The Language of Ecotourism

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the construction of language in the field of ecotourism through a number of disciplines and discourses. Following Graham Dann's (1996) lead in investigating tourism texts through a socio-linguistic study of language, I focus on the niche of ecotourism to look specifically at the way nature is represented within its texts. An increasing body of interdisciplinary research is developing with a bias towards describing environmental discourses through political, managerial, sociological and business lenses (see Cohen, 1978; Haenn, 1994; Hall & Kinnaird, 1994; Hollinshead, 2000a; Jones, 1987). This bias creates a gap in the literature on ecocritical, discourse analysis and sociolinguistic reviews of ecotourism language (Dann, 2012). This research is important because it demonstrates how the methods used by discourse and its operations, such as marketing and promotion, are deployed to transform ecological space into a commodity. Political and cultural discourses position nature as a theme within them to perform a host of utilitarian functions. Creative writing, travel writing, copywriting and poetics all contribute to the methods through which ecotourism is promoted, constructed, understood, consumed and desired. Fundamental to understanding the importance of language in creating the experience and identity of ecotourism is the role of the Internet: its keywords, search engine techniques, consumer feedback capacities and websites. Websites allow destination managers to create a direct relationship with an international audience of potential guests.

By reviewing literature from different disciplines and producing a new set of comprehensive data, I contribute to the literature on ecotourism by demonstrating how it produces and is produced by culture in ways that influence the design and promotion of marketing material by the tourism industry. Ecotourism emerges as a scene conflicted by its construction through multiple disciplines and discourses; creating an ambiguity with political and ideological consequences. I examine the key themes, discourses and ideologies present in ecotourism and how these interact with the conservation, industry, socio-political and policy agendas implicit in its texts. I investigate how tourists and destination managers engage with ecotourism as a business, literary, tourism and cultural activity to enrich knowledge about ecotourism's story, business and rhetoric and how it is constructed to appeal to tourists; who are in turn assumed to hold certain sets of ideologies.

Certification of Thesis

I certify that the ideas, work, results, analyses, interpretations and conclusions reported in this thesis are entirely my own effort except where otherwise acknowledged. I also certify that the work is original and has not been previously submitted for any other award, except where otherwise acknowledged.

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Signature of candidate   Date

Endorsement

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Signature of Supervisor   Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Research Frame

Two core questions fuel my investigation: 1) how is ecotourism constructed and represented in academic, marketing, cultural, industry and tourism language?; and 2) how is nature represented in ecotourism literature? I am interested in these questions because little interdisciplinary research into the specific language of ecotourism exists, providing an opportunity to contribute to knowledge about the role of language in shaping encounters with natural environments. While previous research has established that ecotourism and the environment are not mutually aligned (see Munt 1994) and that ecotourism does not necessarily preserve the environment, I'm specifically interested in the ways in which language facilitates a disconnection between conservation and the contemporary ecotourism industry. "Nature" does not always perform the function expected in the ecotourism industry. My study differs from prior research on this function by examining literary, linguistic, cultural and discourse constructions of nature that enable its representation to gain more significance than its material integrity in the tourism industry. Most importantly I discover how ecotourism poses a threat to nature through an intensive investigation of the way its language and discourse operate to undermine the broader Ecotourism project. Ecotourism's production through language has not been interrogated through an interdisciplinary and mixed method research approach to date. This investigation paves the way for other research into ways in which language constructs ecotourism and is implicit in its value. I follow Graham Dann's (1996a) lead regarding the importance of language in constructing tourism and his recent calls for greater inquiry into the operations of tourism language in a postmodern digital age. In calling for an exposure of the "latent layers of connotation and the ideologies that underpin them" in the language of tourism Dann confirms that there is lack of current research in this area (Dann, 2012, p. 68). My research into the construction and representation of ecotourism and the meaning and value of the word "nature" in ecotourism rhetoric, texts and ideologies, contributes significantly to knowledge about the specialised language of ecotourism. New data and knowledge is provided through the case studies which reveal: how the language of ecotourism is adopted by businesses providing an ecotourism product; connections between global and local rhetoric; and the representations of nature in ecotourism's promotional language.

Literature reviewed in Section two considered connections between the diverse and extensive discourses associated with ecotourism. The following questions lead the review: what is ecotourism; who is defining it; how is it being promoted; what are its environmental relationships; how is it written; what are its stories; and, how is it constructed through discourse? These lines of inquiry help determine new ways to consider ecotourism as a cultural and literary discourse as well as a tourism product. Results of the literature review helped establish the design of my research method, its focus on considering ecotourism discourse as a construction of cultural, economic, environmental, marketing and literary discourses. It helped me identify gaps in knowledge in order to recruit data of value for addressing some of these gaps. Research from environmental, cultural studies, tourism and literature was reviewed to support an interdisciplinary inquiry. I also investigated the role of Internet practices such as keyword tagging, online searching and AdWords values in expressing and valuing the language of ecotourism. Ecotourism marketing and promotion strategies were analysed to determine how keywords, ideologies and writing operate within the rhetoric and texts of ecotourism. Ecotourism is a site of contested values, ideologies and interpretation and as a word it is vulnerable to marketing constructions that are incompatible with its stated values. The literature review synthesises literature on ecotourism drawn from a number of disciplines to explore existing knowledge about the tourism-nature-culture paradigm. After reviewing the literature on ecotourism a methodology was developed to test whether the construction of ecotourism in the market reflected its construction in discourse. This was done to determine connections between constructions of nature in tourism experiences and nature's role in discourse as a scene of representation in which multiple disciplines are invested.

Three case studies were conducted to provide a rich scene of information about the language of ecotourism and how nature is represented within it. The first case study was an analysis of the keyword ecotourism on the Internet. In common usage the Internet and the Web are used interchangeably though technically the Web is a subset of the Internet containing email, file transfer protocols and webpages. I will use the generic word Internet to include all of the web content and its protocols throughout this thesis. The second case study was one focussed on the promotional language and strategies of two highly awarded ecotourism providers and the third was a case study of the way in which ecotourism was reported in Trip Advisor reviews. To determine how nature is represented in ecotourism's texts data was recruited from industry

promotional material and a review of academic literature that frames ecotourism in particular ways was completed. Travel literature, cultural discourse, industry texts, ecotourism literature, ecocriticism and environmental discourses were reviewed. As each of these texts are enmeshed in an expanding corpus of research, my methodology drew from those approaches established as the most relevant to understanding a story about "nature in ecotourism" across a range of literatures. New data and knowledge about nature's role in the ecotourism story is provided through the case studies undertaken as part of this research. A review of language used to construct nature as a subtext within ecotourism's narratives, contributes to knowledge about how ecotourism texts work and how they position nature as a symbolic and semiotic commodity to serve the functions of multiple discourses. Ecotourism, environmentalism, cultural studies and literary ecocriticism discourses are significantly involved in constructing nature and are the focus of this thesis. A content analysis of texts recruited from Internet searches on ecotourism and a case study of two exemplary ecotourism providers, CGH Earth (herein called CGH) and O'Reilly's Rainforest Retreat (herein called O'Reillys), was undertaken.

To address how tourists report on environmental experiences and where their language intersects with those of hotel managers, a third case study involving examination of consumer reviews was undertaken. To assess the congruency between marketing copy and consumer experience of the destinations, a comprehensive textual analysis of consumer reviews on the Trip Advisor website was completed using textual analysis software. Results were compared using qualitative analysis and quantitative categorisation of texts to determine whether the way a hotel promoted itself as an ecotourism site reflected tourist accounts of experiences of that site. Trip Advisor reviews were considered with guest comments lodged at the hotels. This represents an extensive field and quantity of data that enables a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between nature and ecotourism.

As ecocriticism is an interdisciplinary strategy particularly focussed on studying literature and the environment, it helps extend the scope of my study across a number of schools of thinking that contribute to the construction of nature (see Williams 1973; Glotfelty and Fromm 1996). Ecocriticism is also sometimes called 'green cultural studies' (Hochman, 1998), 'ecopoetics' (Skinner, 2001) and 'environmental literary criticism' (Rueckert 1978; Buell 1995). Context is important to interpreting meaning and represents a scene for reading each particular text. Thomason and Moore raise the "mutuality of context" as an important

constraint on discourse dynamics (1995, p. 102). Tensions between the global-local contexts of discussions within ecotourism reflect these dynamics. Global discourse shows qualities of abstraction and cultural ambivalence that at a local level require interpretation and negotiation in relation to value and meaning. For example a piece of land might be called country, wilderness or farmland depending on context and perspective.

According to Eriksen and Kelly (Eriksen, Brown, & Kelly, 2005) international or nationally determined indicators often fail to connect with processes and contexts that influence the ability to adapt to international trends at a local level. An important foundation for ecocriticism emerges from rural-urban differences that result in nature being represented as "country" (Williams, 1973) rather than "wilderness" or "environment". Williams introduced a keyword approach to culturally significant words and though his original research did not include tourism as a keyword, a revised edition did (see Bennett, et al. 2005). Importantly for this research is Williams' account of the way specific words function in cultural discourse to promote ideological representations. Keywords have since become a structure for organising and retrieving digital texts and as a result they have attained commercial value. Underpinning the idea of nature as a keyword in ecotourism discourse is the semiotic and linguistic web in which it is embedded and its position as something outside everyday life. Williams uses representations of rural-urban differences in considerations of "country" which has a bearing on the meaning of nature. Country he says, "has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence, and simple virtue" while on "the city has gathered the idea of an achieved centre of learning, communication, light. Powerful hostile associations have also developed: on the city as a place of noise, worldliness and ambition; on the country as a place of backwardness, ignorance, limitation" (Williams, 1973, p. 1). What is important about this is the "contrast between country and city, as fundamental ways of life" that "reaches back into classical times" (Williams, 1973, p. 1). Evidence for ecotourism as a practice taking place outside the domain of urban life is found in the range of material recruited for this study. Because this thesis is an inherently textually driven project it is possible to critique some of the modes of representation noticed by Williams and others present in ecotourism language. Travel writing and poetry also form part of the eco-critical corpus and are important for interdisciplinary investigations of ecotourism marketing.

I am particularly interested in the way language is used in promotional literature and hotel/destination marketing, to gain a greater understanding of ecotourism's cultural

significance and environmental representation. Focus is given to ecotourism rather than the whole tourism industry, as it contains broader tourist concerns within a concentrated and highly current niche. My research confirms a general view of ecotourism as a hackneyed word that lacks a coherent narrative or ideology. From a broader environmental and cultural perspective it is important to notice what is taking place within ecotourism's main stories and what is at stake. By investigating ecotourism discourse I discovered that the way nature is experienced, commodified and marketed through the practices of tourism is dependent upon other disciplines associated with tourism. Commonly, nature was co-opted by disciplines such as marketing, business and tourism, to tell a particular story through or in relation to nature, which had little value for nature itself in many instances. In some cases ecotourism appeared as a potential strategy for undermining protection of national parks and wilderness, demonstrating Dann's (1996) view that promotional language operates in a sociolinguistic frame. Such a frame "not only guides but controls experiences" and "tourism marketing operates to sustain apparently contradictory structures within the Western culture/nature binary through a culturally derived system of signs and signifiers that either silences human impacts, making them invisible, or portrays them as natural" (Head, Lane, & Waitt, 2003, p. 524).

Dann investigates the identity field of tourism texts through a socio-linguistic study of the language of tourism. While adapting Dann's technique of investigating tourism language through its communication qualities I focus on the niche of ecotourism to look specifically at the way nature is represented within its texts. While an increasing body of interdisciplinary research is developing, a bias towards describing environmental discourses through political, managerial, sociological and business lenses exists (see Cohen, 1978; Haenn, 1994; Hall, 1994; Jones, 1987). Dann (1996) identified a gap in literature on the ecocritical and sociolinguistic qualities of ecotourism language, establishing a need for research into these areas. Tourism language "attempts to seduce millions of people into becoming tourists and subsequently, to control their attitudes and behaviour. As tourists, such people then contribute further to this language through the communication of their experiences" (Dann, 1996a, p. i). Although Dann explores the generalities of tourism discourse, a more specific analysis of ecotourism is warranted to determine the relationship between ecotourism and nature. Dann's book was written in 1996 when the Internet was in its infancy and he has since acknowledged the profound influence that the Internet has had on the construction of communication

pathways and language and the need for greater research into this (Dann, 2012). The Internet affects the semiotic terrain of tourism discourse and my research addresses this gap in knowledge. Texts from CGH and O'Reilly's websites were used as case study material to examine the discourses and contexts used by them to create ecotourism's imaginative and material sites through language. Discourses are constructed through "systems of arguments, ideologies and interpretations" that shape social practices and affect "the way we see things and talk about them" (Hay, 2000, p. 187). Environmental texts operate in ways that help define how resources are used, who controls them and how they are exchanged. Questions about social relations, social representations and the commodification of nature are addressed in my research through deductive, dialectical, discursive and speculative investigation. I say speculative because subjectivity cannot be accommodated in any meaningful way in this study yet language does not exist in a vacuum and there is always a position from which the text is speaking that represents a subject's and a culture's position. Literary criticism is used as one method to critique specific tourism texts.

By focussing on the niche of ecotourism and looking specifically at the distinct way nature is represented within the tourism industry I attend to questions about social relations, social representations and the commodification of nature. Tourism "has a discourse of its own" that shifts it beyond metaphor (Dann, 1996a, p. 2). Tourism language "attempts to persuade, lure, woo and seek millions of human beings, and, in so doing, convert them from potential to actual clients. By addressing them in terms of their own culturally predicated needs and motivations, it hopes to push them out of the armchair and onto the plane — to turn them into tourists" (Dann, 1996a, p. 2). Dann's view supports my strategy to consider ecotourism as "a phenomenon in its own right" (Dann, 1996a, p. 2) within the tourism sector.

By conducting an investigation on the way ecotourism is constructed, expressed and utilised and the way it impacts on the community and environment, knowledge is produced about the marketing of nature through the theme of sustainability and its relationship with the ecotourism industry. Such knowledge is important for gaining greater understanding of business practices, community development ideologies and the potential threats to nature of privileging its status as a product of language and discourse over its material presence and ecologies. Central to this study is an examination of important words: how they are used and performed within tourism's vernacular and how the discourses of tourism use texts to engage

with tourists. In order to do this a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods was used.

Discussions on the nature of ecotourism hinge on understanding its meaning/concepts and how they relate to each other. As 'ecotourism' often achieves its meaning through surrounding words, it can be correlated with them to measure relevance. By exploring the context in which the word ecotourism is used it is possible to gain an understanding about its marketing and cultural domains. An extensive analysis of ecotourism texts was undertaken through a case study and textual analysis of CGH and O'Reilly's websites, Google AdWords and Trip Advisor consumer reviews. A close reading of such copy is based on the coding and analysis of 1,516 text fragments recruited from hotel ecotourism promotional copy. This is a large amount of data that provides a detailed review of two leading ecotourism providers who are also active in the development of ecotourism policy and accreditation. CGH and O'Reillys are emblematic of 'best practice' within the ecotourism sector, so results drawn from these case studies can be anticipated to reflect the broader ecotourism industry.

Although qualitative research can be difficult to report and evaluate it is highly suited to research situations requiring creativity and flexibility (Pratt, 2009, p. 52). To answer questions about meanings, interpretations and explanations associated with cultural phenomena, qualitative methods are considered ideal (Dunn, 1996). Case studies are useful because they are able to investigate meanings and discourses as constructions emerging from specific spatial and temporal contexts (Lofland, 1995). The case study of the two providers is contextualised in a semantic web determined through extensive textual analysis of ecotourism's keywords and online marketing materials. By combining data analysis techniques of keyword frequencies and associations with qualitative reviews of language I am able to report on the cultural and semiotic values of nature within the rhetoric of ecotourism with confidence.

CGH is a family owned and operated business based in Southern India that currently operates 11 properties / destinations from which four were selected for case study. O'Reilly's is a Gold Coast Hinterland based ecotourism provider in Australia with a property bordering Lamington National Park, a World Heritage listed rainforest. O'Reilly's also own and operate a vineyard at Canungra. O'Reilly's adopts the same family business ethos, the same narrative strategy of 'our story' and the same tone of sustainability as CGH. I was interested in comparing a local provider with an international provider to see whether there were aspects

of the story that were culturally embedded or whether the story transcended local culture to conform to an internationally driven 'ecotourism' script, i.e. to explore aspects of the global-local tension. The two businesses were selected for case study on the basis of their award winning credentials/status regarding their ecotourism destinations and their autonomy as family owned and operated service providers. Such autonomy enables a responsive and self-directed decision making protocol that distinguishes them from chain-based hotels with corporate headquarters. The first hotels of each of the organisations were opened within the last 100 years; in the case of CGH the first hotel opened in 1957 in Cochin, Kerala while O'Reilly's opened in 1926, though the family was hosting guests in their own home as early as 1917.

1.2 Thesis Organisation

This thesis contains six sections: an introduction, a literature review, methodology, case study research findings and discussion, a discussion on discourse and a conclusion. Each section contains sub sections which are numbered in a hierarchical way for easy reference. The introduction provides a background on ecotourism, definitions and literature to contextualise this research. The Literature Review is interdisciplinary with a focus on discourse, creative writing and ideology as these are the areas of research most useful for contextualising and evaluating results. The Methodology section provides essential background information for the case study sites drawn from the Internet, O'Reilly's and CGH, and describes the multi-modal methodology used in this research. Details of the research findings related to ecotourism's language, marketing and promotion and how this connects with its discourses are presented in section four as Case Study Findings and Discussion. This section features three case studies: ecotourism as a keyword, ecotourism as a reflection of accommodation managers' representation, and data from ecotourists reporting their experiences of hotels on Trip Advisor. Results are presented in categories that reflect how the two case study sites are constructed and represented through common themes in the texts.

Internet keyword values are an important area of investigation that engages with the discipline of marketing. By containing the Internet keyword discussion in its own subsection within the case study results of section four, I am drawing distinctions between ecotourism's status as a cultural keyword and as a Google AdWord with marketing value. Case studies of the two hotel providers chosen for investigation, involved the extraction, coding and analysis

of 1,516 textual fragments. This data provides new knowledge about how the language of ecotourism is adopted by businesses providing an ecotourism product. It also reveals connections between global and local rhetoric and the way nature is represented in promotional language. Environmental conservation is a core theme in the corporate identities of CGH and O'Reilly's, the two destination management businesses under investigation. Their texts were reviewed as literature and subject to literary and cultural analysis to investigate the imaginative and material qualities of the environment represented in ecotourism marketing. Section four also contains data on the views of tourists as guests at these destinations. Their accounts of experiences are then compared with global environmental discourses and the texts produced by industry, marketing, creative writing, academia and culture in section five; Discourses Discussion. Section five analyses and discusses all of the findings, literature and existing research to provide an interdisciplinary evaluation of the material using a literary criticism technique. The Conclusion reviews the key findings of my research and makes recommendations for future areas of investigation.

1.3 Background

> "Language is the road map of a culture. It tells you where its people come from and where they are going" Rita Mae Brown (Brown R. M.)

This thesis investigates the contexts, rationales and techniques associated with constructing and marketing nature for the purposes of experiencing it through a frame of ecotourism. The impetus for this project began during an Asialink Literature (Creative Writing) residency where I stayed at three CGH properties in 2006. Ensconced in a scene of ecotourism, I gained firsthand experience of hotels in the CGH portfolio that were promoted as environmentally sustainable. During this time I was able to consider myself as a tourist playing the role of a tourist on a stage of tourism in a scene of ecotourism. An interest in the rhetoric of ecotourism and how it might be investigated emerged from this experience. Later this translated into a desire to organise a qualitative research project involving textual analysis that could provide insights into the role of nature in ecotourism writing and promotion. The role of travel writing, in its broadest sense, in tourism studies "has been rather peripheral to date, partly due to the perceived tourist-traveller dichotomy. There is a need to look beyond this and to value all travel writings as providing ethnographies of tourism and tourist behavior-documenting change" (Robinson, 2004, p. 312). Further rationale for my research came from noticing that there was a lack of information about the relationships between

travel writing, corporate tourism writing, creative writing and socio-cultural discourse. This view is echoed by Mike Robinson who argues that "future research needs to be bold to take on the intricacies and complexities of travel writing—tourism relationships (Robinson, 2004, p. 312).

As a published creative and academic writer (see bibliography) I noticed that the Dominic and O'Reilly families who run the businesses under investigation in this study, were trying to conjure a sense of place and lure tourists to their hotels through strategies of evocation that resembled an author's approach to setting a scene. That scene was fastened to nature in ambiguous ways that called for closer scrutiny. Several observations and research questions presented themselves and these were later refined into a hypothesis that formed the basis of this PhD. I began looking for evidence that creative writing was an important technique for the promotion of ecotourism destinations and quickly discovered that the key to understanding ecotourism marketing and promotion was the texts, discourses and language used to construct and describe it. Creative writing in ecotourism promotion seems at first glance to be directly inspired by travel writing. Without a thorough investigation however, this connection between creative writing, travel writing and ecotourism copy cannot be understood. Alternative ways of reviewing ecotourism rhetoric and language and its expression of multiple discourses were needed. A closer "examination of the relationships that exist between travel writing and the production/consumption of tourist space, and between narratives of travel and the motivations/experiences/performances of tourists should be central to an emergent research agenda in tourism studies" (Robinson 2004, p. 312).

The word "ecotourism" connects with the field of the keyword "Tourism" which was missing in Raymond Williams' original keywords investigation (1985), but was added by Tony Bennett, Lawrence Grossberg and Meaghan Morris in their revised edition of Williams' text (2005). Tourism is frequently "perceived as epitomizing modern sensibilities, a quest for authenticity and otherness, and a sustainable industry" (Bennett, 2005, p. 356). Tourism emerged as a word in the early nineteeth century (1811) though the practice of recreational travel as a popular activity is at least three and half thousand years old (Bennett, 2005, p. 356). Tourism grew rapidly in popularity as "well-to-do travellers" joined pilgrims, clergymen, students, and wanderers in combining "travel for other purposes (spiritual, educational, employment) with 'travel for pleasure' throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance'" (Perrottet cited in Bennett, 2005, p. 356). Spiritual tourism has grown in

popularity since these early touring endeavours and it has been extensively written about as an expression of pilgrimmage (see Turner, 1974; Morinis, 1992; Preston, 1992; Cohen, 1979 & 1992). In 2013 the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) launched the first "International Conference on Spiritual Tourism for Sustainable Development" to explore living culture, traditions and beliefs and how they "can be integrated into tourism while respecting the four pillars of sustainability: environmental, economic, social and cultural" (UNWTO, 2013). A goal of the conference was to enhance "the positive effects of spiritual tourism on the economic and social advancement of communities and societies" (UNWTO, 2013). This goal reflects some of the aims of ecotourism and its similar type of spiritualism that discusses nature in particular ways, for example as a regenerative force for body and spirit. Archetypes (Jung 1959) are evoked through natural environments and the powerful emotions they stir to produce "profound significance for the individual. For the nature-lover, trees and other natural entities can evoke awe-inspiring fascination and reverence" (Schroeder, 1992, p. 26).

