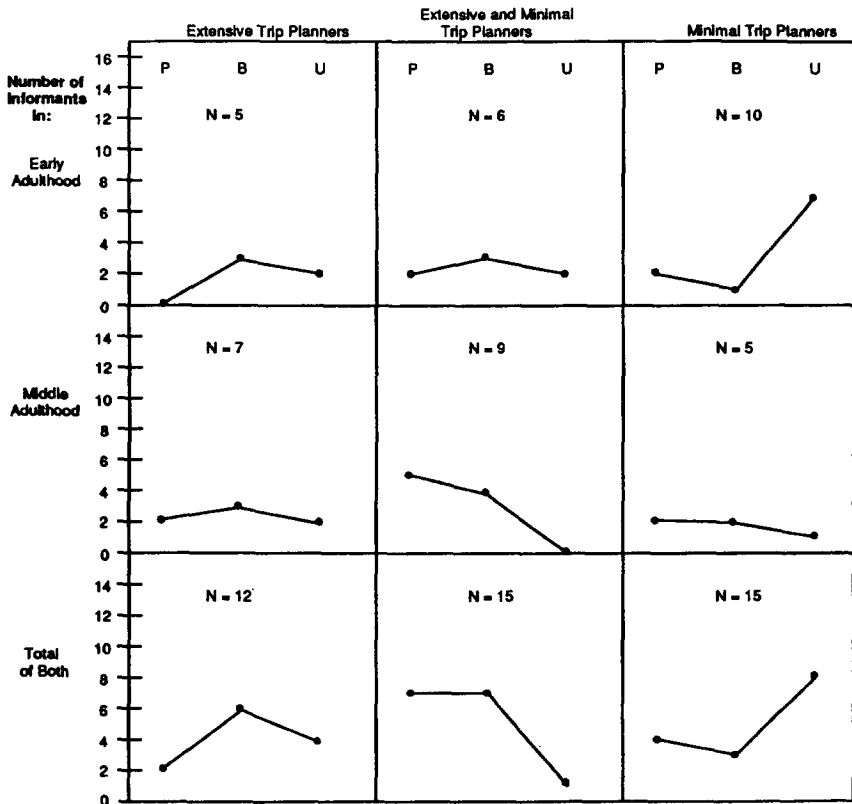
MA,3,CU We sent steaks to my sister and brother-in-law. That was very much appreciated. And bakery goods from Pella. I bought a glass hanging with etched design of the map of Iowa with the rose and the bird. We usually take some caps, too, like ball caps. We had one with the shape of Iowa—the outline map of Iowa—on it. . . . that had Iowa on them, i.e., mugs, or these little ceramic shape of Iowa—someone in Iowa loves you with the state flower and you set it on one of those little holders. I also bought a lot of Iowa products at a store in Valley Junction. We also took a lot of those things to [country] with us. Not major things, but little things either from the university or from Iowa. . . . We had our 25th anniversary meeting here, and I bought a lot of things to give to the governor's wife, who came from [country].

MA,10,LI In Amana, they make beautiful woolen items and wooden things. There's a lot of talent in Iowa. A lot of people do a lot of wonderful things here. It's not just raising corn. I guess that's why I feel they're unique gifts.

Souvenir-purchase styles. Two themes emerged from the data that described how women differ and are similar in their souvenir-purchase behaviors. Some women in both age groups made planned purchases (EA = 4; MA = 9), others made unplanned purchases (EA = 10; MA = 3), and still others did both (EA = 7; MA = 9) (Figure 1). Some women in both age groups were extensive planners of trips (EA = 5; MA = 7), others were minimal planners of trips (EA = 10; MA = 5), and others used both planning styles (EA = 6; MA = 9) (Anderson 1993).

Planned souvenir purchases ranged from a general intention to buy something to a specific intention to purchase particular things, such as items for established collections, desired textiles and ceramics, things unique to a region, and gifts appropriate for others:

MA,10,LI I had definitely planned on buying wool in New Zealand. I did buy myself a sweater, coat, and a vest, and a couple of sheepskins.



P = Planned; B = Both; U = Unplanned (Souvenir-purchasing orientation); N = Number of informants in each age group for each trip-planning style

Figure 1. Souvenir-Purchasing Orientations of Informants in Early and Middle Adulthood Based on Trip-Planning Styles

MA,28,CU . . . when we were in Ireland, I brought back a lot of Irish linen. I do like fabrics . . . and I purchase them. . . . I spent all my money on tablecloths for all my families.

Unplanned purchases typified general buying habits of some informants. When asked how they decide what souvenirs to buy, those women who made unplanned purchases typically responded: "I guess whatever just catches my eye . . ." "Usually it's when I see something and I like it, I'll buy it. It's not like I shop for something." Unplanned purchases sometimes were considered "special" because of their instant appeal. On the other hand unplanned purchases often lost their appeal and disappeared at "garage sales."

Only the minimal planners in EA appear to have a clear preference toward unplanned purchases. As people move into MA, they appear to be more flexible in making both planned and unplanned souvenir purchases. However, overall, the MA group appears to be more likely to make planned purchases than unplanned purchases.

Changes in souvenir purchases through time. Souvenir-purchase behavior of many of the informants changed throughout their travel careers. Most women reported that they purchased more souvenirs during their recent trips compared to fewer purchases during trips taken five and ten years ago. These women gave several reasons why they increased the number of souvenir purchases through the years:

EA,43,LI I guess I've traveled more outside Iowa in the past five years, so I have more souvenirs. . . . [You] buy when you're on . . . an exciting, fun-filled trip."

EA,42,LI Now I'm spending my money, where ten years ago I was spending my parents' money. . . . it has changed. Now I can buy what I want without feeling bad about asking them for money.

EA,18,CU I have never purchased as much as I purchased in [state]. [State] was obviously a highlight. . . . establishing a home . . . has brought some different priorities for wanting things to grace the home and to serve as memories when I return. And . . . having a little bit more space for some of the things you bring back.

Most informants made changes through the years in the types and "quality" of souvenirs they purchased. One informant said, ". . . I think quality-wise, [my taste] has refined considerably. I think that's just an aging process. As you see more, you discern more."

Several informants reported that some souvenirs had gained in sentimental value and had become more important. Through the years some souvenirs became traditions:

MA,5,CU But when we've traveled internationally, when the kids were little, I bought things that would go on a Christmas tree. And then I used them; I still get them out. They were certainly not Christmas ornaments, but they were things that would work on a Christmas tree. . . . like a little swan with the back of it . . . that makes a little basket. And I think you put an egg in that. I think they are Malay-

sian, and they were used I think actually in weddings or something. But they're awfully cute, and they work on our Christmas tree.

EA,23,CU I've gotten a collection built up of probably 130-140 different spoons from all over the United States, and basically all over the world. It certainly gains in sentimental value.

Other souvenirs gained in monetary value, and, as collections grew in size, they became more important:

MA,19,LI This is one of my favorite pieces. . . . This is some [raw] amber jewelry that I got in [country] on our first trip. . . . This is worth a lot of money today. I haven't seen anything like this. I'm real pleased and proud of this purchase because it certainly has grown in value over the years. I didn't spend a great deal for it at the time, and it would be worth a great deal now. Just earrings now cost more than this cost at the time. And you don't see pieces like this, so it's a scarce commodity.

CONCLUSIONS

Each of the four tourism themes discussed in this paper is a factor in the characterization of the authenticity of souvenirs purchased by the informants. These themes support the conclusions of Littrell et al (1993) that authenticity derives from uniqueness, workmanship, aesthetics, use, cultural integrity, craftspeople, shopping experience, and genuineness.

This study shows that differences exist in souvenir purchases and authenticity for EA and MA women. Many women in EA shopped in malls with their children and made unplanned souvenir purchases, for themselves and their children, that represented places or events and that were locally grown or produced. Many women in MA preferred specialty shops and seasonal tourists shops, shopped more frequently with friends or husbands, were more likely to make planned purchases of high quality, mostly for personal satisfaction, and preferred observing artisans.