The tourism industry is composed through accounts of many types of travel and leisure experiences: from family holidays, group tours, adventure holidays, cultural experiences, honeymoons, getaways and other niche tourism offerings. Interest in tourism as a field of inquiry has grown in the last 40 years since Theron Nunez (1963) shared his experiences in a Mexican village and Dennison Nash wrote about the difficulty of establishing tourism as a legitimate field of study within anthropology. Between the 1970s and 1990s anthropologists began isolating tourism as field of research with refereed journals, conferences, university courses and pioneering works (Stronza, 2001). *Hosts and Guests* (Smith, 1977); *Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Setting* (MacCannell, 1973); Erik Cohen's prolific output since the early 1970s; *Tourism: The Sacred Journey* (Graburn, 1977), and a slew of other important titles, helped established a frame for viewing tourism's cultural and sociological qualities. A transdisciplinary approach is called for that creatively draws "upon theory and method from literary and critical theory, cultural and media studies, social anthropology, history, and cultural geography, amongst others" (Robinson 2004, p. 312).

Extensive literature about ecotourism supports a reading of it as an ideological terrain with established modes of representation. Representations of nature within the construction of ecotourism adopt assumed sets of forms such as landscape, vista and wilderness, to name a few. Such representations are often taken for granted and ideologies surrounding tourism and

its impacts on the environment become embedded in tourism industry rhetoric and broader cultural discourse (Hall & Lew 2009). I wanted to explore such representations and see whether ecotourism destinations were constructed through creative writing and poetry techniques such as metaphor, image, character, scene, setting, plot and description. Preliminary research revealed that destination managers interpreted and produced scenes in ways that echoed literary inspiration but that were heavily invested in the pre-eminent realms established by industry discourse. An investigation of how the tourism industry constructs nature requires looking at the techniques it draws from travel writing, fiction and poetry that represent natural themes in particular ways. At the centre of this research is the premise that ecotourism is in direct partnership with nature; as Mark Oram's research into the origins of ecotourism attests (1995, p. 3). The way ecotourism is written about influences the relationship between the tourism industry and nature.

Multiple disciplines investigate ecotourism through business, community, marketing, environmental and leisure writings. For tourism to be more effective at preserving the environment a deeper understanding of the values and ideologies contained in marketing copy is needed. A precedent has been set for this need to attend to the ideological foundation represented in ecotourism discourse in the work of Fraser (1989), Coalter (1999) and Hemingway (1995). Rather than attempt a deep analysis of the way ecotourism operates in each of the core tourism disciplines, I focus on exploring the way language is used within ecotourism texts to construct and promote experiences and destinations. Keith Hollinshead (2002a) suggests that people working in the tourism area should hold a deep understanding of the "meanings of the larger iconographic signs and the grander iconic settings which pertain to the public cultures they protect, project, or promote" (Hollinshead, 2002a, p. 3). His statement supports a critique of ecotourism discourse and creative writing practices, as writing is a socially engaged practice. Narrative, semiotics and poetics are systems for structuring language and a goal of this PhD is to test the way certain words are used to describe nature in the texts of ecotourism

The participation of creative writing and poetic endeavour in the production and consumption of ecotourism has received little investigation outside of Robinson and Andersen's anthology *Literature and Tourism* (2002). Creative writing and its images, metaphors and narratives are not politically neutral and without potentially negative implications; they are features of ecotourism discourse. Foucault (1980) demonstrated that writing is never innocent and

always involves the making and expression of culture. Ecotourism is a commodity produced and consumed in a way that appeals to a range of motivations (Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Elsner & Rubiés, 1999) with deep roots in literary consciousness historically drawn from poems, stories, letters, postcards, journals and photographs that describe and aestheticize nature, landscape and wilderness (Robinson & Andersen, 2002). The discipline of ecocriticism emerges from these roots to study literature and the environment from an interdisciplinary perspective. Ecology and ecological concepts were applied to the study of literature, through the discipline of ecocriticism, to investigate ecological values, nature, and place (Rueckert, 1978). In what has become known as "green literature" traditional literary storytelling, poetic and descriptive strategies are used to represent nature. This research investigates the extent to which these approaches are used to write ecotourism.

There are several potential sites of characterisation in the ecotourism story: ecotourists, nature, animals, governments, indigenous inhabitants and 'hosts' (Smith, 1977). Ecotourists are constructed in the discourse as being different from traditional tourists though it is difficult to define them (Dowling, 2007; Fennell, 2002). There are a number of common themes in ecotourism discourse: sustainability, development, economic growth, leisure/recreation, impacts, politics and globalisation. Sustainability is one of the most important themes in the ecotourism story because it weaves through all the others and is widely adopted by disciplines that would not ordinarily associate with environmentalism. In order to contribute to knowledge about the word ecotourism, the political, ideological and textual features of discourse will be examined in relation to the three key objectives of this thesis: to consider the construction of nature through language, writing and the rhetoric of ecotourism; to consider how ecotourism destination managers and their consumers engage with ecotourism discourse; and to examine how the keyword ecotourism is constructed online.

1.3.1 Ecotourism Definitions

In 1995 Penelope Figgis quipped that there were so many definitions of ecotourism that "it should be nominated as an Olympic sport" (Figgis 1995, 3). It is not surprising that a variety of names are used to describe tourism whose primary mission is to interact with nature in a way designed to minimise negative impacts (Valentine, 1992). Such a variety of activities and the widespread adoption of ecotourism as a "generic label" to describe them creates a

need for more accurate definitions of the term (Orams, 1995, p. 4). In the past 16 years little has changed since the Figgis quip, with a raft of definitions emerging to describe the several common elements of ecotourism.

Orams and Weaver expressed a need for "definitions that promote the idea that ecotourism should be active and contribute to the improvement of the natural environment" through high levels of human responsibility (Orams, 1995, p. 4). Valentine suggests that ecotourism definitions should be restricted to forms of tourism that involve "non-damaging, non-degrading" activities in "undisturbed natural areas" that make a "direct contribution to the continued protection and management of the protected areas used" and that are subject to adequate and appropriate levels of management (Valentine, 1992). Valentine's preferred position requires ecotourists to be active and responsible and to contribute to sustaining or enhancing the quality of the natural environment (Valentine, 1992). At the lower "level of responsibility pole" more "passive approaches" are involved where definitions require ecotourists to "simply be unobtrusive and seek to minimize their damage to the natural environment" (Orams, 1995, p. 4). Weaver also considers a spectrum of extremes, a paradigm for "mass ecotourism" on the one hand and unique visitations on the other. "Hard" ecotourists seek meaningful environmental interactions and prefer trips that venture "off the beaten path" (Weaver, 2001b). "Soft" ecotourists on the other hand "exhibit more superficial environmental attitudes, view environmental interaction as only one element of their trip, and tend to take pre-arranged trips on the beaten path" (Weaver, 2001b).

Mowforth and Munt (1998) suggest that a growing awareness of the problems of mass tourism does not in and of itself give a reason for the growth of alternative tourism. Their suggestion is that new tourism niches are a natural progression of colonial processes. Differences between mass and alternative tourism rhetoric reveal a growing concern in the industry for responsibility, and understanding who determines, who benefits and who experiences the negative repercussions of tourism. According to Weaver a "shift in focus from the well-being of the tourist industry to the well-being of the host community" emerges from community based evidence that mass tourism is not delivering its promised benefits in an even manner (Weaver, 1998, p. 31). Distinctions between ecotourism and other forms of alternative tourism, such as heritage tourism, do exist however, with these distinctions emerging primarily from ecotourism's relationship with nature; particularly its function as a natural attraction (Weaver, 1998). Since 1998 when Weaver wrote about this however,

ecotourism has lost clarity about its relationship with nature and conservation, moving instead towards an involvement of educational activities, sustainability policies and management designed to deliver benefits to local economies.

Australia's national definition of ecotourism is "Nature based tourism that involves interpretation and education, and is managed to be ecologically sustainable" (Commonwealth of Australia, 1992). According to this definition the natural environment includes cultural components and is ecologically sustainable in a way that "involves an appropriate return to the community and long term conservation of the resource" (Commonwealth of Australia, 1992). Ecotourism Australia defines ecotourism as an "ecologically sustainable tourism with a primary focus on experiencing natural areas that fosters environmental and cultural understanding, appreciation and conservation" (Ecotourism Australia). The Australian Commission's National Ecotourism Strategy defines it as "nature-based tourism that involves education and interpretation of the natural environment and is managed to be ecologically sustainable" (Commonwealth of Australia, 1994). In 1998 the Ecotourism Association of Australia listed the mostly commonly agreed upon components of ecotourism experiences as: dependency on the natural environment, ecological sustainability, conservation activities, environmental interpretation and education, cultural sensitivity and a "net return/benefit to the local community" (Ecotourism Association of Australia 1998, 11).

The Ecotourism Society of India, formed in 2008, aims to "promote the understanding of the cultural and natural history of the environment either local, specific or regional" to "promote the message of caring for the integrity and security of ecosystems" (Ecotourism Society of India, 2008, p. 2). As an organisation formed recently, the society had an opportunity to consider 20 years' worth of debate about ecotourism definitions. In its 'Memorandum of Association' the society defines ecotourism as

> a planned practice of tourism in which the enjoyment of nature and learning about living beings and their relationship with the environment are brought together and which promotes and supports the conservation of natural and cultural resources, thereby producing social and economic benefits that must reach most of the indigenous and local population. (Ecotourism Society of India, 2008, p. 2)

Ecotourism supports a range of definitions that reflect the discipline or objective of the defining organisation or group. A key definition most frequently cited in global tourism

literature is the International Ecotourism Society's (TIES) explanation of it as "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and sustains the well-being of local people" (The International Ecotourism Society, 1990). Another important definition emerges from the origins of ecotourism and the man credited with coining the word, Hector Ceballos-Lascuráin. Ecotourism said Ceballos-Lascuráin in his original definition of 1983, is "tourism that involves travelling to relatively undisturbed natural areas with the specific object of studying, admiring and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural aspects (both past and present) found in these areas" (Ceballos-Lascuráin, 2006). In the original definition ecotourism "implies a scientific, aesthetic or philosophical approach, although the 'ecotourist' is not required to be a professional scientist, artist or philosopher" (Ceballos-Lascuráin, 2006). It is important that ecotourists be granted an opportunity to immerse themselves "in nature in a way that most people cannot enjoy in their routine, urban existences" (Ceballos-Lascuráin, 2006). Such an immersion will eventually promote an "awareness and knowledge of the natural environment, together with its cultural aspects, that will convert him into somebody keenly involved in conservation issues" (Ceballos-Lascuráin, 2006). Ceballos-Lascuráin's definition is accused of adopting a passive engagement through a low responsibility caveat (Orams, 1995, p. 4) and ambiguous ideas such as ecological responsibility (Zell, 1992), environmental sensitivity (Muloin, 1992) and tourism that avoids "damage or deterioration of the environment" (Figgis P., 1993). At the other end of the spectrum are definitions that expect ecotourists to practice "a non-consumptive use of wildlife and natural resources and contribute to the visited area through labour or financial means aimed at directly benefiting the conservation of the site" (Ziffer, 1989, p. 6). In a review of twenty-five definitions of ecotourism available in the 1990s, Sirakaya, Sasidharan and Sonmez (1999) identified the following themes and values as important elements of ecotourism definitions: environmental friendliness, responsible travel, educational travel, low-impact travel, travel to natural sites, local welfare enhancement, eco-cultural travel, sustainability, responsible business travel, community involvement, and preservation/conservation activities. Ron Mader conducted a study of 25 government tourism agency definitions available in 2004 and noted that 21/25 had created their own definition of ecotourism (Mader, 2004). He concluded that there "is little hope for agreement on what constitutes ecotourism or sustainable travel" when "there is no clear agreement of what constitutes wilderness or sustainability" (Mader, 2004). Martha Honey contributes to the

debate by identifying several core features of ecotourism: travel to a "natural" destination; low visitor impacts; environmental education for tourists and locals; conservation; involvement of and benefits for the local population; and a respect for local cultures and their rights (Honey, 1999). The emergence of a suite of definitions of ecotourism since the 1980s contributes to confusion regarding the term. Although definitions of ecotourism vary, three themes show up consistently within them: travel to natural destinations, sustainability and cultural sensitivity.

The scope of ecotourism definitions demonstrates that ecotourism has varying allegiances to proactive environmental engagements, though it generally requires at least some direct relationship with the natural environment. Whether that engagement is based on minimising negative environmental impacts (the "passive" or low responsibility end of the spectrum), or whether it actively contributes to a healthy environment (the "active" or high responsibility end), ecotourism is an enterprise of great complexity due to its political, cultural and creative dimensions. It is clear that even though there is a lack of consensus regarding a definition of ecotourism, in spite of numerous attempts to create one, ecotourism is developing as a broad catchment for a range of activities; some of which show only tokenistic engagement with the idea of conserving nature. The scope of the word and the number of people and organisations invested in defining, legislating and accrediting it, helps explain the breadth of ecotourism's use and promotion. Its context in the discourse helps frame ecotourism in particular ways depending on the text in which it is situated.

1.3.2 Defining Discourse

Theories of discourse explain ways in which "language is used socially to convey broad historical meanings" (Tator, 2002, p. 25); how power is expressed (Barthes 1982; Foucault 1979); and the processes involved in establishing power, ideology and consensus (Giddens 1984, Kincheloe, 2005). Michel Foucault's work explores the way power is constituted and transmitted through discourse and the way it is connected to knowledge by establishing the rules of engagement with culture and its agents. Discourse analysis reveals how communication is structured in a culture; how it is encoded and decoded, its subject positions, its social interactions, and its symbolic meanings (Steen, 2004, p. 161). Discourse can be defined as anything beyond the sentence where language is used, including a broad range of social practices and non-linguistic instances of language (Schiffrin, Tannen, & Hamilton,

2001). Anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff (1992) and educationalists Joe Kincheloe and Peter McLaren (2005) talk about the ways in which communities and societies are hegemonic i.e. containing expressions of power between sections of society that are legitimised through normalisation processes. Core cultural structures such as family, media, politics, the environment, religion, education systems and professional organisations, are involved in constructing and maintaining power imbalances that serve the dominant social, political and economic paradigms. The term discourse in psychology refers to individual words spoken by people and "the language used to describe aspects of the world" (Ogden, 2002, p. 4). These views of discourse are central to understanding some of the conflicts residing in ecotourism, as tourism activity involves people traveling between cultures, where prevailing texts may not only be different, but potentially in conflict with one another. In a linguistic view of discourse, language is considered as structural and processual, as a way of making connections with other aspects of discourse to help create meaning. As a result of the various ways in which discourse is understood, it has the potential to confuse. Throughout this thesis I use the terms text and discourse interchangeably.

Texts: inform each other (Kristeva, 1980); are modes of production (Caselli, 2005); contain sets of ideologies and power relations/structures (Foucault, 1979); are informed by their disciplines (Fairclough, 2003); are products of linguistic structures (Stubbs, 1983; Fairclough, 1992), semiotics (Saussure, ([1916] 1974)) and utterances (Bakhtin, 1986); and are scenes of social exchange (Weiss, 2003). Barnes and Duncan (1992) speak of the importance of understanding discourse in the study of language; "frameworks that embrace particular combinations of narratives, concepts, ideologies and signifying practices, each relevant to a particular realm of social action […] are both enabling as well as constraining" (Barnes and Duncan, 1992, p. 8). Their view is that discourse informs questions and how they are answered, as language determines "the limits within which ideas and practices are considered to be natural (Barnes & Duncan, 1992, p. 8). This results in discourses constituting "standpoints that are defined largely by their relationship to other discourses" (Barnes and Duncan, 1992, p. 8). Ultimately such processes have political and ecological consequences that are in addition to the effects of language. Barnes and Duncan (1992) describe discourses as "frameworks that embrace particular combinations of narratives, concepts, ideologies and signifying practices, each relevant to a particular realm of social action" (Barnes and Duncan, 1992, p. 8). As a result of these frameworks, discourses are both enabling and constraining as

they determine the answers to questions and the questions themselves (Barnes and Duncan, 1992). A discourse therefore "constitutes the limits within which ideas and practices are considered to be natural; that is, they set the bounds on what questions are considered relevant or even intelligible […] Thus discourses constitute standpoints that are defined largely by their relationship to other discourses" (Barnes and Duncan, 1992, p. 8).

Rojek (1995) suggests that leisure is a dominant discourse of tourism that privileges some values over others and asserts that a dominant discourse can be likened to a kind of colonialism in the way normal and deviant orders are constructed and managed within society. Also critiquing the discipline of leisure, More (2002) identified the impact of several core ideologies within leisure's major discourses that marginalised people and called for more recognition of "the political context within which our concepts exist" (More, 2002, p. 74). Values and ideologies represent ways of distinguishing groups of people from one another and ways of expressing power (Bourdieu, 1998; Kincheloe & McLaren 2005). Edward Said's (1978) investigation of orientalism expresses discourse as a form of power in its own right, not just a way of exposing power. He recommends a discursive approach to theory as a way of resisting both materialist (i.e. economic/political) and ideological (i.e. neutral and unbiased) assumptions of knowledge.

As a growing industry with important cultural implications tourism generates increasingly large volumes of literature, particularly from the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, ethnography, business, cultural studies and marketing. By comparison travel writing or investigations of the literary qualities of tourism texts are less voluminous (Robinson & Andersen, 2002). As an interdisciplinary field of criticism, tourism studies reflect complex scenes of investigation where the tourist gaze and imaginary "mediate our knowledge of and desires about the rest of the planet" (Franklin & Crang, 2001, p. 10). Tourism discourse draws from a range of literatures including travel literature, humanities disciplines and marketing rhetoric. There is an expanding body of research dedicated to exploring tourism's role in society and the potential for ideological and socio-economic differences implicit in its production of culture (Lash & Urry, 1994; Bauman, 1998; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998).

The commodification of language in ways that diminish its value within the community dilutes the environmentalism central to ecotourism discourse (Chaloupka, 2009). Ecotourism requires the exploitation of resources and it enables the consumption of environments and communities by tourists. Writers help facilitate capitalism's processes by detailing its

philosophies, commercial strategies and social consequences (see Karl Marx's writings on Historical Materialism). Reports, grey literature, non-fiction, academic discussion, manifestoes and philosophical treatise contribute to the language of capitalism and its role in society. Green commodity discourse emerging from sustainability rhetoric has helped establish systems through which capitalism can construct the environment as a global commodity for ecotourism (Prothero & Fitchett, 2000). Unlike social, scientific and cultural arguments which are hinged on location and the value of a particular environment to a particular place, species or people, green commodity discourse progresses the logic of capitalism that Marx wrote about by alienating nature from itself to function as a system of production and consumption in the global exchange commodity. Discourses of power which permeate capitalism and ecotourism's expression of it, exercise a value driven approach to the environment which potentially diminishes its other identities.

Environmental discourses incorporate aesthetic, subjective, scientific, economic, social and political ideologies and are often at the centre of debates about who has rights to environmental resources, who determines what is or isn't an environmental problem and if there is one, who is responsible for solving it. In the humanities and social sciences, discourse is viewed as language, a way of constructing thinking, a way of speaking, a way of manipulating power and as a means of representing culture and ideology. Such a theoretical approach establishes a mode for analysing the ways in which objects, actions and ideas are represented through discourse, how they convey meaning and are themselves meaningful, and how social practices constitute the value of cultural objects. Discourses may be globally determined but locally interpreted and expressed. Ecotourism is a segment of the tourism market fraught with contention about what it is, who has claims over it and what discourses should be privileged in terms of social, economic, ecological, cultural and sustainability outcomes. As a field of inquiry ecotourism is a rich and complex scene requiring multidisciplinary and multi-faceted modes of inquiry.

1.3.3 The Tourist and the Traveller in Discourse

Ecotourism reveals a distinction between travel and tourism that emerges from and is perpetuated through discourse. Daniel Boorstin's *The Image: a guide to pseudo-events in America* (1962) stressed the difference between "traveling" and "tourism". According to Boorstin, travel's etymological origins associate it with work, through a sense of "travail",

while tourism acts as an agent of passivity – where experience is packaged to prevent real engagement with others (Boorstin, 1972, p. 91). The Grand Tour which peaked in the late eighteenth century was an aristocratic travel program which enabled predominantly young British men to undergo a rite of passage by travelling to the "quasi-sacred sites of Western culture" (Kilbride, 2003, p. 549). Their writing about experiences of places visited helped establish a way of reporting on other cultures. Tourism's rich linguistic field was noticed quite early in its development, as evidenced by the work of George Crabb in his book *English Synonymes*, where the cultural "work" of travel was considered prior to the emergence of the word "tourism"; which has a much more recent etymology. The word "tourist" is derived from the 1780 word "tour" (Online Etymology Dictionary) while "tourism" originates from the 1811 French word *tourisme* (Bennett, 2005, p. 356). Crabb's etymological analysis of travel includes many words that are in common use today. For example "armed attendants delegated to guide a traveller through a dangerous country" were considered to be "escorts" (Crabb, 1917, p. 16). The word "tour" is associated with the French word circuit, and the Latin words *circuitus, rotundus* and *tornum* (Crabb, 1917, p. 16).

Jennifer Craik (2005) canvasses distinctions between tourism and travel in her discussion of new keywords. Within the keyword "Tourism" Craik declares a contrast between a tourist and a traveller. A traveller is considered "an independent, genuine explorer on a quest of discovery, while the tourist is temporarily on holiday, taking time out from everyday routines to sample, but not necessarily engage with, otherness" (Craik in Bennett, 2005, p. 356). John Urry (2002) refutes such distinctions and suggests that people can be tourists in their own society. Cultural space is increasingly saturated with signs and signifiers that promote escape from everyday routines and encourage readings of work and leisure in opposing ways (Urry, 2002). Scott Lash (1994) adopts the term "de-differentiation" to explain the way people can become tourists in their everyday travel as a result of the proliferation of niche tourism markets which fragment society into sets of activities, identities and localities. Travellers are also distinguished from tourists through an alleged authentic encounter with other people who offer "exotic delights", sites and attractions. Travellers are depicted as "sensitive" and "enlightened," in contrast to the "vulgar," ignorant, uneducated tourist (emphasis Craik's in Bennett, 2005, p. 356). As every encounter with a host is filtered through the subjectivity of the guest, the idea of authenticity is contestable (Cohen, 1988). The subjectivity of tourists represents a metaphor for decentred modern subjects, and increasingly the concepts of

"tourist" and "traveller" are themselves being destabilised as centred representations (MacCannell, 1979). It is difficult to sustain distinctions between tourism and travel due to the tourism industry facilitating prescribed modes of travel through processes of globalisation (Albrow, 1996). Increasingly distinctions between the words "tourism" and "travel" are positioned inside another important concept in sociological tourist discourse: the divide between authentic and inauthentic ways of travelling. Authenticity discourse is addressed in the Literature Review.

Tourism represents dispositions towards experiences and particular forms of subjectivity that express culture uniquely through acts of leisure. *Hosts and Guests* (Smith 1977) is a key work for launching tourism as a discipline as it offers ways of considering: ecotourism as a method for personal transformation through an engagement with nature (Graburn, 2002); tourism as a form of imperialism that results in a consumerist view of nature (Nash, 1977); and tourism as a laboratory for testing the impact of exchanges between hosts and guests that are often badged as village/indigenous hosted "home stays" in the sector (Nuñez, 1963). Keith Hollinshead (2002) calls for fresh ways of looking at tourism "that don't follow "hackneyed uni-dimensional or limited dimensional approaches to the subject" that usually offer "lukewarm or cold–blooded, managerialist" approaches (Hollinshead, 2002b, p. 17). Hollinshead calls for a cultural reading of tourism and for a humanities based approach to the subject. Tourism's economic value is built upon imaginatively engineered visitations. There are "visceral and sensual ruptures to our discursive scrims" that influence our interpretation of nature in the scene of tourism (Soliman, 2008, p. 6). The diverse cultural and social agencies involved in the production and consumption of tourism product demand a culturist engagement. Tess Brady and Nigel Krauth's (2006) noticing of changes in the way writing works in culture and Hollinshead's call for a "less hackneyed" approach to investigating tourism, support a rationale for an investigation of ecotourism language. Hollinshead implies through his choice of the words "cold-blooded" that "managerialist" approaches within tourism privilege economies over people and their cultures. He discusses the tribal nature of culture in the tourism field as gatherings of people congregating around certain identities who seek a "pure and unsullied" sense of attachment, refusing "the interfering presence of aliens or unbelievers" (Hollinshead, 2002b, p. 3).

With regards to defining tourists and assessing their relationship with host cultures, the disciplines of sociology, anthropology and ethnography have been particularly prolific in

trying to grapple with the multifarious nature of tourist identity and the discourses of colonialism, race, power and gender that contribute to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism. Tourists are classified and categorised in various ways in the literature and are generally considered within sociology to conform to categories called 'tourist typologies', based on tourist motivations, character, psychology and cognitions. Erik Cohen identified four types of tourists in the early 1970s; drifters, explorers, individual mass tourists and organised mass tourists (Cohen, 1972). During the same period Stanley Plog (1973) classified tourists on the basis of their personality, labelling them variously as "allocentric" (individualistic, active and adventurous), "psychocentric" (conservative/passive inclined towards popular/safe destinations/activities), and "mid-centric", the average tourist who occupies the middle ground between the two (Plog, 1973). Such ways of constructing tourist identity through the discourse are becoming increasingly unstable as other disciplines and theorists weigh into the debate. Cohen (1974; 1988) and others researching tourism typologies (see Jafari 1990; Hamilton-Smith 1987; Pearce 1978; Redfoot 1984; Smith 1977) came to view these categories as only marginally useful due to the varieties of tourists and experiences available.

1.3.4 Ecotourism and Sustainability

Since the United Nations declared 2002 as the International Year of Ecotourism, "many of the world's natural areas remain under threat; there has been a further loss of biodiversity and resources for conservation remain inadequate" (Sollitt, 2007, p. 2). The impact of ecotourism on communities and their natural environment is significantly influenced by promotional language and practice. The desire to distinguish between different types of ecotourism activities has resulted in extensive literature. Orams (1995) reviewed a number of defining principles involved in ecotourism to determine how definitions are polarised between extreme points of view about human responsibility to the environment. One view is that "all tourism can be viewed as ecotourism" because as "living organisms" humans have "natural behaviours that require no obligation or responsibility to other living things" (Orams, 1995, p. 3). People in this view "are literally unable to behave unnaturally or 'un-ecotouristically'" (Orams, 1995, p. 3). The other polarity holds that no tourism can be viewed as ecotourism because "all tourism (including ecotourism) has negative impacts/influences on the natural world. Ecotourism is therefore impossible because any kind of tourism will have a negative effect" (Miller and Kaae cited in Orams 1995, 4). Conceding that the spectrum's polarities are difficult to work with in a meaningful way, Orams calls to the middle ground as a space

to register the debate, as this is where ecotourism can be classified according to whether it is consistent with a high or low level of human responsibility (Orams, 1995, p. 4). A sceptical view of ecotourism holds that it is little more than a glossing over of ordinary tourism with socially and environmentally responsible rhetoric (Duffy, 2002; Isaacs, 2000). Ecotourism as a scene of language is vulnerable to "green washing" marketing campaigns (Westerveld 1986 in Romero, 2008). The impact of ecotourism on communities and their natural environment is significantly influenced by promotional and marketing language and practice. At stake is the commodification of environmentalism; an ideology and set of social practices associated with resistance to capitalism (Chaloupka, 2009).

Environmental rhetoric in capitalism's discourses is often commodified through the word "sustainable". Sustainability discourse underpins the ecotourism project despite the ambiguity surrounding its origins and meaning. The United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development's (WCED) publication of 'Our Common Future' (1987) report is often cited as the source responsible for popularising "sustainable development" (Escobar, 1995), though evidence points to the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) for first usage in 1980. It could be argued that the concept of sustainability emerged much earlier, from culture, through the work of writers, scientists and cultural commentators. In the 1960s writer and scientist Rachel Carson published her book *Silent Spring* (1962) which generated widespread global interest in environmental issues. The book is still a classic eco-criticism text. By drawing attention to the pesticide dichloro diphenyl trichloroethane (DDT) and its role in the destruction of wildlife, Carson's book helped popularise pollution's status in environmental discourse. Her book represents a turning point in considering the connections between the environment, the economy and social well-being.

A common definition of sustainable development, that it "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" was first proposed by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) in its World Conservation Strategy (1980). The IUCN's members, the World Wildlife Fund and the United Nations Environment Program, first raised the issue of "the global commons" which has become a core feature of sustainability debates (1980, p. 58). Since the time of the report, sustainability rhetoric has permeated the tourism industry and as my data shows, the last few years have seen an increase in its positioning within ecotourism discourse. The relationship between the environment, the economy and social well-being is prevalent in sustainability

discourse and the tourism language it generates around the "three pillars of sustainable development: Social development, Economic Growth and Environmental Protection" (UNWTO, 2011). The concept of global environmental limits emerged later and Paul Ehrlich's pivotal work *Population Bomb* (1968) became central to cultural discussions about the interrelatedness of human populations, resources and environmental preservation. In 1969, Friends of the Earth a non-profit organization was formed to protect the environment from degradation and to support citizens in public decision making. Hence it could be argued that, far from leading sustainability initiatives, the United Nations took 20 years to ratify a concept that had been popularised in the broader community, by authors, much earlier. However, it is one thing to debate an issue and another to establish policies to drive a global international strategy.

Although a substantial amount of research has been devoted to sustainability in recreation and tourism fields, confusion surrounding it remains. In 1998 John Swarbrooke said there was "no widely accepted definition of sustainable tourism" (Swarbrooke, 1998, p. 13) and little has changed since then to clarify the term. Alan Collins (1999) attributes confusion surrounding the deployment of the word "sustainable" to the inherent: "tradeoffs, policies, actions, or indicators that are consistent with notions of sustainable tourism... which suggest that sustainability as a concept may represent more of a guiding fiction or commercial mantra than a meaningful concept" (cited in Johnston & Tyrrell, 2005, p. 124). Sustainability discourse operates through at least three disciplinary perspectives: cultural, economic and environmental. Ecotourism intersects with the ideological structures of these perspectives in specific ways. Key values and ideologies associated with sustainability rhetoric are expressed in ecotourism discourse.

Ecotourism and sustainability are words that share a common history, as both gained pre-eminence in the late 1980s and early 1990s when rhetoric endeavoured to bridge the divide between environmentalists and economic rationalists. 'Balance' and 'Sustainability' appear equivalent as strategic words with high interpretive values capable of exploitation within environmental and economic rhetoric. They both operate as strategic words to accommodate differing ideological positions. The word sustainability suggests economic activity that is able to keep going over the long-term with minimal effect on the environment. Embedded within such an ideology is the view of sustainable development expressed in the Brundtland Commission report *Our Common Future* as, a means to provide for the "needs of the present

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while ensuring that options for the future were preserved" (1987, p. 1). Dunphy, Benveniste, Griffiths and Sutton (2000) suggest that a broader definition of sustainable development is required that is more firmly attached to ecological, social and economic principles where "economic and social development that protect and enhance the natural environment and social equity" are central to culture (Dunphy, Benveniste, Griffiths, & Sutton, 2000, p. 23).

The view contained in the Brundtland report was offered to the United Nations as an ideological structure to help protect the environment, support economic progress, alleviate poverty and preserve human rights. It established the concept of sustainable development as a value "just like other broad notions, such as freedom or justice" (de Montmollin & Scheller, 2007, p. 63) and was progressively adopted by sections of the business and tourism community. However, each community focusses its spotlight on the preeminent concerns of its discipline. Sustainable development is revealed by the literature to be a conflicted concept, as its internal forces are in competition with one another. Australia's solution to criticisms of the Brundtland report was to adopt a concept of Ecologically Sustainable Development (ESD). In 1992 the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) endorsed a National Strategy for Ecologically Sustainable Development (NSESD) based on the ideology of "using, conserving and enhancing the community's resources so that ecological processes, on which life depends, are maintained, and the total quality of life, now and in the future, can be increased" (Ecologically Sustainable Development Steering Committee, 1992). The Committee received submissions that criticised ESD for "implying that ecological systems should sustain development" (1992, p. 10). Ecologically Sustainable Development was accused by others of being too heavily based "on environmental impacts rather than the holistic function of the environment, society and the economy" (1992, p. 10). Recently the sustainability debate has shifted towards rhetoric promoted through discourses of the Triple Bottom Line. The Triple Bottom Line promotes a view that the relationship between the environment, society and the economy is composed of three dimensions of equal importance in the discourse (Ecologically Sustainable Development Steering Committee, 1992, p. 11). In practice the Triple Bottom Line model positions the environment and society as subsidiary to the economy (Ecologically Sustainable Development Steering Committee, 1992, p. 11).

A preferred model, argues the Ecologically Sustainable Development Committee, is one based on a "vision for a sustainable city" rather than a theoretical definition of sustainability. Pursuing a vision of a sustainable city may be inhibited by striving for consensus on a

definition of the word "sustainability" (1992, p. 11). A set of principles and practices were advocated by the Committee to create sustainable cities. Australians, it concluded, must reach an agreed definition of sustainability and sustainable development (1992, p. 11). In modelling what they view as the most central aspect of sustainability within tourism, profit, Johnston and Tyrell (2005) state that the goal of the industry is to maintain and increase its net profits from year to year (Johnston & Tyrrell, 2005, p. 127). Ecotourism's economic rhetoric weaves through discussions of "what is to be sustained, for whom it is to be sustained, and the level at which it is to be sustained" (Johnston & Tyrrell, 2005, p. 124). These questions are important as they turn a spotlight on economic-environment-culture tensions resident in the frame of ecotourism's engagement with sustainability. Ecotourism discourse helps define and construct ecotourism in particular ways, for example through rhetoric on impacts and sustainability, to influence tourism's representation of and relationship with nature.

Ecotourism and sustainability are such broad concepts that they can accommodate almost any individual or organisation's need. This breadth can lead to absurdities in ecotourism marketing, such as the Mr and Ms Ecotourism Philippines 2011 Pageant (2011). Featuring male and female contestants preparing for The Mossimo Bikini Summit, the pageant's promotional image shows a number of American Franchise sponsors not commonly associated with ecotourism. Such an enterprise begs the question 'why?' and points to a popularising of ecotourism as a kind of cause in some quarters. The pageant deliberately obscures its meaning and seriousness by appearing as satire and pun; launching on April Fool's day and yet proceeding along the lines of a reality TV recruitment program. Such occurrences draw attention to the vulnerability of the ecotourism brand and story to exploitation by forces that have little to do with its imperatives. More significant for my research is that the pageant showcases the extent to which discourses are blurred and co-opted within ecotourism to create a trend in the public domain worth satirising.

Even though sustainability and ecotourism are distinct and have somewhat different agendas they are sometimes used interchangeably. Their meaning has been altered through cultural practices such as the beauty pageant and diluted through use by traditionally environmentally destructive industries such as mining, agriculture, and advertisers seeking to use the brand of ecotourism or sustainability without commitment to their values or meaning. Traditionally sustainability's main arena of rhetoric is economic discourse while ecotourism's is tourism and nature. Martha Honey highlights the close links between economics and ecotourism

when she discusses how ecotourism is promoted by the World Bank, the Agency for International Development (USAID), local governments and tourism operators as a sustainable revenue source, and by NGOs (non-government organisations) framing cultural and environmental issues as forms of capital (Honey, 1999). The strategy of sustainability is adopted within the specialty of ecotourism to help it account for its involvement with nature in a way that makes sense to tourism providers, policy makers, marketing firms and accountants.

The sustainable development agenda influences decision making across all levels of government, NGOs, business and education sectors, in ways that increase expectations that the environment be addressed in development plans, and in social, cultural and business practices. The rise of sustainable development rhetoric in broader culture helps explain its increasing eminence in the language of ecotourism. A recent example of this is found in texts promoting the 2012, United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (UNCSD) or Rio+20; convened to seek "renewed political commitment for an inclusive, equitable and sustainable future"; and Rio+20 which focused on "two specific themes: a green economy in the context of poverty eradication and sustainable development, and an institutional framework for sustainable development" (UNWTO, 2011). Ecotourism's growth over the past 20 years cannot be translated into a precise financial value because it has been split across discourses, disciplines, governors and legislators. There are many avenues for fiscal accountability. In 2005 The World Tourism Organization (WTO) estimates that approximately US$20 billion or 20% of international travel's total value was generated through ecotourism initiatives (Dowling, 2007, p18). A number of people argue that ecotourism is growing faster than the rest of the tourism industry (Dowling 2007; Weaver, 2001) with an increasing number of governments, organisations, university programs and businesses supporting ecotourism as part of their core business strategies" (Dowling, 2007; Weaver, 2001). Generally promoted as small scale developments attuned to local environmental and cultural impacts, ecotourism is marketed as a sustainable form of tourism with a lower resource use than mass tourism (Weinberg, Bellows, & Ekster, 2002). This view is contested by authors such as Ralf Buckley (2009). Buckley's research led him to draw a distinction between the original principals of ecotourism and the way industry and government later "focused more on the product aspect, often treating ecotourism as effectively synonymous with nature-based tourism. Environmental management aspects were

often considered under rubrics such as 'sustainable' or 'responsible tourism'" (Buckley, 2009, pp. 7-8).

Originally the ecotourism industry was sensitive to development issues and ecological conservation. It often reported itself as a low impact endeavour that supported conservation while delivering "sensitive" developments with local management and economic benefits. The environmental focus of its early rhetoric saw ecotourism emerge as an alternative form of tourism, discussed in terms of the experiences it offered involving relationships with natural areas, sustainable management, conservation initiatives and environmental education (Buckley, 2009, p. 7). By 2002 when the United Nations declared the International Year of Ecotourism, the industry's importance as a segment of the tourism sector was fully realised and the rhetoric of sustainable development was firmly entrenched in the United Nations Environment Programme's (UNEP) *Manual for the International Year of Ecotourism* (UNEP 2002, p. 2). Ecotourism is referred to in the manual as "a sustainable development tool [that] aspires in all cases to achieve sustainable development results" (UNEP 2002, p. 2). 2010 was a big year for initiatives falling under the jurisdiction of ecotourism. The UN declared 2010 the International Year of Biodiversity, UNESCO declared it the International Year for the Rapprochement of Cultures and Ecotourism Australia along with its subsidiary Sustainable Tourism Australia, proclaimed 2010 the Year of Responsible, Ethical and Sustainable Tourism. These declarations demonstrate a heating up of interest in sustainability issues within ecotourism and other areas of culture, and represent the context in which this study is taking place. The rhetoric of ecotourism and sustainability takes place in a cultural and literary substrate that sheds light on the keyword values, Internet search behaviours and hotel promotional copy that formed the pool of data for this investigation.

1.3.5 Ecotourism: Impacts

Tourism and tourists are equated metaphorically within the discourse of impacts in ecotourism (Hall & Lew, 2009). The result of such framing is that representations can be taken for granted and ideologies surrounding tourism and the impact tourists have on the environment are embedded in tourism and wider discourse (Hall & Lew 2009). The "metaphor of human impacts has come to frame our thinking and circumscribe debate about what constitutes explanation" about the specific ways in which nature is represented in the discourses of ecotourism (Head , 2008, p. 374). Michael Hall (n.d.) represents these positions

as a collision between tourism and the environment, where there is an assumption of "a stable natural, social or economic baseline" (Hall & Lew 2009). A key to the strategy of the discourse is the establishment of a divide between humans and nature through differentiations such as "'human', 'climate', 'environment' and 'nature'" (Head in Hall, n.d. p. 5). Dutcher, Finley, Luloff, and Johnson (2007) discuss connectivity as a mode of "perception of sameness between the self, others, and the natural world" (Dutcher et al 2007, p. 474). A difficulty with such representations is that the world is too large to apprehend or represent as a whole, with the result that people forge strong connections with one area and its species over another (Vining, 2003). Local attachment to nature is an adjunct to cultural, environmental and economic discourses.

Anthropology has been important for shaping views of the tourism industry, with the study of tourism frequently divided by the discipline into two conceptual areas; the origins and impacts of tourism. Amanda Stronza (2001) notes that these two approaches produce only a partial analysis of tourism and "that most studies aimed at understanding the origins of tourism tend to focus on tourists, and most research concerning the impacts of tourism tend to focus on locals. The goal of future research should be to explore incentives and impacts for both tourists and locals throughout all stages of tourism" (Stronza, 2001, p. 261). Calling for a more "holistic perspective" on tourism requires an exploration of the ways ecotourism and other alternative forms of tourism, "generate social, economic, and environmental benefits for local communities while also creating truly transformative experiences for tourists" (Stronza, 2001, p. 261). Host communities experience a range of impacts in the wake of penetration by the tourism industry. Local economies may grow stronger as a result of greater employment opportunities or they could experience increasing dependency and inherent vulnerability from a dependency on tourism dollars (Mansperger, 1995; Erisman, 1983). Impacts on local traditions and values can take the form of decimation or salvation (Greenwood, 1977; Smith , 1984). Local residents can lose their communities through resource degradation or become environmental guardians empowered through local policies and rights (Stonich, 2000; Young 1999).

Ecotourism's impact on indigenous cultures varies greatly depending on a number of factors, including: the number of tourists visiting an area; expectations that tourists have of locals; local involvement in management and caretaking; and the degree of exploitation perceived amongst a culture's membership (Appadurai, 1996). In addition people can be forced off their

land to accommodate the forces of government or development to establish tourist facilities. Other negative impacts include: "cultural and social intrusion" that can impose "an elite alien value system" on local cultures; "erosion of local control (foreign experts, in-migration of job seekers)"; inequalities and disputes that can generate "local resentment or antagonism"; and tourist opposition to aspects of local culture and lifestyle such as hunting and slash/burn agriculture (Weaver 2001, 21). Orams raises the negative impacts of a loss of a sense of community and higher living costs in ecotourism destinations, and Weinberg, Bellows and Ekster discuss the loss of customs and values, unpredictable incomes, increased traffic and problems with pollution (Weinberg et al 2002, 15).

Since the United Nations declared 2002 as the International Year of Ecotourism many "of the world's natural areas remain under threat; there has been a further loss of biodiversity and resources for conservation remain inadequate" (Sollitt 2007, 2). Ecotourism is promoted as a way of helping protect nature and local economies (Boo 1994, Honey 1999, Orams 1995, Whelan, 1991). Kusler (1991) and Lindberg (1991) argue that ecotourism has a lower impact on ecosystems than other activities such as hunting, logging or agriculture, while Begley (1996) and Budowski (1976) highlight the potential of ecotourism to spoil natural areas and disturb wildlife. Several authors have commented on how adventure travel can lead to deforestation, desertification, devaluation of traditional values, and social fragmentation (Wyder, 1987; Kayastha, 1997). Other negative impacts include: erosion in frequently visited areas such as National Parks (Farrell & Marion, 2000); behavioural effects on animals due to pollution, feeding and interruptions to their natural patterns of behaviour (Cohen, 2009); waste disposal; pollution; land clearance; habitat loss; and cultural erosion (Orams, 2001). In spite of these negative impacts it is generally believed that ecotourism has a less negative impact on the environment than mass tourism (Barkin, 1996; Boo, 1994; Whelan, 1991).

Thomas More talks about how concern for the natural environment as an important theme in recreation research literature, particularly how it tends to be focussed on two key areas: "biophysical impacts such as site deterioration, erosion, changes in ecological characteristics, and species disruption, and psycho-social impacts like crowding and recreation quality" (More, 2002, p. 55). A problem for discussing the environmental impacts of ecotourism then becomes, says More, a reflection of language that turns the environment into concepts "like carrying capacity, visitor impact management and limits of acceptable change. Overuse also is linked to future generations' arguments and to control via fees and other rationing

methods" (More, 2002, p. 55). In essence, More claims the environment is reduced to a quotient in impact assessments that denies it status as a complex relationship of ecosystems. The environment becomes instead, a "functional context" where

> public recreation resources (parks, programs) can be viewed as organizations of natural and social resources set aside to accomplish a set of goals (functions). These goals can be biological (production of clean air, species protection), social (the enhancement of families, economic impact), or individual (stress reduction, adventure). What is essential is that we be clear about the functions that we expect a particular resource to serve. Unfortunately, I believe we have tended to lose sight of these goals/functions, focusing instead on the minutia of the mechanics of management-a process that is facilitated by the technification embodied in many of the concepts discussed above. (More 2002, 61).

More's views align discussions about leisure, management and ecotourism in a way that exposes the many difficulties associated with attempts to understand, advocate for and represent nature on its own terms, that is, without human management and engagement. This centrality of human activity within environmental discourse is one of the agitated areas of ecotourism rhetoric and practice. There is general consensus that ecotourism comes with many environmental costs but assessments of these costs are determined by different disciplinary imperatives, discourses and political agendas.

Ecotourism is a term complicated by its service of competing demands such as profit, environmental preservation, cultural preservation and development. This complication is reflected in the mission statement of Ecotourism Australia, which offers ecotourism accreditation. Ecotourism Australia's by-line is "helping ecotourism grow to promote, sustain and conserve our natural heritage" (Ecotourism Australia). A close reading of its mission statement adds weight to the idea that ecotourism is perhaps equally concerned about itself as an industry as it is with being an agent of environmental sustainability. Ecotourism Australia's Mission is "about growing, consolidating and promoting ecotourism and other committed tourism operations to become more sustainable" (Ecotourism Australia). It lists a range of strategies associated with keywords and statements such as: "sustainable practices", "professionalism", "tourism industry", "streamlining policies and processes", "protected areas", "quality of interpretation", "improving positioning and financial viability", "contributing to conservation solutions and projects; involving and providing benefits to local

communities" and "marketing the principles of sustainability to increase awareness across the tourism industry" (Ecotourism Australia). Such language reflects tensions between economic, environmental and cultural imperatives in the word "ecotourism", reflecting a lack of specificity that opens it to a range of claims. Its lack of specificity is reflected in an issue raised in the Oslo Statement of Ecotourism (The International Ecotourism Society (TIES), 2007), where the term ecotourism is acknowledged as a "widely recognized and used" but "also abused term" that "is not sufficiently anchored to the definition. The ecotourism community, therefore, continues to face significant challenges in awareness building and education and actively working against greenwashing" (Sollitt, 2007, p. 3).