The informants displayed complex characteristics that collectively were not restricted to either the liberal or the cultural ideological extreme. On the ideological continuum, most of the women exhibited characteristics of both gender ideologies. Both EA and MA women typically showed more liberal and fewer cultural attributes.

All the women of this study were similar to the liberal extreme in that they held jobs or professional careers, were used to having their own money, were well-educated and well-informed, had traveled widely, and possessed a world view that included the importance of personal interactions with other cultures as vital to their understanding of and tolerance for others' viewpoints, values, beliefs, and ways of doing things. Some of the women were also liberal in that they planned their own travel, sometimes business-related, sometimes family-related, and purchased more souvenirs for themselves than for others. Some women were similar to the cultural ideological extreme in that they married, had children, maintained strong family ties, deferred trip plans to others, and purchased mostly souvenirs to give as gifts.

Collectively these women occupy an intermediate position in the ideological spectrum, and show great diversity in their ages, work and travel experiences, family status, incomes, and other characteristics. Because they travel extensively, they may be representative of women who account for a significant amount of all tourist purchases.

Because the women in this study occupied positions throughout the ideological spectrum from cultural to liberal extremes, and because most women in this study desired authenticity in their purchases, no relationship appears to exist between either ideological extreme and the desire for authenticity. Extreme gender ideologies are not useful for characterizing and understanding souvenir purchase behaviors and desire for authenticity in this small sample of Euro-American women living in Iowa. These women were homogenous in being highly educated and having a desire for and experience in travel. Further study is needed to determine if these two factors influence the preference for and expression of gender ideology.

In the present study no evidence of marked masculine hegemony emerged. The women who met this study's criteria were pleased with their public and personal lives, and were sufficiently self-assured to share details of their lives during extensive interviews. Many were the primary planners of their trips, most were the primary purchasers of souvenirs in their families, and most were highly educated. It is also possible that the influence of travel experiences, especially observation of foreign cultures, may cause women travelers to assimilate characteristics of both gender ideologies and thus move them toward the middle of the ideology continuum.

Therefore, the women of this study had many routine and travel experiences in which they were the decision-makers. This might help to explain the apparently low level of male hegemony in this research sample. The conclusions of this study are valid for the informants' travel experiences. However, the limited number of informants could restrict the general applicability of the findings. Other approaches or theoretical frameworks could yield additional conclusions. But still, on the basis of this study, some implications and suggestions for further study can be generated.

MA women in this study spend more on souvenirs and prefer specialty shops and interactions with artisans. If this observation is generally true for the entire population, then proprietors of specialty shops might choose to target this group with special ads, window and sidewalk displays, frequent demonstrations by artisans, and authentic souvenirs that would appeal to women in MA.

A tourist area is usually characterized by a high degree of retail concentration and saturation of available souvenirs. Retailers in malls and other areas typically frequented by women in EA might compensate for the greater price competition in their setting by offering some of the unique souvenirs that are desired for authenticity by these women. Another implication is that retailers should develop promotional messages and price lines that differentiate their stores from other similar stores. These messages may appeal to people who plan purchases based on previous knowledge of the tourist area as well as to the spontaneous purchaser. As part of a promotional plan, such retailers

may be interested in being included in the itineraries of tour buses. Because women in MA often shopped with their husbands, retailers should target the willingness of husbands or boyfriends to purchase expensive items as special souvenirs for their wives or girlfriends. A study of purchasing partners should discover their influence on the search for authenticity in souvenirs purchased, and on the amounts spent on souvenirs for self, spouse, children, and others.

Authenticity of local products is important to women of both EA and MA within the spectrum of gender ideologies. Retailers should be mindful that tourists frequently desire to purchase products, especially from other areas and cultures, that reflect their shopping experiences such as observations of artisans; interactions with shopkeepers; traditions of the destination that would serve as remembrances; symbols of their cultural heritage; and being on first trips.

The limited number of informants in this study and their cultural homogeneity suggest that similar studies should be conducted to explore the effects of differences in race, ethnicity, class, and gender on souvenir purchases and authenticity. Additionally, a study of women who express a cultural ideology and women who identify with liberal ideology should investigate if shopping habits, purchases, and desire for authenticity of these extreme groups differ from those in the present study. □ □

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