Ecotourism Australia reflects the tourist industry's concern with tourism's practices and sustainability. The International Centre for Ecotourism Research (Griffith University) expresses a nature conservation oriented imperative and The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) expresses the need for "active mobilization of Indigenous communities, women, and local professionals and designers" to support "sustainable development leaders" (Sollitt, 2007, p. 3). Ecotourism activities are coupled with diverse and broad organisational objectives and social missions. These are reflected in the ever expanding niche markets of ecotourism. Ecotourism's niche markets are extensive and include activities such as walking tours, camping, adventure tourism, homestays, culinary tourism, indigenous encounters, safaris, wilderness stays, jungle treks (The International Ecotourism Society). A cursory look at ecotourism holiday packages up for auction on the TIES website shows how words are used to signify environmentally friendly practices: "Ecolodge Package", "eco-friendly excellence", "Adventure & Dive Resort", "experience the wonder of the rainforest", "Deluxe Lakeside Stay" and "5-Green Leaf Rating" (The International Ecotourism Society). Some critics regard ecotourism as an "eco-façade", a "tactic concealing the mainstream tourism industry's consumptive and exploitative practices by `greening' it" (Merg, 2007). Ecotourism promotion attempts to sidestep crucial questions about the global economy and widening gaps between sections of the community stemming from social and political issues. These issues contribute to a "maldistribution of resources, inequalities in political representation and power, and the growth of unsustainable consumption patterns" (Merg, 2007).

Environmental movements also played a role in constructing ecotourism. In the 1960s and 70s environmental organisations lobbied international aid agencies to encourage them to re-examine the funding of local communities vying for the tourism dollar (Honey, 1999). They

did this to support less intrusive, more ecofriendly modes of travel. A side effect of this pressure was influencing The World Bank's rhetoric to include the language of sustainable development (Brohman, 1996, p. 23). Since then several sources of funding have become available for small scale ecotourism developments (Honey, 1999). The 1990s solidified the rhetoric of market-driven approaches to conservation that accelerated in the 1980s, facilitating greenwashing initiatives that later prevailed (Honey, 1999). Ecotourism is also influenced by the role of non-government organisations (NGOs). NGOs with allegiances to local communities that enhanced livelihoods, worked in partnership with them to integrate conservation and development demands (Wallace 1991 & 1993). Community-based conservation within ecotourism involves, according to Peter Little "local-level, voluntary, people-centred, participatory, decentralized, village-based management" (Little, 1994, p. 350) and represents a guiding principal for locally situated alternative models of management.

Critics of ecotourism claim that early hopes for ecotourism as an environmentally sensitive activity have since given way to critical engagements with the negative impacts of ecotourism and its premises. Mowforth and Munt (1998) raise the issue of "green imperialism" emerging from "Western views of nature" and to the caretaking role imposed upon developing nations in order to protect the "global environment" (Akama, 1996; Munt, 1994). John Akama (1996) accuses Western environmental and scientific values of operating as ideologies that alienate local people from structures of power that would enable them to integrate tourism and conservation activities in culturally determined ways. While acknowledging ecotourism's social and economic benefits for locals, Akama says that the imposition of Western environmental values will not necessarily prevent exploitation common to other forms of tourism (Akama, 1996). Munt goes further in his criticisms, labelling ecotourists as "ego-tourists"; people he accuses of being concerned with "primitive nature and authentic cultures" that harken to early colonial voyages of "discovery and expropriation" (Munt, 1994, p. 51).

Ecotourism and its subtexts, for example sustainable development, are according to Kathleen McAfee (1999) part of the "postneoliberal environmental-economic paradigm" (McAfee, 1999, p. 133). McAfee discusses "supranational environmental institutions" that include "the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) and the 'green' World Bank" as reflections of "attempts to regulate international flows of 'natural capital' by means of 'green developmentalism'" (McAfee, 1999, p. 133). These institutions represent "sources of eco-

development dollars and of a new 'global' discourse, a postneoliberal environmental-economic paradigm" (McAfee, 1999, p. 133). The logic of this paradigm constructs nature "as a world currency" where ecosystems are translated into "warehouses of genetic resources for biotechnology industries" and where nature has to "earn its own right to survive through international trade in ecosystem services and permits to pollute, access to tourism and research sites, and exports of timber, minerals, and intellectual property rights to traditional crop varieties and shamans' recipes" (McAfee, 1999, p. 133). Green "developmentalism" promises "market solutions to environmental problems" and blunts the "North - South disputes that have embroiled international environmental institutions" says McAfee (1999, p. 133).

When local nature is valued in relation to international markets, diversity is denominated "in dollars, euros, or yen" and as a result "green developmentalism abstracts nature from its spatial and social contexts and reinforces the claims of global elites to the greatest share of the earth's biomass and all it contains" (McAfee, 1999, p. 133). This green developmentalism has promoted what McAfee calls a "CBD gathering ground" where resistance flourishes through "transnational coalitions of indigenous, peasant, and NGO opponents of 'biopiracy' and the patenting of living things" and where advocates of international environmental justice propose "counter discourses and alternative practices to those of green developmentalism" (McAfee, 1999, p. 133). Under the lens of such coalitions, ecotourism is viewed as a method for multilateral aid where institutions and neoliberal economic agendas impose themselves on developing countries in ways that make them appear as environmentally friendly. An example of green developmentalism was found on the Tourism Queensland website where evidence of pressure from providers of tourism experiences can be seen in government rhetoric on ecotourism. The Tourism in Protected Areas (TIPA) initiative "was developed in response to concerns raised by tourism operators about access to Queensland's protected area network of national parks, state forests and marine parks" (Tourism Queensland). The Queensland government's response to these issues included the generation of 18 key recommendations made by a working group of industry and government representatives. Tourism in Protected Areas "will be implemented progressively across Queensland's protected area network for certain activities at high-use and high-value premium visitor sites" such as Fraser Island, the Great Sandy National Park and glow-worm sites in Springbrook

and Tamborine National Parks where "the QPWS will be working with industry working groups to determine the Sustainable Visitor Capacity of these sites" (Tourism Queensland).

Such policies and rhetoric reinforce the literature reviewed in this thesis that demonstrates how multiple pressures are exerted on natural areas where ecotourism activity takes place. Concerns raised by tourism operators about accessing Queensland's protected areas, national parks, state forests and marine parks reveal how the Tourism in Protected Areas' recommendations, like so many other nature-focussed policies around the world, construct conservation, wildlife and environmental impacts as managerial issues within economic discourse. The Tourism in Protected Areas' National Parks policy rhetoric demonstrates an agenda for opening up protected areas to embed economic discourse in environmentally sustainable language. Such conflicts pepper ecotourism's ambiguous texts and their meaning.

The conflicted nature of ecotourism and its impacts on the environment, conservation, business, culture and development agendas, has been well documented by many authors (e.g. Cater & Lowman; 1994; Cohen & Richardson 1995, 1995; Mowforth & Munt, 1998). Most reviews of ecotourism focus on social, business and management issues, with a lack of scrutiny about the use of language in the negotiation of ecotourism. Graham Dann's study on the language of tourism (1996a) demonstrates a socio-linguistic realm of tourism central to the business of tourism. Dann established that language and how it is used, is central to the construction of tourism. Dann's view of language as a scene of tourism and Williams' point that language is "a constitutive faculty" (Williams, 1977, p. 24) establishes grounds for argument that, in addition to promoting and accounting for it, language constructs ecotourism by incorporating pre-eminent cultural texts about nature. A challenge to overcome in this study was the scope of materials, discourses and research relevant to the investigation. Drawing from social science, writing, tourism and humanities disciplines, and the vast amount of digital content associated with ecotourism, enabled a unique research frame to navigate a path through the extensive ecotourism corpus, to contribute to knowledge about the role, construction and consumption of nature in ecotourism discourse.

Jayne Fenton Keane

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section I review texts drawn from three distinct fields; travel literature, cultural discourse and environmental discourse, as these are most relevant to understanding the representation of nature in ecotourism promotional texts and rhetoric. The logic of an interdisciplinary review of literature is supported by Dann (2012) who calls tourism "a complex sociocultural experience" that "cannot be properly understood except in relationship to other units of the whole in human society the family, the economy, class structure, ideological constructions and the physical environment" (Dann, 2012). Dann considers MacCannell's "semiotic of capitalist production" (1976) and "the political economy of the sign" (Baudrillard, 1988) to be important to an evaluation of tourism as a broad field of inquiry. Determining how nature is represented and commodified through the discourses is central to interpreting case study results and understanding the production of nature in ecotourism texts. Travel literature precedes tourism literature and to a certain extent it informs the way tourism is written about in travel guides, blogs, consumer reviews and promotional literature. Travel texts influence the themes, modes of expression, scenes and narratives most commonly associated with descriptions of nature in the ecotourism industry. A review of cultural discourses that influence the way the tourism industry relates to and represents culture follows in Section 2.2. I focus on colonialism/imperialism, globalisation/imperialism and mass/elite cultural discourse as these are the dominant texts influencing tourism rhetoric and practice. Section 2.3 reviews some of the key ideological and political rhetoric emerging from environmental discourse that is important for understanding the construction of ecotourism.

While there are extensive views on what constitutes discourse and the relationship of texts to it, an intertextual view supports multiple ways of considering texts as discourse. Discourse analysis explores the linguistic qualities of texts – written, spoken, signed or symbolic – and their socio-psychological-political-cultural realms. Foucault, Habermas and Saussure are among those often credited with critiquing discourse from the perspective of sentences, language, information, power, semantics and semiotics. This style of critique has resulted in widespread engagement with texts as structural, communicative and fictional tools. An extended view of discourse is taken in this study, one that includes cultural, academic and political texts but also poetics and writing, as my research also explores how creative writing contributes to the construction of ecotourism. Marketing, academic, literary texts and their

strategies are reviewed to assess current understandings of ecotourism discourse and nature's position in it. For these reasons I use the term discourse, language and text interchangeably throughout the thesis.

The environment is a product of discourses of ecotourism that appear to separate it from the word nature, which has itself been constructed through the lens of the pastoral in early literary and economic literature (Williams, 1973). This literature review is conducted to determine the scope of research available on the constructions of nature, culture and travel in the marketing and promotion of ecotourism destinations. Another goal of the review is to set the context for considering the results of the three case studies completed for this research and to facilitate an extended reading of ecotourism. The research queries the nature of tourism culture, definitions of ecotourism and the construction of tourism experiences through the processes of language and discourse.

2.1 TRAVEL LITERATURE

"Writing creates the worlds we inhabit" (Denzin, 2003, p. xii)

This section traces the relationship between travel accounts, creative writing and the representation of nature in ecotourism discourse. As a relatively modern and culturally embedded industry (Smith 1977), tourism emerges from the practice of travelling, which in turn has a long association with literature (Robinson & Andersen, 2002). Literature, creative writing and reportage provide another realm of texts that influence the construction and reading of tourism. Important to the project of ecotourism are the texts that determine how nature is signified and how it is promoted. Further research is required on the "role of travel books in the production of tourist space" says Mike Robinson (Robinson, 2004, p. 311). This section considers the role of travel literature in ecotourism as represented in existing literature.

Travel writing is a genre where travellers write about their journeys, trips, destinations or experiences (Blanton, 1995). In recommending "The 50 greatest travel books of all time" Michaela Lola (2008) asks: "Who better to guide you through the streets of Paris and teach you how to make your words sing than Hemingway? What better way to learn how to recreate the details of a train ride than Paul Theroux?" (Lola, 2008). Travel literature differs from travel guide books such as 'The Lonely Planet' which are more concerned with offering practical information about places than about describing experiences. Early travel literature

talks about experiences with other cultures from many perspectives, including religious, political, military, leisure, exploratory, migratory or commercially oriented viewpoints (Blanton, 1995). Travel literature and its narratives mediate the spaces between fact and fiction, autobiography and ethnography, and commercial and personal literatures that cross a range of "academic disciplines, literary categories and social codes" (Ravi, 2002). Travel texts presented through oral or written forms are often concerned with "pleasure, pilgrimage, official duty, geographical exploration or profit" (Ravi, 2002). Power, self-discovery, subjectivity, cultural representation and imaginative speculation all feature prominently in the genre. In general, travel writing does not "act as an incentive for large-scale tourist influxes, their impacts are more selective in terms of readership and destination and more subtle as to any catalyzing effects" making it a genre of ambiguous status complicated by intertextuality (Robinson, 2004, p. 311). Travel writing is considered

> an antidote to a packaged or mass tourism chat which is frequently portrayed as trite, devoid of adventure, and unimaginative. At one level there would seem to be no link between the actions of the "armchair" readings of travel and the discourses and practices of contemporary tourism. Yet, each feeds the other and, as leisure activities, both have the capacity to shape geographies, histories, cultures and societies, and produce sets of real and imagined spaces in the world. (Robinson, 2004, p. 312)

While travel writing may play "a marginal role in the production of tourist space", it plays "a significant part" in "the imagining and re-imaging of places and peoples" (Robinson, 2004, p. 311). Travel writing and fiction are literary cousins (Dalrymple 2009), though they experience different market shares at different periods of time. Travel literature helps construct the frame for travel experiences and the way places and people are represented. As a literary and cultural form travel writing came into its own as a field of literary study in the twentieth century (Holland & Huggan, 2000; Bassnett, 2006). During its "heyday" of the 1960's and 1970's when there was "disenchantment with the novel" (Dalrymple, 2009) travel writing experienced a renaissance in popularity and sales. William Dalrymple attributes this to its adoption of the techniques of the novel, such as character, scene and setting to "arrange the action so as to give the narrative shape and momentum - yet what was being written about was true" (Dalrymple, 2009). The non-fiction status of travel writing is due partially to its association with authenticity discourse, though it declined in popularity in the late 1980s and

90s as a result of the early successes of Chatwin (1940 – 1989) and Fermor (1915 – 2011) and the "several hundred sub-Therouxs" who wrote "rambling accounts of every conceivable rail, road or river journey between Kamchatka and Tasmania" (Dalrymple, 2009). This proliferation of literature changed attitudes towards the genre "from enthusiasm to one of mild boredom" (Dalrymple, 2009). Paul Theroux said of "the Leviathan" he helped create, that the travel book is "little better than a licence to bore ... the lowest form of literary self-indulgence: dishonest complaining, creative mendacity, pointless heroics, and chronic posturing" (cited in Dalrymple, 2009).

In describing foreign spaces, travel writers often draw on poets and authors for inspiration to appeal to audiences with a breadth of culturally informed expectations (Robinson & Andersen, 2002). Travel literature is also viewed as a strategy to resist the prevailing imperialist discourse operating in and on culture (Dalrymple, 2009) and as a mode of resistance to promotional material: "Great swaths of the world are hardly visited and remain much misunderstood" (Thubron cited in Dalrymple, 2009). Literature has a long association with tourism imagery. Urry (1990), Butler (1999) and Beeton (2005) suggest that film, literature and photography create imaginary pleasures for the tourism industry. By directing daydreaming activities, creating anticipation of different experiences and helping construct mental images, creative products "not only form the basis for selection of a destination, but are also used in post-experience evaluation" (Beeton, 2005, p. 26). The stories of returning travellers, newspaper stories and "novels, poetry and painting were the main sources of image-creation and reinforcement" (Beeton, 2005, p. 26). Authors and poets influence tourist visitation rates "to certain areas to the extent that they have become synonymous with the destination, creating tourist destinations in their own right" (Beeton, 2005, p. 27). More recently Sally Webster's (2011) study on teenagers between 14-18 years who form part of the family cohort of tourists, found that teenagers sought literature in advance of travelling that told stories about the places they were going (Webster, 2011). This area of research indicates that the relationship between the creative writing of travellers and travelling authors is an important part of tourism discourse. Discourse is an expression of the structures of language operating through a number of strategies including narrative, myth, poetics, commentary, description. In the humanities narrative is understood as a story telling strategy, a meaning making strategy and a way of progressing through thematic content revolving "around a

sequence of events or positions in which something happens or from which something follows" (Roe, 1995, p. 1065).

2.1.1 Creative Writing and Ecocriticism

The focus of this section is the relationship between writing, nature representation and the role of eco-criticism in helping interpret ecotourism's nature related texts. The relationship between travel writing, creative writing and promotional writing is more correlative than direct, with each embedded in different interpretive communities (Williams, 1958) that bring different sets of texts to the scene of reading (see also Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze, and Julia Kristeva for post-structural discourse on texts). Expert readings of texts are only one of many readings available in popular culture (Barthes, 1977). As meaning is derived by mediating the semiotic codes of a text through other texts, readers construct meaning in the present while texts "invent their own precursors", authors haunt each other's words and readers and writers act dialogically on each other (Caselli, 2005). Literature has not been critiqued through the discipline of tourism and vice versa to any significant extent because it is intertextual and interdisciplinary (Robinson & Andersen, 2002). The focus on this section will therefore be creative writing and ecocriticism as these areas offer the most value for underpinning interpretation and discussion of my research material.

In their anthology "Literature and Tourism" (2002) Mike Robinson and Hans Christian Andersen edit a collection that explores the under investigated terrain of creative writing's links to tourism. Unlike the visual arts and music "literature can potentially be engaged with at a personal level by anybody who can read and who understands the conventions used by the author in telling a story or arranging words to create aesthetic and semantic patterns" (Robinson & Andersen, 2002, p. xiv). People have a deep understanding of language and the way the conventions of speech and writing operate (Robinson & Andersen, 2002). There is a long association between writing and travelling (Bohls & Duncan, 2005; Melton, 2002; Holland & Huggan, 2000). Creative writing's corpus, "sometimes deeply buried, sometimes just below the surface" holds "the scenes for writers of tourist brochures to mine" and it is through the mining of these brochures, websites, social networks and other travel texts that an important enquiry can be made (Robinson & Andersen, 2002, p. xiv). Anderson and Robinson's anthology explores the relationships between literature and tourism, predominantly from the perspective of fiction and poetry emerging from the travel writing

canon. They draw a strong relationship between tourism and literature through history, especially in relation to literature emerging from the era of The Grand Tour where predominantly young aristocratic English males travelled through Europe. The public responded to travel that presented "images of distant lands being opened up in the process of discovery" (Arthur, 2008, p. 211). The reading public of the eighteenth century was as interested in the constructions of stereotypes of distant cultures "as it was about seeking to conceptualize the concrete facts reported by explorers" (Arthur, 2008, p. 211). The constant need for European nations "to reinvent themselves in relation to the unknown" combined with voyage fiction to make a significant contribution to the theme of "discovery" that forms such a central part of early travel writing (Arthur, 2008, p. 211). Anderson and Robinson offer an important historical account of the relationship between creative writing and tourism but their project is unapologetically centred on the "British experience", which leaves room for an exploration of world literature and a focus on ecotourism: a relationship that has not been investigated to any extent as yet.

Tourism discourse draws from travel literature (Dann 1996). Graham Dann's approach to tourism discourse is through the work on its language from a sociolinguistic perspective. Tourism's language operates "through a conventional system of symbols and codes [that are] more than just a metaphor. Through pictures, brochures and other media, the language of tourism attempts to seduce millions of people into becoming tourists and subsequently to control their attitudes and behaviour" (Dann 1996, abstract). While travel writing "is closely related to a number of other non-fiction genres: autobiography, testimony, investigative journalism, ethnography, memoir", it is "travel writing's association with the novel which brings it into that difficult area where truth and fiction meet […] and the relationship between travel writing and the novel took its modern disposition in the early eighteenth century" (Hulme, 2002, p. 223). Daniels and Rycroft (1993) claim the novel is "inherently geographical" as it is "made up of locations and settings, arenas and boundaries, perspectives and horizons" (p. 460). Peter Hulme (2002) suggests there are issues that "have dogged travel writing since its inception" in its relationship with fiction (p. 223). Questions about genre, ethics, and modes of criticism remain turbulent as the tensions between non-fiction and fiction prevail (Hulme, 2002). Hulme suggests that "the history of the genre of travel writing (yet to be written) might be important for understanding that fraught relationship with fiction" (Hulme, 2002, p. 223). Bruce Chatwin's 'In Patagonia' is one of the most significant

travel books written, yet Chatwin denied that 'In Patagonia' was a travel book; "a denial which must at least complicate any attempt to situate the book at the centre of the genre of travel writing" (Hulme, 2002, p. 224). Chatwin drew on novelists and poets like Mandelstam, Hemingway, Byron, Shakespeare, Melville, Dante, Coleridge, Poe (Hulme, 2002, p. 224).

The novel is a key literary form with a history of representing, using and describing nature in literal, thematic and metaphorical ways. The world of the novel contains "various places and spaces occupied by the novel's characters, by the narrator and by audiences as they read. Any one novel may present a field of different, sometimes competing, forms of geographical knowledge; from a sensuous awareness of place to an educated idea of region and nation" (Daniels and Rycroft 1993, p.460). Hulme argues that travel literature, in the vein of Chatwin and Theroux, is inherently intertextual; revealing another genre mode.

> It is one of the paradoxes of travel writing that the ideology of the integrity of the traveller's experience, that supposedly unmediated interface between the traveller and 'otherness', is these days almost always mediated in practice by references to earlier travellers, to such an extent that books 'in the wake of', or 'in the footsteps of' constitute a whole sub-genre in themselves: the 'ambulant gloss' as Charles Nicholl calls it. (Hulme, 2002, pp. 224-5)

Novels and travel writing share a strong story impulse. Esteemed fictional texts "with a truly mass appeal, such as the novels of the Bronte sisters, have created tourist spaces and can influence tourism patterns" (Robinson, 2004, p. 311). Stories often transport readers "to another world" where they become "so engrossed in a narrative" that they become "almost unconscious of the act of reading" (Grady, 2011). A prose author's descriptions can become "so vivid as to replace, in a small way, reality in a reader's mind for a time" (Grady, 2011).

Ecocriticism is one of the critical schools for reading and writing "green literature" that provides insights into creative writing's role in representing nature in ecotourism. The term "ecocriticism" is credited to William Rueckert (1978) who pioneered a critique of nature writing through a lens of green politics. Ecocriticism's ways of reading nature writing can inform a reading of the literary realm of ecotourism texts, as it pays attention to nature as a subject in literature and how the processes of development, exploration and travelling contribute to the construction of it as a setting (Glotfelty, 1996). Mark Tredinnick describes nature writing as "literature written from the soul of the world, from the heart of the wild,

from the mind of some actual places on earth" (Tredinnick, 2006). The word "nature" is full of spaces, for example, material ecologies, imaginary, socio-political, virtual, ideological, literary, philosophical and commercial spaces. A sense of place is central to cultural engagements and interpretation. Place "helps us forget our separateness and the world's indifference" while helping create a sense of integration with "the world through shared language and custom, behaviour and habits of thought" (Tuan, 1992, p. 44). Lawrence Buell writes that "one cannot theorize scrupulously about place without confronting its fragility, including the question of whether 'place' as traditionally understood means anything anymore at a time when fewer and fewer of the world's population live out their lives in locations that are not shaped to a great extent by translocal forces" (2005, pp. 62-63). Ecocritics view place as

> exceedingly important, especially participating in the local 'place,' wherever that happens to be. To be place-centric is also important of course: to be able to observe changes in the biome—fewer birds this year; more of a particular invasive weed, that sort of thing—as it provides valuable early warning to alternations in local patterns (Cranston, 2008, p. 3).

Creative writing constructs a sense of place through descriptive, allusive, metaphorical or narrative renderings of real or imagined spaces. Ecocriticism offers a way of reading nature writing as a specific discipline within literature. The study of relationships between literature and physical environments is undertaken with a "commitment to environmentalist praxis" (Buell, 1995, p. 420) that challenges a dominant academic view of nature as a product of theory. Ecocriticism is interested in all forms of nature writing, including non-fiction. Cranston relates ecocriticism as an antidote to the dissonance between the

> relative stability and introversion offered by 'inhabiting' texts, and the glaring discrepancy between that and the external crises going on in the world. Ecocriticism was an attempt to make active--not only academic--sense of the growing dissonance between reading and writing in the world, and living in a depleting world. (Cranston, 2008, p. 3)

Cheryl Glotfelty (1996) describes early American ecocriticism as consisting of three phases: the study of nature's representation in literature; a rediscovery of the genre of nature writing; and a theoretical turn comprised of 'ecopoetics' and a reconsideration of constructions of

culture in literature (Glotfelty, 1996). In the first wave, studies of literary stereotypes such as Eden, Arcadia and Wilderness prevailed along with studies of ecological elements and systems such as animals, cities, rivers, and mountains (Glotfelty, 1996). Henry Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Henry Nash Smith feature prominently in this wave. The second and still dominant wave of American ecocriticism involves studying nature oriented nonfiction; for example the works of Rachel Carson, Annie Dillard and Barry Lopez.

Jonathon Bate (1991) is a key figure in British ecocriticism, focusing mainly on Romanticism and Wordsworth. In 'The Song of the Earth' (2000) Bate develops his ecocriticism through an "ecopoetical" reading of works by Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats and others. Ecopoetics represents a way for Bate to write in ways that imaginatively explore "the radical alterity of non-human creatures and natural environments" (Hutchings & Matthews, 2008, p. 425). Bate's attempts "to restore the severed connection between humans and the natural environment by helping to engender an ethical attitude of respect for, and humility in the face of, the non-human world" (Hutchings & Matthews, 2008, p. 425) bringing him into alignment with the mission statements produced by sections of the ecotourism industry. Such an approach distinguishes ecopoetic from "ecopolitical" writing; "which is a distinctively urban mode of representation thoroughly imbued with human cultural and ideological concerns" (Hutchings & Matthews, 2008, p. 425). Bate's project is lodged in the discourse of Romanticism, which is discussed later in this section as it is one of the key discourses of literary relationships with nature that has a bearing on ecotourism texts.

In Australia, ecocriticism has a long association with pastoralism in poetry and fiction. Pastoral space is a feature of nature constructions in Australian literary and cultural discourse as it exists in the liminal space between wilderness and urban development. Australian farmers claim they own, manage and care for 61% of Australia's land mass (National Farmers' Federation, 2012, p. 5) resulting in pastoral discourse, politics and space occupying a unique place in the country's literary production and socio-political rhetoric. Kate Rigby (2007) notices the pastoral landscape as "demonstrably edible", full of "nourishing terrains" that "seek their continued, or, in many cases, restored flourishing for the benefit of a more-than-human community of life" (Rigby, 2007, p. 172). While perhaps a sentimental view of the pastoral, Rigby is one of a growing number of Australian practitioners of ecocriticism exploring the literary genre of the pastoral, which is mostly "concerned with emplacement and settlement, a metropolitan expression of desire for the rural as a space in which

relationships between people and place might be, or once have been, authentic and legitimate" (Beardwood, 2013).

The spaces of rural and outback Australia are increasingly contested as a result of "evolving claims to place and culture, including Native Title claims and white pastoralists' claims to be dispossessed of land" (Beardwood, 2013). Hal Porter, Robert Adamson, Laurie Duggan, Judith Wright, John Kinsella and Les Murray are poets central to Australian pastoralism, which is also represented in bush poetry in the works of Dorothea Mackellar, Henry Lawson and Banjo Patterson. Tim Winton, Murray Bail, Geoff Page and Geoffrey Lehmann are some contemporary writers of the mode. Central to their literature is uniquely Australian archetypes.

> Nature was performed in narratives of the bush, the outback and the remote centre, this despite the population's predominantly coastal as well as urban geography. Through these roles, the Australian continent was transformed in the imaginations of settlers over the course of the first century of settlement from alien to distinctive; from actively inhospitable to demanding but approachable for those with the toughness of character to tolerate its obstinate ways. The Anglo-centric imagining of a distinctively Australian nature, one that defined and unified the continent and its islands, helped facilitate federation of the self-governing Australian colonies in 1901. (Davison, 2005)

The pastoral is however only one mode of poetry that engages with nature. Other modes include Romanticism, post colonialism, transcendentalism, science, praise poetry and imagism (Hall, 2011). Poetry has a long history of representing the natural world that also informs the writing of and appropriation of nature for ecotourism. The figurative language of poetry is one way that it offers "a unique opportunity for creative expression of the geographic experience" (George, 2010). Poetry that "values locales, which sees and lets the reader experience what makes a place unique among places […] includes not only the geographical location and natural environment, but the history of human presence and before" (Siverly and McDowell cited in George 2010). Jodie George (2010) reflects on how "as an industry, tourism does not rely primarily upon factual accounts of place, but instead, acts strategically to reconstruct the cultural geography in an idealised manner" (George, 2010). In tourism, poetry may be used as what Dean MacCannell (1976) calls an "off-sight marker" or "some representation" of a site usually encountered before a trip has begun (p.

110). Poetry may be co-opted, modified or showcased to create, reiterate or reinvigorate prevailing destination images (George, 2010). Creating poetry for "site endorsement" is common in contemporary tourism where using "a poetic approach, the mundane practicalities of tourist information may be transformed into lyrical verse in order to keep the traveller suspended in a realm of enchantment" (George, 2010).

Along with figurative, allusive, imagistic and metaphorical strategies, poetry's alliterative quality is used most often in tourism as a tool "of emphasis to arrest the reader's attention and aid their subsequent recall of the product" (George, 2010). Alliteration reflects the words chosen by tourism to increase recall through "the repetition of sounds, remembering just one word in the alliterative phrase increases the likelihood that the entire phrase will be recalled, thereby increasing the tourist's engagement with the product" (Djafarova & Andersen, 2008, p. 295). Alliteration, which has seen a statistically significant increase in use in the tourism industry, aims to promote memorable messages rather than evoke personal meanings (Djafarova & Andersen, 2008, p. 301). Creative writing helps construct nature in ecotourism through narrative, poetic or non-fiction strategies. Wilderness, utopia, the garden, landscape, transcendentalism, retreat, conquest, beauty are common themes in the nature writing genre. Ecocriticism discourse is concerned with green literature and nature as a textual, organic space. It helps frame readings of tourism's intertextuality and its corpus of travel writing and natural themes. Nature is integral to travel writing, ecocriticism and the poetics of place represented in advertising copy, promotional brochures and travelogues as a setting, a destination, an experience or a resource.

2.1.2 Romanticism

Recently "critics have begun to reassess Romantic literature in light of the contemporary rise of environmentalism, inaugurating in the process the field of critical inquiry now known as 'Green Romanticism' or 'Romantic Ecology'" (Hutchings & Matthews, 2008, p. 425). Romanticism, travel writing and 'Green Literature' all have a bearing on interpreting the promotional and marketing texts of ecotourism. This section summarises existing literature on Romanticism's representation of nature and the ways this informs environmental writing. Romanticism emerged from late eighteenth century Europe as an artistic and intellectual movement featuring a heightened interest in nature. From the nineteenth century, British Romantic poets reacted against the eighteenth-century's "emphasis on reason and sought new

ways of expressing their thoughts and feelings" (Hutchings & Matthews, 2008, p. 425). The sublime, symbolism, moralism, transcendentalism and idealism were common emotions expressed through Romantic literature (Woodlief, 2001), while landscapes, vistas, mountains, sunrises, sunsets, journeys, lakes and oceans were common subjects (Holman & Harmon).

Romanticism is often discussed as a movement marked by a "reaction in literature, philosophy, art, religion, and politics from the neoclassicism and formal orthodoxy of The Enlightenment. Romanticism arose so gradually and exhibited so many phases that a satisfactory definition is not possible" (Holman & Harmon). Literary historians and critics "have been quarrelling over the meaning of the word Romanticism for decades" argues Steven Kreis (2009). Kreis points to a complication in Romantic discourse; the role of the subject and the lack of consistency in the position from which the view of the Romantic is constructed. Another complication is the breadth of literature categorised as Romanticism. Wordsworth, Keats, Shelly, Byron and Thoreau are some of the well-known writers of the Romantic period who generated interest in natural landscapes throughout Europe and America. Charles Harpur, "Banjo" Paterson, Henry Kendall, Miles Franklin, Dorothea Mackellar, Christopher Brennan and Henry Lawson, wrote a peculiarly Australian Romanticism featuring the bush, bushrangers, wanderers, pastoralists, drovers, gold rushes, Asian migrants, utopia and Aborigines (Lee, 1999; Hall , 2011). Dorothea Mackellar's poem 'Colour' reflects early colonial Australian writing's attempts to describe country through a European gaze and vernacular.

> Great saffron sunset clouds, and larkspur mountains,
>
> And fenceless miles of plain,
>
> And hillsides golden-green in that unearthly
>
> Clear shining after rain;
>
>
> And nights of blue and pearl, and long smooth beaches,
>
> Yellow as sunburnt wheat,
>
> Edged with a line of foam that creams and hisses,
>
> Enticing weary feet. (Mackellar, 1909)

Jayne Fenton Keane

Mackellar's poem asserts a European gaze over the landscape to create a romanticised view that is still evident today in tourist literature. Importantly for considering the relationship between tourism and Romanticism, given the lack of "a clearly conceived system" for determining the Romantic period, are the characteristics that it has come to be recognised by: "sensibility; primitivism; love of nature; sympathetic interest in the past, especially the medieval; mysticism; individualism; Romanticism criticism; and a reaction against whatever characterized neoclassicism" (Holman & Harmon). Implicit in the term is an individualised view of the world that places humans at the centre of life and art "making literature valuable as an expression of unique feelings and particular attitudes (the expressive theory of criticism) and valuing its fidelity in portraying experiences, however fragmentary and incomplete, more than it values adherence to completeness, unity, or the demands of genre" (Holman & Harmon). Romanticism may at times "regard nature as alien" but mostly it sees nature as a revelation of spiritual truth "and a more suitable subject for art than those aspects of the world sullied by artifice. Romanticism seeks to find the Absolute, the Ideal, by transcending the actual, whereas realism finds its values in the actual and naturalism in the scientific laws that undergird the actual" (Holman & Harmon).

William Wordsworth, a key poet of Romanticism, was celebrated for his writings on nature's beauty and mystery. Wordsworth's autobiographical poem 'The Prelude' (1850), is a key text of ecocriticism. It is a long poem reflecting on the relationship between humanity and nature, while his poem 'Travelling' describes nature as a restorative resource (Hutchings & Matthews, 2008, p. 425).

> This is the spot:—how mildly does the sun
>
> Shine in between the fading leaves! The air
>
> In the habitual silence of this wood
>
> Is more than silent: and this bed of heath,
>
> Where shall we find so sweet a resting-place?
>
> Come!—let me see thee sink into a dream
>
> Of quiet thoughts,—protracted till thine eye
>
> Be calm as water when the winds are gone
>
> And no one can tell whither — my sweet friend!

> We two have had such happy hours together
>
> That my heart melts in me to think of it.
>
> (Wordsworth, Travelling)

In 'The Prelude' early representations of nature's spiritual power are present.

> Through earth and sky, spreads widely, and sends deep
>
> Into the soul its tranquillising power
>
> Even then I sometimes grieve for thee, O Man
>
> (Wordsworth, 1850)

Romanticism represents a construction of nature as landscape of beauty, refuge and leisure. As a period of literary and emotional constructions of the environment, Romanticism provided an impetus for the earliest mass travel trend – the organised package tour (Urry, 1995). Grand Tours were the precursors of mass travel to beaches, lake districts, mountain resorts and other 'nature' based destinations where nature began to emerge as a visual commodity (Urry, 1995) with symbolic value that contrasted with descriptions of industrial society.

> There are many disfigurements to this lake — not in the way of land or water. No, the two views we have had of it are of the most noble tenderness. They can never fade away; they make one forget the divisions of life — age, youth, poverty, and riches — and refine one's sensual vision into a sort of north star which can never cease to be open-lidded and steadfast over the wonders of the great Power. The disfigurement I mean is the miasma of London. (Keats, 1818)

Romanticised emotional responses to nature have been investigated by psychologists who confirm strong emotional connections between humans and environments. In their research on the sublime, Michelle Shiota, Dacher Keltner and Amanda Mossman (2007) note that "glorious sunsets, great works of art, intellectual epiphany, and the beauties of nature all evoke an intense emotional response" (Shiota, Keltner and Mossman, 2007, p. 944). Dacher Keltner and Jonathan Haidt (2003) describe art, music, literature, natural wonders and panoramic views as expressions of beauty that can evoke a range of feelings associated with the sublime (Keltner & Haidt, 2003). The sublime remains a prevalent discourse in romanticised views of nature, travel, tourism and critical literature (Bell & Lyall, 2002).

While photography and film now dominate representations of the sublime, tourists still grapple for language to describe such experiences (see Coghlan, Buckley & Weaver, 2012). Ralph Waldo Emerson describes the Romantic sublime as "a process of becoming a transparent eye-ball. I am nothing. I see all. The currents of the Universal Being circulate through me. I am a part or particle of God" (Emerson, 1971, p. 10).

Romantic imagination did not merely change the way it considered nature however, it began to incorporate nature into the symbolic realm of its literature in ways that turned nature into a literary device. The personification of nature reflects a mode through which Romanticism emotionalises landscape to incorporate it as a symbolic element for writing. This technique was later adopted in the descriptions of ecotourism destinations. The "endless and endless" quality of wilderness experienced from the perspective of being trapped within it, disoriented and vulnerable, alarms when "on either side the tall oaks closed in their ranks, and stood gloomily lowering over us, as grim as an army of giants with a thousand years' pay in arrears" (Kinglake cited in Bassnett 2006, xiii). In the confines of such a literary frame the romantic forest is positioned as another world a "Forest World within—some stirring of beasts, some night bird's scream" (Kinglake cited in Bassnett 2006, xiii). Joseph Conrad's influence on constructions of the colonially inspired, romanticised exotic, still resonate in contemporary literature, though he credits Rimbaud as a key romantic source: "Beware what you read when you are young. Beware what you feed upon. It may bring you to this shore, this brink, this bridge" (Conrad, 1921, p. 156).

Contemporary iterations of scenery rendered through Romanticism are now globalised, portraying nature as "a benign, maternal goddess capable of renewing the spiritual batteries of jaded urbanites" (Seaton, cited in Beeton, 2005, p 5). Beeton (2005) argues that Romanticism still exerts its influence by "creating a longing for exotic and/or unspoiled landscapes" that create a symbolic idealisation of countryside as "a 'golden place' that still exists in the psyche of urbanites today and has had a major impact on the development and imaging of tourism" (Beeton, 2005, p. 5). Romanticism paved the way for a growth in personal travel writing describing nature. Landscapes that previous generations might have found "unpleasant or even threatening" were transformed into things of beauty with sublime overtones throughout the period of the Grand Tour (Bassnett, 2006, p. xiii). Bassnett summarises this transition succinctly.

> The Alps, the Scottish Highlands, and the fells of the Lake District all acquired a

dignity and splendor for the Romantic mind that find their way into travel writing. The two best-known European volcanoes, Etna and Vesuvius, which had traditionally been described in terms of hellishness and perceived as symbols of nature's most ugly, threatening aspect, were transformed into symbols of nature's power and grandeur. (Bassnett, 2006, p. xiii)

Spiritual tourism's association with sustainable development was recently the focus of an inaugural conference in Vietnam. Co-organised by the Vietnam Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Sports, and the World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), the "first-ever conference on spiritual tourism" attracted more than 300 international delegates (VietNamNet Bridge, 2013). Conference delegates focussed "presentations and discussions on nature, the significance of spiritual tourism, cultural exchanges and responsible tourism, as well as the sustainability of spiritual tourism destinations" (VietNamNet Bridge, 2013). This focus demonstrates a burgeoning interest in the spiritual dimensions of nature in ecotourism and adds further weight to the value of analysing this dimension in my research.

This section focussed on the relationship between creative writing, travel literature and Romanticism with the processes, ideologies and themes underpinning ecotourism promotional literature and its writing of nature. Travel writing has its own canon that is beyond the scope of this review to account for fully, but important is consideration of the ways travel writing, tourism writing, creative writing and nature writing work in an intertextual way to inform the promotional texts of ecotourism destination managers.

2.2 CULTURAL DISCOURSES AND ECOTOURISM

"Language is not neutral. It is not merely a vehicle which carries ideas. It is itself a shaper of ideas." (Whorf cited in Spender 1980, 6)

In the preceding section a review of creative writing in travel literature, ecocriticism and Romanticism explored the representation of nature in texts. The following section surveys cultural discourses that influence the composition of marketing and promotional texts within ecotourism and the ways they construct nature as a commodity. The review follows a number of leads from within the discourses, particularly those from postmodern and post-structural schools of cultural theory. Post modernism considers language to be a technology, structure and process that is not neutral and that offers a mode for producing and interpreting culture (Foucault, 1980; Lyotard, 1991). The literature reviewed in this section is relevant to my

investigation into how ecotourism is as much a product of language and discourse as it is a business practice with environmental implications. The social sciences have managed most of the culturally oriented investigations of tourism since the 1970s, however the last decade has seen other disciplines contribute to the inquiry (Dann 1996). The influence of the social sciences cannot be understated as they have established the frame through which tourism is understood (Burns, 1999). The scene of cultural criticism is interdisciplinary, opening ecotourism up to a host of possible readings (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). A cultural turn in literary studies and a textual turn in anthropology (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998) have resulted in new ways of reading culture through texts drawn from a range of disciplines (Hirsch, 2005, p. 1499). As there is extensive literature on culture relevant to this investigation, I have chosen to focus on literature with a direct bearing on my research data and what it reveals about how ecotourism is constructed within and through key cultural discourses.

In challenging traditional anthropological and ethnographic views of culture, Joshua Meyrowitz (1997) suggests culture is a dynamic and eccentric process of boundary making that is "unifying and fractionating" (Meyrowitz, 1997) through "group identities and place-defined roles characteristic of modern societies" that are "bypassed in both directions" (Meyrowitz, 1997). Members of a society grow "more alike, but members of particular families, neighborhoods, and traditional groups are growing more diverse. On the macro level, the world is becoming more homogeneous" (Meyrowitz, 1997). In response to this homogeneity, individuals at a micro-level "experience more choice, variety, and idiosyncrasy" witnessed through social processes that are dislocated from place: "Just as there is now greater sharing of behaviors among people of different ages and different sexes and different levels of authority, there is also greater variation in the behaviors of people of the same age, same sex, and same level of authority" (Meyrowitz, 1997). Tourism is influenced by the processes of exchange that challenge national sovereignty through new forms of communication such as the Internet (Meyrowitz, 1997). Place is removed from culture as the locus of identity: "Scientific exchanges, banking, product design, and courtship rituals now take place in no place, through international satellite links and computer networks" (Meyrowitz, 1997). Culture thus transcends traditional borders such as customs, leading to governments having a "diminished control over their citizens' knowledge and experiences" (Meyrowitz, 1997). As information transactions are increasingly virtualised there are more "border crossings" where "ironically, the more that borders are crossed, the

greater the similarity of once very different social arenas. As a result, the notion of 'foreign' is becoming an increasingly foreign notion" (Meyrowitz, 1997). Territorial monopolies bind cultures and nuance them with nationalistic vernaculars (Dundes, 1989), while spectacles of diversity are constructed for imperialist representations of power and tourist consumptions of it (Mitchell, 1994).

Visions of culture are commonly represented in tourism as dualistic: cultures and people are frequently discussed and understood as "insiders" or "outsiders" (Coleman, 2002, p. 5). A "logic of belonging" (Coleman, 2002, p. 5) creates distinctions between producers and consumers and hosts and tourists who are "challenged in contexts where audiences can be both local and distant, and where hosts are themselves tourists in other places" (Boissevain, 1996, p.1). Tourism destinations and landscapes are spaces where "power, identity, meaning and behaviour are constructed, negotiated and renegotiated according to socio-cultural dynamics" (Aitchinson & Reeves, 1998, p. 51). MacCannell (1973), Cohen (1978 & 1988) and Urry (1990) have all written on tourism's culture, identity, authenticity and environmental impacts; offering signposts for ways to consider tourism outside its business imperatives. Relationships between culture, identity and the way places and people are marketed involve powerful discourses that determine the way the world is seen (Berger, 1973). Ambiguity around definitions of culture complicate discussions about it.

2.2.1 Culture: Definition

As tourism is commonly discussed as a part of culture, as a culture in its right, as a process that influences culture, and as a tourism product, it is important to understand thinking about the word culture and how it might be positioned in tourism texts. This helps create a context for the discussions which take place in sections four and five. The word "culture" is turbulent and is used in this section in the way advocated by Williams in his argument that "culture is ordinary" and complicated by multiple views of it (Williams 1958, p. 94). Culture is according to Williams, something produced in the everyday by the "ordinary processes of human societies and human minds" rather than through the actions of specialist producers of art and knowledge (Williams, 1958, pp. 5-6). Culture is a scene of variance between one human group and another where "every human society has its own shape, its own purposes, its own meanings" that are expressed within "institutions, and in arts and learning" (Williams, 1958, p. 6). In his later work on keywords Williams defined culture as "a

particular way of life" through which certain meanings and values are expressed (Williams, 1976, p. 81). Each domain of human culture produces, holds and processes vast amounts of information through various socially, technologically and individually facilitated processes. It is through the pursuit of "common meanings and directions" and through "active debate and amendment under the pressures of experience, contact, and discovery" that a growing society is something that is always already "there, yet it is also made and remade in every individual mind" (Williams, 1958, p. 6). Williams views culture as a universal human capacity expressed through unique interpretive acts of groups of people who share qualities or experiences. He suggests that making culture through acts of production has two facets: "the known meanings and directions, which its members are trained to" and "new observations and meanings, which are offered and tested" (Williams, 1958, p. 6). By using the word 'culture' in a way that enables it to contain the "most ordinary common meanings and the finest individual meanings" Williams intends to represent the "whole way of life--the common meanings; to mean the arts and learning--the special processes of discovery and creative effort" along with those "deep personal meanings" made through the ordinary, everyday operations of society through every mind occupying it (Williams, 1958, p. 6).

Williams asserts that the ordinariness of culture grew from a consideration of The Frankfurt School's theories on how Western capitalist societies evolve and how dominant cultures emerge. Extending the work of Karl Marx and Georg W.F Hegel, the Frankfurt School's members Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Walter Benjamin, and Jürgen Habermas, all wrote about the importance of mass culture and communication in facilitating social reproduction and domination. The Frankfurt School's critical approaches to the study of culture offer ways of reading tourism as an expression of particular sets of discourses. Max Weber views the processes of culture as involving pressure for constant change through reciprocal relationships between religious beliefs and economic action (Haferkamp & Smelser, 1992, p. 11). Shmuel Eisenstadt considers reciprocal exchanges between ideas and social institutions as fundamental to arbitrating processes of social and cultural change (Haferkamp & Smelser, 1992). Eisenstadt questions cultural ideas of hierarchy and equality and the way they are differentiated in different social settings, concluding that the premises of a society play an important role in determining which values will dominate the processes of culture (Haferkamp & Smelser, 1992, p. 11). The idea of a "culture industry" that emerged from the Frankfurt School reinforces the sense of a "dominant culture", where power is

exerted over an audience by a culture industry driven by mass media and commodification (Williams, 1989a). Williams challenged this model of technological determinism by suggesting that audiences and producers could adapt information from the culture industry, particularly television, to drive social change.

Grasping the variety of expressions of culture and its complex and multiple elements such as "high", "folk", "elite" and "street" culture, presents methodological challenges to researchers (Haferkamp & Smelser, 1992, p. 11). Such distinctions between "social life" and "culture" are untenable for studying cultural change (Haferkamp & Smelser, 1992, p. 11). Marsha Witten and Robert Wuthrow identify four approaches to cultural theory research to account for different expressions of culture: subjective, structural, dramaturgic, and institutional (Witten & Wuthrow, 1988, p. 49). An investigation of science, organizational culture, public morals and ideology "as discourses and other symbolic acts" in the field of cultural studies is warranted (Witten & Wuthrow, 1988, p. 49). Speakers and audiences are important to evaluations of culture's interactive and communicative aspects where discursive texts and their embedded rituals form part of the research method (Witten & Wuthrow, 1988, p. 50). Culture is also a system of integrated meanings through "which the nature of reality is established and maintained" (Greenwood, 1977, p. 131). At a local level culture expresses a homogenous subgroup that contributes to an imaginary political community within global culture (Anderson, 1991, p. 6). Imagination plays a key role in helping inhabitants of local cultures understand their space as a "social force that works across national lines to produce locality as a spatial fact and as a sensibility" (Appadurai, Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination, 2000, p. 6). Spatiality is invoked as a key to understanding cultural imaginaries. Artists, academics and public intellectuals are all part of the "apparatus" involved in the global production of "real worlds" and "imaginary geographies" through which other places and times are understood (Appadurai, 2000, p. 8). Culture is a way of life established by groups that acculturate values, beliefs, ideals and actions (Rapoport, 1984, pp. 50-51) and is an ongoing process of story making and telling that crosses disciplinary views of narrative (Grobstein, 2005). Culture also works as a scene of representation with crucial political implications that shape psychological dispositions and determine constructions of social reality (Kellner, 1988, p. 13) and how it is perceived, conceived and represented in tourist settings (Adams, 1984; Bruner, 1987; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Urry 1990). Cultural traditions are dynamic, changing over time in response to tourist expectations

(Cohen, 1988). Debates about cultural authenticity (Boorstin, 1964; Cohen, 1988); ethnic stereotyping (Cohen, 1979; MacCannell, 1984); cultural exchange, preservation and commodification (Cohen, 1988; Greenwood, 1977; Honey, 1999); power relations and how they are negotiated between individuals, regions and global economies (Pimbert, 1995); relationships between hosts and guests (Smith, 1977); destinations (Dann, 1996); and tourism's impacts (Stronza, 2001), all inform the established cultural discourses of tourism.

The range of definitions of culture offers a number of ways tourism could be considered, constructed and read as a field within cultural studies, in addition to its established mode as a field in the social sciences and business disciplines. Tourism reflects its own distinctions and established modes of knowledge that express cultural studies discourses. The language of tourism expresses interdisciplinary ways of discussing culture. Tourism produces rhetoric that intersects with other cultural discourses such as commodification, colonialism and globalisation. A review of literature drawn from these key discourses follows.

2.2.2 Colonialism and Imperialism

The term "colonialism" describes the processes and time periods associated with European settlement and political control, particularly in the Americas, Australia, India, parts of Africa and Asia. Central to colonialism was its "civilising" mission. As Europe gained dominion over other parts of the world, including India and Australia, during the nineteenth century, tension grew between governing countries and their "subjects". The growth in world trade and shipping coincided with philosophical debates about concepts such as universalism and equality with the result that the civilising mission emerged as a key theme in colonial discourse. Most commonly attributed to the actions of the nineteenth century British Empire, the roots of the civilising mission can be traced to the Crusades and the religious fanaticism of Spanish conquistadores and colonists who enforced Christianity on the "infidel lands" of countries they occupied (Kohn M. , 2006). The civilising mission enabled Europeans invading other cultures to justify cultural destruction through political, educational and social domination aimed at training, moral uplifting and Christianising "Natives" (Rowley, 1971). In tourism this is reflected in texts associated with indigenous experiences. Cohen speaks of locals playing at being "natives" to live up to tourist images (Cohen, 1979, p. 18). Such processes influence tourism's cultural discourses and markets which in turn influence the cultural discourses of tourism. An example of this is reflected in the work of Robert Britton

(1979) and MacCannell (1984) who demonstrate that colonialism continues to exert cultural power through constructions of people and places in tourism imagery, despite its allegedly declining economic and political influence.

Segregation and "protection" were common features of the colonising process aimed at indigenous people who were frequently placed on reserves, missions or fringe settlements, or subject to atrocities and slavery. The agenda of colonialism was to civilise the "uncivilised" or "savage", to mirror European sensibilities. Kohn (2006) tracks colonialism from the era of the Crusades to the period of Scottish Enlightenment, which reconciled the tensions between colonial and liberalist (see Diderot and Kant) ideologies to equate the civilising mission with the moral progress of a society. Kohn describes this process as evolutionary and argues that whether or not one supported colonialism and imperialism depended on personal views about the relationship between culture, history and progress. The Scottish Enlightenment's version of progress was that societies naturally moved from hunting to herding, to farming, to commerce, in a "developmental process that simultaneously tracked a cultural arc from "savagery", through "barbarism", to "civilization" which "meant that for the Scots, 'civilization' was not just a marker of material improvement, but also a normative judgment about the moral progress of society" (Kohn M. , 2006). A key point here is the role Scottish Enlightenment thinkers played in the creation of "an historical imaginary" constructed through commercial and social interaction that "in turn, produced a historical narrative, which celebrated the emergence of a shared Western civilization based on the emergence of wealth and commerce" (Kohn & O'Neill, 2006, p. 194).

The concept of imperialism was originally less connected with colonialism's civilising agenda and more with traditional views of empire emerging from the Napoleonic era. Influenced by communist rhetoric, imperialism was portrayed as a corrupting and illegitimate use of power for capitalist ends: "It is the old story of 1798, when French republicanism sick of its own folly and misdeeds, became metamorphosed into imperialism, and consoled itself for its incapacity to found domestic freedom by putting an iron yoke upon Europe, and covering it with blood and battle-fields" (Lloyd, 1842). Imperialism is commonly used as a rhetorical tool to invoke the negative connotations of capitalism represented in the communist texts of Lenin and Marx: "The lasting impact of the Marxist approach is apparent in contemporary debates about American imperialism, a term which usually means American economic hegemony, regardless of whether such power is exercised directly or indirectly"

(Young cited in Mentan, 2010 p 145). Western capitalism's discourse of free trade and commerce prevails as a dominant ideology for attainment of material and cultural affluence. The inevitable consequence of such rhetoric is that "civilised" societies are acting in the ultimate favour of developing nations by governing their transition towards modernity (Kohn, 2006). Contrary to the view of imperialism as a civilising economic force is Marx and Engels' writing about the self-serving and potentially culturally damaging aspects of capitalist rationale. In their *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848) Marx and Engels emphasise that capitalism's constant need for new consumers will lead to the creation of a global market that would undermine self-governance and regulation: "The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the entire surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere" (Marx & Engels, 1848).

The processes of capitalism lead to a world corporate language that codes experiences and cultural identities in ways that appeal to hosts and guests. Contemporary literary theorists such as Said and Spivak draw attention to the practices of representation that emerge from these processes, which they say reproduce colonial ideologies long after independence has been gained. Said uses discourse analysis to show how the Middle East's expression of Imperialism is constructed through the concept of "orientalism". Orientalism conceptualises people in the Middle East as a complex Orient "suitable for study in the academy, for display in the museum, for reconstruction in the colonial office, for theoretical illustration in anthropological, biological, linguistic, racial, and historical theses about mankind and the universe" (Said, 1978, p. 7). Spivak's arguments on alterity and otherness show how a "language-based literary investigation" supports "the training of the imagination" through a culturally diverse ethical system" developed through local discourse (Sangeeta, 2009, pp. 12-13). The "Other" in Said's case is the Orient. Spivak argues that the Other is produced through alterity, a construction of literary and cultural discourses that compose the subject as "an immense dis-continuous network ('text' in the general sense) of strands that may be termed politics, ideology, economics, history, sexuality, language and so on" (Spivak, 1987, p. 204). Said and Spivak speak of the relationship between constructions of the subject and the narrativising of the subject's position and discursive identity. A key ideology and semiotic emerging from colonialism and imperialism is the rhetoric and production of the

"commodity" and the commodification of cultures. Commodification and globalisation are central to the processes of ecotourism and warrant special attention.

2.2.3 Commodification and Globalisation

Economic development, cultural exchange and the impacts of such exchanges are important themes in tourism (Nash, 1996). Tourism operates as a laboratory where processes of acculturation are tested in situations where urban tourists or "donor" cultures interact with "recipient" or host cultures (Nuñez, 1963, p. 347). Acculturation, an overly politicised term within anthropology, is associated with tourism involving indigenous communities (Stronza, 2001, p. 268). Acculturation is what is feared will happen when tourists intrude on a place with an assumed set of consumerist and commodified values (Stronza, 2001, p. 268). The commodification of culture is a process stemming from the exchange value of traded goods (Cohen, 1988). Commodification contributes to cultures losing their sense of integrity and symbolic meaning (Greenwood, 1977) as through the processes of commodification, cultural artefacts lose their integrity and are pitched at "the highest bidder", resulting in a loss of spiritual, ceremonial, or other significant artefact value within the host culture (Stronza 2001, 268). Examples of such disturbances in the value of spiritual and cultural artefacts are found in the trade of Australian Aboriginal bark paintings (Hall & Kinnaird, 1994) and Balinese culture (Picard, 1990).

Commodification discourse assumes that host cultures are vulnerable to losing their identity as result of: a loss of history (Stronza, 2001); a loss of self-esteem (Erisman, 1983, p. 350); loss of authenticity in favour of its performance, representation or simulation – particularly in indigenous cultures (Boorstin, 1972); marketing of cultural representation for tourist encounters that privilege some aspects of it over others (Williams 1973; Urry, 1990; Boorstin, 1972); and a scripting of cultural interpretation and engagement through advertising, marketing and tour package consumption (Adams, 1984). Tourism may also act as a vector for cultural decay when its induced economic changes inevitably lead to previously unknown diseases in the host culture, for example, drug addiction, crime, pollution, prostitution, reduced social stability, a growth of capitalist values and a consumer culture (McLaren, 1998, p. 28). Representation determines whether capitalism is understood as a positive or negative force and is therefore crucial to the maintenance of social power and social change (Kellner, 1988, p. 13). Disciplines may be viewed as cultures emerging

historically as competitors rather than partners through managerial and economic forces (Gasper, 2002).

One mode through which commodification is expressed in ecotourism texts is through the ideology and rhetoric of impacts. Tourism discourse is "obsessed with impacts" (Shepherd, 2002, p. 185). When talking about measuring tourist 'impact' on local cultures what is brought to mind is "not just destruction (a bomb impacts on a target) but also passivity (the other is always impacted upon)" (Shepherd, 2002, p. 185). Local cultures are "to be transformed (for the worse) by contact with a secular West, a presumption which implies the existence of pristine pre-tourist cultures which can serve as baseline tools for measuring the impact of this touristic degradation" (Shepherd, 2002, p. 185). Shepherd is suspicious of positioning host cultures as victims in the commodification debate and challenges the idea of a pristine pre-tourist culture corrupted by the processes of tourism. Such a representation of the host culture is common in commodification rhetoric concerned with impacts.

Edward Bruner (1995) and Dean MacCannell (1994) suggest that the more local residents perform as hosts rather than being "authentic", the more representational their cultural practices become; resulting in them becoming less desirable to tourists seeking authentic cultural engagements. As the "other" becomes more like "us" tourist desires for engagement decline through "cannibalisation" (MacCannell, 1994, p. 101). The ultimate end to tourism's appetite occurs when its cannibalistic culture "ultimately consumes itself" (MacCannell, 1994, p. 109). The word commodification is so prevailing in discussions about tourism's role in culture that it operates as a fundamental principle expressing "Foucault's 'already-said'" (Shepherd, 2002, p. 186). Shepherd argues that commodification's role in tourism's consumption of culture prefaces all discussions about "the conditions of operation that define what can and cannot be said within a particular discourse" (Shepherd, 2002, p. 186). Deirdre Evans-Pritchard (1989), Benita Howell (1994) and Joan Laxson (1991) offer an alternative view of authenticity discourse associated with commodification.

Howell resists a mono-directional view of commodification arguing that tourists are also consumed by indigenous communities (Howell, 1994, p. 152). Locals derive pleasure from "toying with tourists who were perceived as relatively ignorant of local conditions, incompetent, ridiculous, gullible, and eminently exploitable" (Howell, 1994, p. 152). Locals are active agents in determining what they want to preserve and invent traditions and/or folk art for tourists while remaining clear about what is real or staged, authentic or spurious

(Howell, 1994, p. 152). Such behaviour contests the view of commodification that positions locals as passive victims "caught unaware as they lose themselves and their culture to commodification and the intrusive gaze of outsiders" (Howell, 1994, p. 152). The commodification of tourists for consumption by indigenous communities is a deviation from traditional colonial and imperialist discourses.

The term "globalisation" expresses discourses on commodification, colonialism and imperialism and is equally controversial in terms of its assumptions, ideologies and practices. Economic expressions of globalisation attempt to transform the world into a global marketplace where currencies are internationalised, state control is transcended and local control of economies and protections for local producers are surrendered (Held and McGrew, 2007). Globalisation influences political, social, communication and economic activities and has a direct bearing on tourism. The concept of a "global village" emerges from globalisation rhetoric and communication practices where high-speed technologies proliferate to diminish distances between cultures (McLuhan, 1964, p. 103). The global village accelerates human organisation in ways that facilitate homogeneity (McLuhan 1964, 103). Globalisation is responsible for shifts in intensities of exchange that alter political, cultural and economic life to deliver global transformations in the organisation of power and authority (Held & McGrew, 2007). It is also a strategy for compressing the world and delivering an holistic identity (Robertson, 1992). Global consciousness emerges from the homogenisation of cultures contributing to the concept of a "world society" (Albrow, 1996).

Economic and environmental discourses intersect with Jürgen Habermas and Raymond Williams' discussions of high and low culture to explain the process of environmental commodification through language. Recreation discourse "is driven largely by concerns over money (the budget) and power (prestige)" and is governed by "administrative and legislative interests" that "prevail over public interests", even though "the public is the most important group" (More, 2002 p. 58). A "socially constructed and institutionally sanctioned prioritization of fiscal pressures ultimately serves to reproduce neo-liberal policies and deflate any resistance" (Stewart et al, 2008 p. 351). Many claims "come within an argumentative context and depend upon assumptions, suggesting there is at least one other perspective with something legitimate to be said for it" (More 2002b, p.106). Competing claims within the discourse are often managed in such a way that privileges one side as truth: "Typically it is the side on which our bread is buttered" (More 2002b, p.106). Being so

"deeply saturated in economic structures" raises the issue of instrumentality and shifts the burden of resistance onto the shoulders of those who deny the privileging of such economic authority to control the geographic, cultural, creative and natural realms of the world (Soliman, 2008, p. 17).

Appadurai (1996) offers five "scapes" to explain how mass media and communication interact within and between cultural discourses. Cultural diversity resists globalisation's movement towards homogeneity through: *ethnoscapes* (flows of people such as tourists/immigrants); *mediascapes* (mass media's images); *technoscapes* (technology that defies boundaries); *financescapes* (flows of currency) and *ideoscapes* (political and ideological images) (Appadurai, 1996, p. 199). Such scapes influence culture through "disjunctures" that help resist the forces of cultural standardisation (Appadurai, 1996, p. 199). The rhetoric of consumerism, the electronic revolution, and consolidated ownership of communication media, facilitates the spread of cultural globalisation discourses (Sklair, 2002). Cultural globalisation acts as "a specific set of values and beliefs that are largely shared around the planet" (Castells, 2009, p. 117). The control of information is the predominant mode of establishing power (Castells, 2009). Newer technologies promote global-local discourses, now often referred to as *glocal* (Robertson, 1992) which are, "primarily organised around networks, not single units. Because networks are multiple, power relationships are specific to each network but there is a fundamental form of exercising power that is common to all networks: exclusion from the network" (Castells, 2009, p. 50).

Mass media promotes globalisation and its discourses through the exchange of information and presentations of meaning. Information and its communication cannot be separated from the technology of communication or the cultural codes associated with it. Meaning can therefore only be understood "in the context of the social relationships in which meaning and information are processed" (Castells, 2009, p. 54). Globalisation represents "the intensification of worldwide social relations" that link distant localities in ways that shape local happenings (Giddens, 1990, p. 64). Modernity is at the heart of globalisation, which relies on erosion of time and space in the organisation of social exchange and interaction through "processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society" (Giddens, 1990, p. 64). The media is central to the processes of globalisation through its ability to: globalise operations; determine global communication infrastructures; and to establish a point of view and meaning for global events (Flew, 2007).

Mediated interactions enabled by technology that cross the constraints of time and space have a profound impact on contemporary methods of communication (Flew, 2007). By altering traditional command centres of globalised information management the processes of globalisation are transformed (Flew, 2007). The convergence and digitisation of media technologies accelerate globalisation and generate new opportunities and incentives for democratisation of the media (Hackett & Carroll, 2006, p. 96). Attached to the discourses of globalisation are texts addressing mass versus elite culture.

2.2.4 Mass versus Elite Culture

Tourism is commonly referred to as: a culture; a practice that impacts upon culture; as a culturally enriching activity; an activity that brings progress and economic development to a place; and, a developer of destinations. As tourism is directly connected to culture and a producer of it, a review of ways of framing and understanding culture is warranted. By reviewing selected literature on culture an enriched analysis of data is possible. Research on mass, elite, indigenous and high culture are the theoretical terrains that offer most to contribute to knowledge about tourism's cultural domain. Mass and niche tourism reflect ideologies surrounding discussions of mass and elite culture. As ecotourism is positioned as a particular form of tourism it is important to contextualise its production.

Williams (1958) suggests that culture is made through acts of production drawn from known or new meanings, observations and directions (Williams, 1958, p. 6). Discourse expresses two broad paradigms, "populism" and "elitism" that are in constant flux (MacDonald, 1978). Generally distinguished through binaries such as "mass" or "working class", "popular" or "high" culture, "avant-garde" or "elite" culture (MacDonald, 1978), the paradigms express different relations between creative acts, productive acts and consumption of cultural texts and products. Mass culture is a "diluted" and "commodified form of high culture", which is the "true source of cultural innovation" (MacDonald, 1978). Mass culture is a "corrosive force" that denies the value, creativity and autonomy of individuals through its processes of commodification (MacDonald, 1978). Williams (1961) maintains that mass culture possesses valuable aesthetic and moral qualities that are more relevant to human experience than elite contributions. Increased participation in culture by the masses is often culturally enriching (Williams, 1961). MacDonald's contrasting view is that cultural distinction between mass and avant-garde modes of production are necessary to assert quality judgements over quantity

effects. He refutes the value of quantity i.e. sales, as a measurement of the true value of cultural product and makes an argument for endurance instead. MacDonald views the true value of a cultural product to be determined by how its impact on culture is measured over time as an expression of innovation, while Williams views the adoption of cultural production in any given time period as an expression of relevance in the time in which it is produced. Williams and MacDonald agree that mass culture is produced in a corrupt and exploitative manner but they hold different positions about what role the masses play in this production.

Jameson's postmodern perspective offers an argument of effacement where "key boundaries or separations" result in the erosion of "old distinctions between high culture and so-called mass or popular culture" (Jameson 2001, p23). Jameson accuses academia of "preserving a realm of high or elite culture against the surrounding environment of philistinism, of schlock and kitsch, of TV series and Reader's Digest culture, and in transmitting difficult and complex skills of reading, listening and seeing to its initiates" (Jameson 2001, p23). Postmodernism's fascination with the "whole landscape of advertising and motels, of the Las Vegas strip, of the late show and Grade-B Hollywood film, of so-called paraliterature with its airport paperback categories of the gothic and the romance, the popular biography, the murder mystery and science fiction or fantasy novel" has resulted in a proliferation of texts that incorporate both high and mas culture "to the point where the lines between high art and commercial forms seems increasingly difficult to draw" (Jameson 2001, p23). Tourism and art are entangled in ways that create opportunities to discuss some aspects of tourism as creative product (Crouch & Lübbren, 2003). Avant-garde art and niche tourism reflect similar ways of constructing and describing certain processes. Both begin as processes of resistance to accepted practice yet create the process for their own inevitable rationalisation. Weber's investigations of rationalisation are useful for considering how "the paths of rationalization branching through civilizations … move in the same direction, that of a disenchanted understanding of the world purified of magical ideas" (Habermas, 1981a, p. 196). Although essentially a spiritual discussion, disenchantment and demythologisation are processes of rationalisation. Weber's discourse criticises rationalisation for its cognition bias where the production of knowledge is channelled through rationalisation, resulting in a compromise to "the knowledge of what is" that is "anchored in myth" being "superseded in favor of a disinterested orientation to general laws underlying the phenomena" (Habermas, 1981a, pp. 212-13). For Weber the "tragedy" of rationalisation is the loss of myth and magical thinking;

modes that promote individualised ways of knowing as opposed to the certified knowledge agendas of rationalised cultures (Habermas, 1981a, pp. 212-13). These understandings of the rationalisation of culture help explain how ecotourism moved from being a site of resistance to mass tourism and its damaging effects to a mainstream tourism endeavour with its own processes of rationalisation.

Weber characterises the "progressive differentiation of science and knowledge, morality and art" as a "specialised treatment of special domains *and* their detachment from the current of tradition, which continues to flow on in a quasi-natural fashion in the hermeneutic medium of everyday life" (Habermas, 1981a, p. 213). Detachment is the problem because it generates an "autonomous logic" that results in the differentiation of "value spheres" provoking "abortive attempts to 'sublate' the expert cultures which accompany it, a phenomenon most clearly revealed in the domain of art" (Habermas, 2001, p. 45). The avant-garde and modernism explicitly constitute aesthetics as a "project" (Habermas, 2001, p. 45). Habermas engages Kant to discuss what happens when aesthetics becomes a project of specialist taste, where beauty transitions from association with Renaissance art to market commodity. Kant labours "to define the distinctive characteristic of the aesthetic domain" turning to an "analysis of the judgement of taste, which is certainly directed towards something subjective, namely the free play of the imagination" (Habermas, 2001, p. 45). Taste and judgement cultivate imagination and determine beauty outside an aesthetic object's perceived value as a "property of things" (Habermas, 2001, p. 45).

As culture is the substrate for ecotourism it is difficult to isolate discussions about it. The cultural studies discipline contains a vast and rich field of research that cannot be fully represented here though its key discourses are integral to this research. Important for reviewing data and contributing to knowledge about how ecotourism connects with culture is juxtaposing and contextualising results in relation to the projects of aesthetics, mass culture, post-modernism, commodification/globalisation and colonialism/imperialism discourse that have been reviewed in this section.

2.3 ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSE

The purpose of this section is to summarise the multiple ways nature is conceived, constructed and represented in environmental discourse by reviewing literature on environmentalism, political ecology and nature. Environmental discourses and their

narratives are central to political uses of ecology and are at the heart of environmental conflicts where "struggles over meaning" are as central as "battles over material practices" (Bryant R., 1997, p. 87). Discourse theory influences the study of landscapes (Barnes & Duncan, 1992), culture (Foucault, 1980), environmental perceptions (Dryzek, 1997), issues (Honey, 1999), and narratives (Zerner, 1998). Environmental "language" discusses the environment as sets of "truths" born of "statements within socially produced discourses rather than objective 'facts' about reality" (Peet & Watts, 1993, p. 13). There is a lack of consensus about what constitutes environmental discourse as "each discourse rests on assumptions, judgements, and contentions that provide the basic terms for analysis, debates, agreements, and disagreements in the environmental area no less than elsewhere" (Dryzek, 1997, p. 8). Environmental discourses contain multiple and sometimes conflicting representations of nature and are associated with diverse political ecologies. These ecologies stem from practices and beliefs of a socio-political nature and affect people and their environments (Bryant, 1997).

2.3.1 Environmentalism

Environmentalism encompasses ideology, legislation, social change movements, marketing and promotion strategies, political and cultural rhetoric, spirituality and more. There is not a single "universal definition of environmentalism" though it is understood through "numerous discursive frames" that are "carried out in distinct communities, each focused on a particular aspect of environmental concerns" (Brulle, 2010, p. 385). In economic discourses environmentalism is positioned in direct opposition to developmentalism (Koshin, 2011). In the humanities environmentalism is considered through each discipline's discourse in a way that reflects its concerns. For example: social science texts are generally concerned with human-environment interactions and social movements (Moran, 2010); cultural studies with narratives and the production of rhetoric (Tippins, Mueller, Eijck, & Adams, 2010); politics with legislation, policy and issues that cross "virtually all political arenas" (Brulle, 2010, p. 385); literature with settings, nature stories, poetry and criticism and ecocriticism that explores representation and meaning of nature in texts (ASLE n.d.); and, religious studies with ecospiritual and cosmological texts (Berry, 1990). This section reviews some of the environmentalism texts in ecotourism, including conservation, politics, narratives and literature.

Engraved deeply in the word environmentalism is environmental preservation. Emerging from Europe in the early 1900s the roots of environmentalism and its discourses can be traced to legislative and social responses to the pollution of the Industrial Revolution. Britain's first environmental laws, the Alkali Acts, were passed in 1906 as a strategy to reduce air and water pollution produced from the manufacture of soda ash (UK Parliament, 1906). The American Congress passed its first federal legislation, the Air Pollution Control Act, in 1955. A Clean Air Act was introduced in 1963 to reduce air pollution by setting emissions standards for industrial facilities (American Meteorological Society, 1999). The Act was revised in 1990 to address "five main areas: air-quality standards, motor vehicle emissions and alternative fuels, toxic air pollutants, acid rain, and stratospheric ozone depletion" (American Meteorological Society, 1999). Australia did not develop federal legislation to protect the environment until the 1970s (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2011). The development and passage of legislation reflects a political response to the tensions between: private ownership of land; industrial, residential and commercial use of land; and the rights of individuals to access clean air, water and food. Environmentalism is however more than a legislative framework, it is also a discourse produced through a range of texts drawn from different disciplines (Brulle, 2010, p. 385). India's environmentalism is predominantly concerned with the human-environment relationship. In India environmentalism emerged from the exploitation of forests and water (Guha 1989).

Ramachandra Guha's research into the 1970s Chipko movement demonstrated an ideological link between the environment and poverty in Indian environmentalism (Guha, 1989). In April 1973 the Chipko or 'Hug the Trees' movement grew out of peasants from Mandal in the Garhwal Himalaya thwarting "commercial felling in a nearby forest by threatening to 'hug the trees'" (Guha, 1989, p. 104). There was "widespread resentment among the hill peasantry, directed at state forest policies which had consistently favoured outside commercial interests at the expense of their own subsistence needs for fuel, fodder and small timber" (Guha, 1989, p. 104). Emerging from this resistance to commercial forestry and the Indian Forest Department's policies, a "takeover of large areas of forest by the colonial state" resulted in "an enormous expansion of the powers of the state, and a corresponding diminution of the rights of village communities" (Guha cited in Gadgil & Guha 1992, p. 104). By curbing local access a change in traditional patterns of resource use resulted in "the emergence of timber as an important commodity" that fundamentally altered forest ecology (Guha cited in Gadgil &

Guha 1992, p. 104). In India, as in the West, environmentalism emerged as a reaction to exploitation of local environments for commercial reasons. In response to the global environmentalism of the late-eighties and early nineties, theoretical frameworks for reviewing environmentalism emerged in academia.

Environmentalism, like all social movements is "associated with social change and modernity" (Haferkamp & Smelser, 1992, p. 16) dependant on "highly committed and engaged activists" supported by others (Stern, Dietz, Abel, Guagnano, & Kalof, 1999, p. 81). Public support is important for the success of social movements as "in many cases it will suffice that those with power merely believe that there is a large constituency for a given course of action" (Friedman & McAdam, 1992, p. 168) making public support "one of the most important resources for the environmental movement; one that is critical in struggles to define social problems" (Stern, Dietz, Abel, Guagnano, & Kalof, 1999, p. 81). To Haferkamp and Smelser "the term 'movement' is so close conceptually to the notion of change that "social movements constitute modernity, or they at least make a very large contribution to its appearance" (Haferkamp & Smelser, 1992, p. 16). Modernity invokes movement, which Alaine Touraine suggests has "a tendency to reproduce itself through, perhaps ironically, the processes of new social movements" (Touraine, 1981). The category of "new" social movements implies a category of "old" social movements, which rely on traditions most commonly associated with former social structures, such as class, liberalism and workers' movements (Touraine, 1981). Haferkamp and Smelser interpret Touraine as suggesting a "less class-based" strategy in the evolution of new movements; as in the case of "the women's movement, various ethnic movements, the ecology movement, the peace movement, and the antistate movement" (Haferkamp & Smelser, 1992, p. 16). Common to rhetoric about environmentalism is the idea that it is a social movement; which has repercussions for the representation of nature within the disciplines.

Robert Brulle identifies eleven discursive frames through which American environmentalism is understood: wildlife management, conservation, preservation, reform environmentalism, human health, environmental health, deep ecology, environmental justice, "ecoFeminism", "ecoSpiritualism", green and animal rights (Brulle, 2010, p. 386). These compress into two broad categories, conservation and alternative discourses; encompassing two major distinctions in political and investment terms (Brulle, 2010). The largest numbers of organisations practicing environmentalism are found "in the long established discursive

frames of Reform Environmentalism, Preservation, and Conservation. Together, these three discursive frames represent 83% of the environmental movement" with the other discursive frames representing "5% or less of the total organizations" (Brulle, 2010, p. 388). Brulle argues that more attention should "be concentrated in these more conventional and long lived discursive frames" rather than on the newer discursive frames gaining attention in the academic literature and environmental movement (Brulle, 2010, p. 388).

Australian environmentalism grew out of the colonial movement of developmentalism, which peaked in the late 1960s (Koshin, 2011). A pivotal moment in Australian history and the subsequent emergence of environmentalism as a social movement, was national resistance to the development of Lake Pedder, in Tasmania (Koshin, 2011). The threatened drowning of Lake Pedder by a hydro-electric power scheme generated an unprecedented amount of national public concern "and led to the establishment of the first green political party in Australia" (Koshin, 2011, p. 1). Tensions between developmentalism and environmentalism have remained, though development remains the privileged discourse (Koshin, 2011, p. 1). Each ideological position conflicts with the other "negative portrayals of an outmoded, time-warped government-development paradigm contrast with portrayals of a positive enlightened conservation movement on the one hand, or of technologically advanced achievement for the greater good compared with naive, selfish conservationists on the other" (Koshin, 2011, p. 3). As a result of these positions an ongoing oppositional relationship exists between environmental and development rhetoric and ideology which influences the interpretation of data and the discussion sections of this thesis (Sections 4 and 5).

The discourse of wildlife management in environmentalism is concerned with how "wildlife should be managed to insure adequate supply to provide for the recreational use of humans in terms of hunting or fishing" (Brulle, 2010, p. 386). Implicit is a view of fish, wildlife, trees and wild flora as renewable resources which in turn "conjures up an image of temporal cycles, of periods of renewal and regrowth punctuated by episodes of exploitation" (Nadasdy, 2010, p. 75). Aldo Leopold (1931) claims wildlife management emerges from the agricultural rhetoric and practices of game and crop management that created a view of nature as a controllable, productive system influenced by "environmental factors which hold down the natural increase, or productivity, of the seed stock" (p. 3). By controlling inputs in response to natural cycles, nature and its animals are expected to yield resources of benefit to society through the agricultural metaphor.

> Wildlife biologists and government hunting regulations regularly substitute the verb harvest for the less metaphorical shoot or kill when talking about what hunters do to animals, and they refer to the overall number of animals within a species killed by hunters in a given territory each year as the annual harvest. Similarly, Yukon biologists studying Dall sheep populations are keenly interested in obtaining an estimate of the annual lamb crop, or the number of lambs born into a population in any given year. (Nadasdy, 2010, p. 76)

Euro-American wildlife management discourse consequently equates "the production of crops and domesticated animals" (Nadasdy, 2010, p. 76). Fish and wildlife populations are treated "as renewable in much the same way as, say, a wheat crop is renewable. This creates a view of animals as productive. Fish and wildlife "have natural life cycles; they are born, grow, reproduce, and die. Each cycle is similar to those that have gone before, although the individual organisms themselves are continually replaced" (Nadasdy, 2010, p. 76). Control is exercised on natural cycles "by 'harvesting' animals, killing predators, rearing fish in hatcheries, and so on" while leaving "sufficient 'seed' for the propagation of future generations" (Nadasdy, 2010, p. 76). Thus wildlife managers are vested with the expectation that they "ensure the continued renewal of wildlife populations" and in turn, human management is viewed as a critical part of the natural cycle (Nadasdy, 2010, p. 76). Humans do not "merely adapt to the 'natural' cycles of animal populations" their "control over other species is central to wildlife management" (Nadasdy, 2010, p. 77). This ideology equates management with conservation and preservation of natural systems in Western discourse.

Indigenous discourse configures the relationship between humans and animals differently. The Yukon First Nation people like many other hunting peoples "conceive of hunting as a reciprocal relationship between humans and animals. In this view, fish and animals are other-than-human persons who give themselves to hunters in exchange for the hunters' performance of certain ritual practices" (Nadasdy, 2010, p. 78). Hunting is seen in such societies not "as a violent process whereby hunters take the lives of animals by force, but rather as a long-term social relationship between animal-people and the humans who hunt them" (Nadasdy 2010, 78). Irving Hallowell (1960) refers to this discourse as "ethnometaphysics". Paul Nadasdy (2010) argues that indigenous and Western environmental management discourses share a similar anthropocentric view of wildlife as a renewable resource. It is through "the observation of certain ritual practices and the maintenance of

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proper social relations" that indigenous hunters consider themselves integral "to the renewal of animal populations" though "they do not generally subscribe to the view that humans control animals" (Nadasdy, 2010, p. 79). Western wildlife managers and indigenous hunters can agree that "humans play an important role in the maintenance of the temporal cycles in which they, along with animals, are enmeshed" (Nadasdy, 2010, p. 79). Further enmeshment is associated with the globalised nature of environmentalism.

Conservation/preservation discourse is affiliated with global biodiversity rhetoric and commonly managed through policy associated with international initiatives. The United Nations Secretariat of the Convention on Biodiversity, the International Union for Conservation of Nature, academics and community agents all influence local expressions of conservation discourse (Bouma & Ansink, 2011). Dave Huitema and Jetske Bouma (2011) configure biodiversity and conservation discourse along three lines which interact with each other: positive synergies, community co-management and network thinking (Huitema, Bouma, & Jetske, 2011, p. 2). The framework of "positive synergies" considers the protection of biodiversity and local livelihoods to be compatible: "Poor people actually benefit from biodiversity protection since they depend most on the ecosystem services that biodiversity provides" (Huitema, Bouma, & Jetske, 2011, p. 2). The assumption of the synergy discourse is "that conservation and livelihood improvement go hand in hand, thus suggesting that biodiversity conservation is a viable strategy for improving livelihoods" (Huitema, Bouma, & Jetske, 2011, p. 3).

An important part of ecotourism practice and discourse is community co-management which empowers local stakeholders or communities to "become involved in state or donor led conservation efforts, or manage natural resources themselves" resulting in highly valued local knowledge and cooperative communities that voluntarily attain conservation goals (Huitema, Bouma, & Jetske, 2011, p. 2). This discourse "assumes that community members voluntarily cooperate and share in natural resource management" (Huitema, Bouma, & Jetske, 2011, p. 3). Network thinking involves establishing biodiversity hotspots of a certain size that connect to other hotspots via corridors which facilitate genetic exchange (Huitema, Bouma, & Jetske, 2011, p. 2). Environmentalism is a rich discourse encompassing a number of theoretical frames in relation to environmental rhetoric, policies, management and ideologies. It is clear from the research presented in this section that politics and environmentalism are intertwined.

The next section reviews how the discourse of political ecology influences environmental representation in culture.

2.3.2 Political Ecology

Political ecology is a term used by Bryant and Dryzek to discuss ecology and politics and the ways in which different groups within society interpret and experience environmental change and conflict (Bryant , 1992; Dryzek, 1997). Bryant and Bailey (1997) view political ecology as a multidisciplinary field encompassing socio-political theory and neo-Marxism that Peet and Watts (1993) argue is expressed in a poststructuralist context embedded in discourse theory. Concerned with politics in human-environment relations, political ecology views the environment and environmental change as an inherently political activity involving negotiations of power in "three critical areas of inquiry: the contextual sources of environmental change; conflict over access; and the political ramifications of environmental change" (Bryant, 1992, p. 13). In a model that identifies five approaches to political ecology Bryant and Bailey advocate environmental issues, regional political ecologies, socio-economic factors, institutions or "actors" and issues or "concepts" as interrelated ways of considering environmental problems and the way they reflect social, economic and political factors (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). Political ecology discourse involves two important concepts about ways in which knowledge maps power and the environment in inter-related and complex ways. One way is to acknoweldge the role of social construction in establishing an ecological "real" and the other to see it as a representation of knowledge, truth and power determined through discourse. The material, rhetorical and political cannot therefore be separated (Brown, 2000).

Neil Smith critiques environmentalist discourse as a new absurdity, a way of compressing the environment into political and economic discourse. It is possible, argues Smith, to view the proliferation of environmental movements since the 1970's as an expression of an historical conjuncture that prioritises "the substance of space-time over its abstraction" as a result of political insistence (Smith, 2004, p. 27). Smith draws on the work of Katz (1998) to describe how, by the late 1980's, Western environmental politics had co-opted environmentalism into an establishment politics "to the extent that even George Bush Sr. could, however ludicrously, call himself the 'environmental president'" (Smith, 2004, p. 27). But this, says Smith, "is precisely the point: environmental politics were too powerful to be ignored or

deflected but had to be embraced. Sustainability used to be a radical environmental demand pertaining to the physical and biological conditions of social and environmental reproduction, whereas today it pertains first and foremost to a question of profit rates" (Smith, 2004, p.27).

Bryant, a pioneer in discursive political ecologies, suggests that "knowledge and power may inter-relate so as to mediate political-ecological outcomes" (Bryant, 1997). The involvement of power relations in discourse is noted as an inseparable component of it and is assumed to be present even if not foregrounded in the discussion. Two prominent environmental discourses focus on four environmental issues: deforestation, desertification, climate change, and loss of biodiversity (Adger, Benjaminsen, Brown, & Svarstad, 2001). The global management texts of environmentalism consider poverty, overpopulation and local people to be responsible for environmental degradation (Adger, Benjaminsen, Brown, & Svarstad, 2001). The managerial view holds that solving environmental problems requires international environmental agreements and regulations, market-based incentives, financial compensation, and technology and knowledge transfers (Adger, Benjaminsen, Brown, & Svarstad, 2001). The other prominent position is 'populist', targeting imbalances in power stemming from post colonialism, globalisation and capitalism as the main causes of environmental problems (Adger, Benjaminsen, Brown, & Svarstad, 2001). In this view, social justice, through the protection of local rights and empowerment of local people, is seen as a rhetoric for securing solutions to environmental problems (Adger, Benjaminsen, Brown, & Svarstad, 2001). Environmental problems have global sources generating the rhetoric of 'think globally act locally'. This eighties rhetoric has become synonymous with the politicised polarities of "global" and "local" (often referred to as 'glocal' in tourism rhetoric), positions intrinisc to constructions of ecotourism.

The late 1990s generated significant interest in the eco-political content of ecotourism discourse. Stonich (1998) and Belsky (1999) adopted a political ecology mode of inquiry for their research into community conservation initiatives. Belsky's case study of community based conservation efforts revealed that development initiatives employed as a means to achieve conservation objectives, resulted in disappointing long term outcomes. Two years after the program's commencement ecotourism was only able to provide a primary or secondary income for 28% of the 77 permanent households in the study region (Belsky, 1999). 72% of household income came from hunting and selling bush meat, participating in indentured labour, recieving payments from overseas, or selling fish and agricultural products

(Belsky, 1999). In addition she found that ecotourism income was concentrated in the more affuent households where capital was available to buy resources and fund infrastructure to meet the needs of tourists (Belsky, 1999). Five years after the initiative Belsky found that ecotourism was contributing to social conflict and economic hardship in the community, as conflict between ecotourism's benfeciaries, those who supported wildlife conservation and those whose livelihood depended on fishing and hunting emerged. This represents one example of the impact of political ecologies on environmental discourses and practices.

Dryzek (1997) offers a taxonomy to help navigate key environmental discourses in ways that resist industrialism "the long-dominant discourse of industrial society" and its obsession with unlimited growth in goods and services that form part of the "good life" narrative (Dryzek, 1997, p. 12). Dryzek's taxonomy includes two dimensions of discourse: one suggesting a need to move away from the conditions of industrialism and the other a need for "prosaic" or "imaginative" alternatives. The prosaic dimension is ideological and reformist in nature, deviating from the terms of industrialism's dominant discourse. Prosaic alternatives take the "political-economic chessboard set by industrial society as pretty much given" while imaginative alternatives "seek to redefine the chessboard" (Dryzek, 1997, p. 13). Eight discourses, in addition to that of industrialism, are defined by four categories: Environmental Problem Solving, Survivalism, Sustainability and Green Radicalism. Within his taxonomy Dryzek describes discourse analysis as a means to understand "shared ways of apprehending the world" (Dryzek, 1997, p. 8). He argues that discourse represents stories presented through four structural possibilities: entities, assumptions and their natural relationships; agents and their motives; and key metaphors and other rhetorical devices. The point of Dryzek's taxonomical strategy is to discuss the effects of each of the discourses on environmental policy making through framing debates, limiting options to a reasonable number, and informing environmental management structures and policy-making processes.

Environmental problem solving discourse represents a reformist and prosaic category where the environment's ecological issues are regarded as containable. This establishes ecological issues as serious enough to require attention but not serious enough to require fundamental changes to the way society operates (Dryzek, 1997). Such discourses are "prosaic" because the "economic-political status quo of industrialism" is accepted as a given by culture (Dryzek, 1997, p. 61). This category sustains an ideology that environmental issues are manageable within industrial societies (Dryzek, 1997, p. 61). Solutions to ecological

problems can then be addressed "through public policy and sublimation to government and industry 'experts' and 'managers'" (Dryzek, 1997, p. 78). Decision making takes place in a hierarchical manner from the top down. The three discourses within this category are "administrative rationalism", "democratic pragmatism", and "economic rationalism". Distinctions between the three discourses rely on the position of control over environmental policies by "experts", "the people", or "the market" (Dryzek, 1997, p. 78).

Survivalism contends Dryzek, is a radical and prosaic category of environmental discourse that involves a fixed, social hierarchy which configures populations as objects to be managed by scientists and political experts. "Survivalism" proposes that there are limits to resources that must be managed across space, time and populations (Dryzek, 1997, p 34). Survivalism attends to limits and carrying capacities and offers a "radical" alternative to the problem solving category because it challenges the notion of perpetual economic growth. Dryzek considers it prosaic because it attempts to solve environmental problems in industrial societies through administrative control and science-based decision-making processes. An emphasis on socio-economic characteristics, such as gender, class and race and the effects of environmental degradation, access to resources and autonomy amongst differing social groups, are central topics in Dryzek's survivalism and Bryant's regionalism. A feminist model of political ecology is needed where gender is viewed "as a critical variable in shaping resource access and control" and "environmental knowledge, rights, responsibilities and politics are gendered" (Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, & Wangari, 1996, p. 4).

Sustainability, a key policy area in political ecology discourse, runs through a "moral concept" which implies that "people living in the future should have the opportunity to experience the same well-being from, and the use of, natural environment as the present generation" (Jacobs, 1990, p. 9). Sustainability contends that social improvement, individual and economic growth, environmental conservation and social justice must be balanced between the needs of industrialised nations and those of developing nations to address poverty and resource management into future generations. Economic growth is viewed as a positive force that can be guided in ways that are "environmentally benign and socially just" (Dryzek, 1997, p. 129). Differences in understanding local and global rights to resources underlie the politics of sustainability. Two types of discourse occupy the category of sustainability: sustainable development and ecological modernisation. Imaginative methods are required to "dissolve the conflicts between environmental and economic values that

energize the discourses of problem solving and limits", while not including notions of limits (Dryzek, 1997, p. 129).

There is "no inbuilt radicalism to the discourse" of sustainability because it lacks "the imagery of apocalypse that defines the limits discourse" (Dryzek, 1997, p. 14). Dryzek's fourth category of discourse, Green Radicalism is considered imaginative and radical for its resistance to the dominant economically motivated discourses. Green Radicalism rejects current environmental ideologies contained in the dominant discourse (Dryzek 1997, p. 15) to create a "green romanticism" and "green rationalism" that "imagine radically different understandings of the environment, human-environment interactions, and human society. Discourses within this category include diverse ecologically-oriented political and social movements such as social ecology, deep ecology, bioregionalism, ecofeminism, and environmental justice. Environmentalism in India reflects the same anti-development status as it does in the West and as "private capital gained new freedoms, the state resorted to harsher methods to crush public resistance", widening the gap between rich and poor (Rawat, 2005, p. 3). A progressive deterioration in the natural environment reflected an "intensification rather than a replacement of the old order" as the state concerned itself with ecological issues, practices and policies in a Western manner (Rawat, 2005, p. 3). Western discourse continued to "pervade the environmental discourse" of India at the highest levels through "protectionist conservationism" (Sunita Narain cited in Rawat, 2005, p. 5) which "saw a new lease on life" granted to the "technocratic" management of forests as a result of "growing global concern over the environment" (Narain cited in Rawat, 2005, p. 5). This resulted in the government maintaining and extending its "control over resources" rather than it returning resources "to the local communities from which they were usurped in the colonial era" (Rawat, 2005, p. 5). The literature reviewed in this section confirms that ecotourism contains discourses that exert a mutual influence on each other in the political and economic constructions of the environment and ecology. The next section explores how nature becomes Nature through an extension of these views on discourse.

2.3.3 The Nature of Nature

"poetry like myth provides a link between nature and culture, highlighting in each the

violence of power and change" (Holdridge, 2009, p. 163)

The previous section of this chapter considered some of the political and critical approaches to the environment represented in ecotourism discourse. This section reviews some of the key approaches to constructing nature's identity through language. Nature is a contoversial, emblematic, material, cultural, semitoic, imaginative and political space. Williams (1977, 1980, 1989) is one of many critics to discuss nature as a representation and material space. To speak of humans intervening in natural processes argues Williams, is to presuppose that it is possible for them "not to do so, or to decide not to do so. Nature has to be thought of, that is to say, as separate from man, before any question of intervention or command, and the method or ethics of either, can arise" (Williams, 1973, p. 154). Defining and interpreting nature polarises debates about what it is. A "constructivist" position argues that nature is a contested space bound to social, biophysical, cultural, historical and geographical contexts (e.g. Cronon, 1995; Escobar, 1999; MacNaghten & Urry, 1998). An ecocritical view argues that nature has a material realm that if denied agency in favour of a purely cultural, narrative or language representation, undermines a conservation ethic (Eden, 2001). Bryant (1998) argues that environmental problems emerge through political interpretations of processes affecting the environment. Batterbury, Forsyth and Thomson (1997) argue that culturally derived constructions of nature do not exclude biophysical realities where environmental processes may be "external to human experience, but environmental *problems* are perceived differently and at varying rates by different communities" (Batterbury, Forsyth, & Thomson, 1997, p. 128). Such a variety of views about nature helps establish an argument about its value as a scene of discourse.

Natural science disciplines are integral to constructions of the environment and how it is perceived, understood and framed in tourism discourse. Central to discourse emerging from the natural sciences are empiricist and quantitative modes that propagate idealised visions of scientific truth (Hall, n.d., p. 10). Demeritt calls for a more "reflexive understanding of science as a situated and ongoing social practice" (Demeritt, 2001, p. 309) which echoes calls for tourism to be freed from its "managerialist frame" (Hollinshead 1999). Others such as Szersynski (2005) view nature as an increasingly de-secularised space as a result of advances in scientific knowledge about its processes and human impacts. In addition to discourse, Hall argues that ontology has an important role to play in integrating different types of knowledge and environmental thinking within tourism as it facilitates greater transparency and respect of the value of different knowledge (including lay knowledge) and methods as well as

appreciation of the advantages and disadvantages of different ontological positions" (Hall, n.d., p. 11).

Reductionist scientific discourse constructs ecosystems as communities or biospheres that function as interrelated parts composing a whole. It is a systems theory driven enterprise that assumes research into a part of something can provide knowledge about the whole; resulting in certain sorts of assumptions about conservation and management practices. More importantly, because scientific research is generally conducted at the level of single systems or principles with an experimental and evidence based approach to research, it is unable to discuss parts of a system it has not researched. As a result such approaches to inquiry privilege human understanding of natural systems over nature's autonomy as a system capable of operating outside human knowledge of its operations. In other words, humans describe a system through scientific investigation of its parts, while nature exists with or without such scientific inquiry. A systems view contrasts with the proposition of "holists" (Hall n.d, 6) who assert that "some entities have emergent properties that are not properties of the parts but of the whole instead and therefore knowledge only of the parts does not constitute an understanding of the whole" (Blitz 1992 cited in Hall n.d. pg. 6). A systems view of nature constructs ontological, epistemological and discursive relationships between humans, non-humans, the environment and ways of relating them to each other, through ethical frameworks (Hall n.d. pg. 7).

Melody Hessing (2009) describes nature as "a destination resort with all the trappings, stuff to keep you busy for weeks at a time, depending on which package you book" (Hessing, 2009, p. 68). In nature's "resort" the "otherness of the natural world" is presented as a physical challenge offered as a scene of "boulders to climb, icefields to traverse, rivers to ford – as something beyond our everyday lives" (Hessing, 2009, p. 68). The adventure ideology in recreation's wilderness discourse bestows prestige onto early visitors to remote areas and results in a pre-occupation with concerns about the number of visitors to such areas (Hammitt & Patterson, 1991; West, 1981). The natural world exists for human consumption where extreme sports and eco-challenges "set in tough terrain, transform nature to an outdoor gym, a prop for the glorification or abuse of the human form" (Hessing, 2009, p. 68). Urry equates an interest in exploring nature as a class based activity influenced by educational, cultural and financial capital that encourages a consuming attitude towards it (Urry, 1995).

Nature cannot ever be adequately arrived at says Moheb Soliman "because nature cannot be authenticated on its own terms" (Soliman, 2008, pp. 1-2).

Nature as a spiritual commodity is another way in which it is constructed and consumed in ecotourism discourse. "Green Religion" is an environmental "supernatural" that is constructed via nature through spiritual discourse. Supernatural animism, natural animism, Gaian supernaturalism and Gaian naturalism are common expressions of animism and naturalism (Taylor, 2010). Transcendentalism and the paradisiacal are interrelated in positioning nature as a spiritual site and resource acting as an antidote to urbanisation (Bate, 2000). Timothy Forsyth (1996) considers myths to be crucial as "cultural devices which capture, in elegant and simple form, some essence of experience and wisdom" (p. 376). The supernatural became associated with the doctrine of the sublime in the eighteenth century through the theories of Edmund Burke, Immanuel Kant, William Gilpin and others who construct sublime landscapes as "rare places on earth where one had more chance than elsewhere to glimpse the face of God" (Cronon, 1995). The sublime is "extensively theorised" (Cronon, 1995) as an expression of spiritual, romantic and literary texts (Monk, 1935; Willey, 1949; Weiskel, 1976; Novak, 1980; Bell & Lyall, 2002).

Graeme Davison (1997) identifies four anti-urbanism tropes within spiritual renderings of nature: evangelicalism, sanitarianism, romanticism and the opening of land through suburbanisation. Biblical imagery positions nature as "Eden" and as "benevolent creator" (Davison G., 1997, p. 12). Spacious and open landscapes are commonly written as idealised romantic idylls "bathed in strong but soft light" with "gently rolling hills" that invoke "the romanticist's performance of nature as flowing scenery for the detached viewer alienated by the satanic excesses of technology" (Davison G., 1997, p. 12). The "Promised Land" is a motif through which "nature performs the roles of nurturing human community and protecting it from the rabble of the city" (Davison A., 2005). Indigenous spirituality establishes a Romantic vision through detailing intimacy within a sacred framework. This framework promotes an holistic notion "of the interconnectedness of the elements of the earth and the universe, animate and inanimate, whereby people, the plants and animals, landforms and celestial bodies are interrelated" (Grieves, 2008, p. 364). Henry Thoreau, Raymond Williams and Barry Lopez are representative of authors writing about the spiritual in nature.

Wilderness is the dominant mode for representing authentic nature in developed nations (Cronon, 1995; Hutton & Connors, 1999; Plumwood, 1993). As wilderness, nature has a

turbulent representation that is in need of rethinking (Cronon, 1995). Echoing the conflict between the discourse/material divide, Cronon argues that "wilderness is not quite what it seems" because it is enmeshed in human culture (Cronon, 1995, p. 70). Rather than standing apart from humanity nature is a "human creation" not "a pristine sanctuary where the last remnant of an untouched, endangered, but still transcendent nature can for at least a little while longer be encountered without the contaminating taint of civilization" (Cronon, 1995, p. 70). Wilderness, argues Cronon, "hides its unnaturalness behind a mask that is all the more beguiling because it seems so natural" (Cronon, 1995, p. 70). This results in us "mistaking ourselves when we suppose that wilderness can be the solution to our culture's problematic relationships with the nonhuman world, for wilderness is itself no small part of the problem" (Cronon, 1995, p. 71). Wilderness represents a "dangerous land ethic" with the "power to diminish the value of other places" associated with "everyday life" (Cronon, 1995, p. 85).

Eileen Crist argues against such a "postmodern constructivist perspective on nature" which "holds that cultural, economic, political, linguistic, scientific, and other practices mold the meanings of nature and wilderness" (Crist, 2004, p. 4). Constructivism "considers it to be axiomatic that the intrinsic meaning of natural phenomena is unavailable and that human semiotic and material work bestows meaning to them" since "interpretive and practical work is quintessentially social" (Crist, 2004, p. 5). Constructivists hold that the "character of beliefs, including true beliefs, about nature can be accounted for by sociocultural factors—be they economic conditions, political circumstances, paradigms, interests, networks, discursive practices, and the like" (Crist, 2004, p. 5). Beliefs are not "immutable or universal, but relative to the locations and time of their production" (Crist, 2004, p. 5). This results in "no single 'nature,' only natures" which are not inherent in the physical world but discursively constructed through economic, political and cultural processes (MacNaghten & Urry cited in Crist 2004, pp. 5-6). Crist opposes constructivism on ethical grounds as it "functions as ideology" and is, as conservation biologist Michael Soulé argued, "as dangerous to the goals of conservation, preservation, and restoration of natural systems as bulldozers and chainsaws" (Crist, 2004, p. 7). Such a theoretical strategy renders the natural world "intrinsically meaningless, ontologically indeterminate, epistemologically unavailable, and aesthetically indistinct" (Crist, 2004, p. 8). Nature is silenced and "narrated, theorized, inventoried, and comprehended—birthed into signified existence— by human activity. Prior

to this representational animation, the natural world is epistemically, aesthetically, ethically, and in all ways without intrinsic or participatory voice" (Crist, 2004, p. 8).

John Dryzek adopts a taxonomical approach to the ideological polarities in environmental discourses. Each discourse, he says "rests on assumptions, judgements, and contentions that provide the basic terms for analysis, debates, agreements, and disagreements in the environmental area no less than elsewhere" (Dryzek, 1997, p. 8). "Sustainability" as a strategy in discourse attempts to minimise conflicts between environmental and economic values while "Green Radicalism" rejects industrial society and its exploitation of the environment (Dryzek, 1997). Margaret Fitzsimmons notes how agriculture, leisure, and animal-human relations are influenced by discourse in ways that feminise and reify the gaze applied to wilderness (Fitzsimmons, 2004). Nature is represented as a lack that contributes to "imperialistic attitudes" towards it and the indigenous people who are co-located with it (Fitzsimmons, 2004, p. 32). Ecology frames a view of natural systems as "interactions of creatures" with "each other and their world" (Fitzsimmons, 2004, p. 32). Charles Zerner adopts a trans-disciplinary approach to environmental issues that deploys narrative, legal and ecological analysis (Zerner, 1998). These perspectives contribute to "the nature of nature, the nature of rights and contested claims to the environment, and the intersection of these concerns with politics and culture" (Zerner, 1998, p. 129).

Wilderness as "pristine land" is another mode of representing nature in ecotourism texts. Nash (2001), Oelschlager (1991) and Runte (1997) write of wilderness as a North American construction drawn from political, academic, business and social service discourses. There is "nary a profession or academic discipline that has not played a role in the crowning of pristine land as being America's most sacred myth of origin" (Stewart et al, 2008 p. 351). Cronon (1995) and Gottlieb (1993) explore narrative views of landscape as social and political constructions of them. Distant wilderness rhetoric prevents us from idealising "the environment in which we actually live, the landscape that for better or worse we call home" where most "of our serious environmental problems start" (Cronon, 1995, p. 85). Cronon advocates a need for "an environmental ethic that will tell us as much about using nature as about not using it" (Cronon, 1995, p. 85). There are "practical if urgent debates on how to regulate, preserve, and 'maximize' natural space" (Soliman, 2008, p. 39). Phil McNaughten and John Urry (1998) see nature as fulfilling three pervasive and converging paradigms: "environmental realism; idealism; and instrumentalism" (Soliman, 2008, p. 39). These

paradigms constitute "a view of nature without embedded social practices" that result in it being represented "as an objectively researchable environment; as a sentient or coherent "Gaia"; and as a resource inefficiently appreciated" (Soliman, 2008, p. 39). Such frames for reading nature result in social scientists and scientists not "identifying current 'environmental knowledges' as setting the parameters for social action" resulting in a situation where "instrumentalist social science disciplines such as economics and geography have been particularly significant in forming and addressing an environmental agenda" (Soliman, 2008, p. 39). As a result of such instrumentalism, a dichotomy between the social and the natural has emerged that is "regarded as largely uncontentious" (Fitzsimmons, 2004, p. 5).

Adding to the complexity of nature's identity is the range of narratives contained within it and deployed through it. Emery Roe (1995) argues that narratives originating from discourse can be compared with stories though they are used to fulfil different functions. Environmental narratives are used to construct environmental stories through archetypes such as heroes, villains or victims in scenarios of impacts (Adger et al., 2001). Narratives are embedded in action and are promoted by Roe as being resilient to challenge. Following this lead, Roth notes "the truth of a narrative is not necessarily determinable from the truth of its parts" (Roth, 1989, p. 456). In the cultural and social constructions of nature which underpin discourse, stories play a pivotal role in "making, breaking, and disputing environmental claims; and how unequal power relations and positions are linked to legitimization and enforcement of claims and control" (Zerner, 1998, p. 129). Stories are at the heart of "a variety of environmental claims, positions, and controversies" says Zemra though there is "no uni-directional flow from stories, to claims, then to control. Particular positions may be grounded in stories that, in turn, become the basis of legal claims. Stories are imbricated in all claims and struggles over rights" (Zerner, 1998, p. 129).

Environmental narratives may reflect a social reform ideology where environmentalism is promoted as serving a local "sustainability" discourse based on profit that "rarely delivers returns in a fair and equitable manner" (Campbell, 2002). Lisa Campbell (2002) regards traditional "protection" narratives as problematic because though they may address ecological concerns, they can be co-opted by businesses wishing to profit from natural areas. For example tourism providers may argue for unrestricted access to neighbouring national parks to offer tourists unique experiences through a frame of local benefits. Campbell also raises the issue of biopiracy as an example of how sustainability narratives are co-opted by

"bioprospecting" to generate profits for the pharmaceutical industry (Campbell, 2002 p. 44) in Costa Rica. Powerful local, national and international interests support what she calls the "environmentalism for profit" rhetoric (Campbell, 2002 p. 44). Different motivations emerge from political interests manipulating conservation discourse to serve different agendas, even though the essential content of the discourse is the same (Campbell, 2002). Three common themes are present in ecotourism's conservation narrative: nature, profit and people (Neumann, 1998; Fairhead and Leach 1998). These themes generate specific and sometimes conflicting environmental policies which can be deployed to serve politically motivated agendas (Fairhead & Leach, 1998).

The literature in this section reveals the breadth of discourses and disciplines associated with constructing nature through political, environmental, literary, social, cultural, economic and tourism disciplines. Within each of these disciplines discourse frames nature as an environmental system, a space for business or recreation, a human resource, a spiritual landscape, a narrative, an aesthetic object or a wilderness of ambiguous value. The literature demonstrates an ambiguity in the representative function of nature in the discourse.

2.4 SUMMARY

This Literature Review considered connections between the often nebulous and extensive discourses associated with ecotourism. The following questions lead the review: what is ecotourism; who is defining it; how is it being promoted; what are its environmental relationships; how is it written; what are its stories; and, how is it constructed through discourse? By answering these questions I contribute to knowledge about ecotourism as a cultural and literary discourse as well as a tourism product. It has been necessary to confine the review to texts concerned with those aspects of ecotourism discourse that influence how it is constructed at a cultural, economic, environmental, marketing and literary level, in order to consider the results of my data. As ecotourism is as much a cultural and literary activity as it is a business, and, as it has been extensively critiqued through sociological, anthropological and business disciplines in the past, I have focussed on a multidisciplinary review of the main themes as a way of contributing to the literature.

This review shows how in culture, nature performs a number of scripts associated with aesthetics, experiences, meanings, politics and imaginaries. It also reveals how historical practices such as the Grand Tour connect with cultural discourses such as eco-politics, the

enlightenment, colonialism, postmodernism and literature in ways that alter the way travel is perceived, conceived and promoted. As many authors have demonstrated, the global nature of ecotourism discourse results in colonialized destinations such as India and Australia, expressing themes and narratives associated with colonialism, globalisation and travel, in similar ways. By reviewing literature from different disciplines I have shown how ecotourism is produced by, and produces culture, in ways that influence how the industry is able to construct and promote its marketing material. The literature confirms that ecotourism is a scene conflicted by its construction through multiple disciplines and discourses. I have revealed that the ambiguity surrounding ecotourism is not a politically or ideological neutral problem. Ecotourism creates an opportunity for environmental exploitation through commodification enacted through themed policies such as sustainability, environmentalism and economics in ways designed to appeal to certain socio-politically invested agendas. By drawing on this information I am able to test the ways in which the ideologies, cultural and literary constructions of ecotourism destinations intersect with the conservation, industry, socio-political and policy agendas implicit in its texts. In Sections four and five a detailed analysis of data is undertaken in consideration of the findings of this literature review.

Sections four and five detail how ecotourism's literary, environmental, economic and cultural themes are written, reported and valued by tourists and the industry. I investigate how tourists and destination managers engage with ecotourism as a business, literary, tourism and cultural activity. The data from the ensuing section and the literature review, work together to enrich knowledge about the nature of ecotourism and how its story, business and rhetoric is constructed to appeal to tourists who are in turn assumed to hold certain sets of ideologies. In the following section I explain the method used to test and evaluate findings from the literature review and the gaps in knowledge about ecotourism it revealed.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this section an overview of the research design to address the core questions of my thesis is presented. To recap, the two central questions of my research are: "How is ecotourism represented in the marketing and consumption of tourism experience?"; and "How is nature represented within ecotourism literature?" Answering these questions involves exploring the literature and undertaking an original study to investigate nature's role in ecotourism. This section summarises the methods used to recruit information to determine the way ecotourism operates as a multi-dimensional discourse and practice. Since the field of inquiry is vast I focus on nature; its construction, consumption and representation in and through the discourse. This thesis adopts several different modes of investigation to fuel its inquiry into how language, ecotourism and nature relate to each other and the consequences of such relationships. Firstly, the Literature Review is considered a part of the method. The Literature Review establishes known understandings about ecotourism through key discourses. It is considered the background for the discussion on discourses in Section 5. Case studies were also undertaken as part of the research to complete a deep critical analysis of texts written by ecotourism providers and consumers, The case studies in Section 4 offer new knowledge and ways of interpreting tourism texts, values, experiences and themes. New data was gathered on: internet values and exchanges of "keywords" associated with ecotourism; tourism experiences of ecotourism product; ways in which ecotourism providers "write themselves"; and, the marketing and branding of India and Australia. A comprehensive understanding of the Internet's construction of language for marketing and promotion through the device of keywords in ecotourism had not been previously undertaken. In Section 5 a discussion of discourses was conducted that considered all of the results from the literature review and the case study results in Section 4. As a result of the complex nature of the investigation, the discussion in all sections is recursive in nature and drawing from multiple sets of data. A blend of empirical and qualitative information requires an ongoing re-visiting of concepts, meaning and data.

Ecotourism is a site of contested values, ideologies and interpretation and as a word it is vulnerable to marketing constructions that are incompatible with its stated values. As is revealed in the literature review, the word ecotourism was developed to grapple with the tensions involved in the tourism-nature-culture paradigm. What follows is a description of the

strategies used to investigate the marketing of ecotourism online, including keyword searching, case study analysis of two providers and consumer reviews on Trip Advisor. After reviewing the literature on ecotourism a methodology was developed to test whether the construction of ecotourism in the market reflected its construction in ecotourism discourse. This was done to determine connections between nature's constructions in tourism rhetoric and its role in discourse as a scene of representation in which multiple disciplines are invested.

This research provides original data from three comprehensive case study investigations of key sites of content generation in ecotourism discourse. The first case study explores the prevalence and context of the keyword 'ecotourism' in online texts. The second is an analysis of themes associated with ecotourism in the extensive marketing copy of two ecotourism providers. These two providers, O'Reilly's Rainforest Retreat (O'Reilly's) and CGH Earth (CGH) are representative of best practice in the ecotourism industries of Australia and India respectively. The two businesses were selected for study on the basis of their award winning credentials/status regarding their ecotourism destinations and their autonomy as family owned and operated service providers. Such autonomy enables a responsive and self-directed decision making protocol that distinguishes them from chain-based hotels with corporate headquarters detached from local destinations. The first hotels of each of the organisations were opened within the last 100 years. In the case of CGH the first hotel opened in 1957 in Cochin, Kerala, while O'Reilly's opened in 1926; though the family was hosting guests in their own home as early as 1917.

CGH won 74 tourism awards between 1993-2010 (CGH Earth, 2011). Of these 19 were specifically for environmental and ecotourism initiatives. In 2009 its property Spice Village received the Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA) 'award for environment', making it "the first resort in India to receive this honour" (CGH Earth, 2011). O'Reilly's is a Gold Coast Hinterland based ecotourism provider with a property bordering Lamington National Park, a World Heritage listed rainforest. O'Reilly's Rainforest Retreat was granted Advanced Accreditation under the internationally acclaimed Nature and Ecotourism Accreditation Program (NEAP) administered by Ecotourism Australia (O'Reilly's, 2013). In 2011 O'Reilly's achieved Earth Check Certification designed to "help the travel and tourism industry increase efficiencies, maximise guest experience and minimise environmental footprints" (EarthCheck Certified). The certificate "recognises the operation's commitment to operating at the world's

highest environmental standard" (O'Reilly's, 2013). O'Reilly's also owns and operates a vineyard at Canungra and adopts a similar family business ethos, a similar narrative strategy of 'our story' and a similar emphasis on sustainability to CGH. I stayed at properties run by both families, which helps interpret data. The third case study analyses consumer reviews of O'Reilly's and CGH to evaluate the extent to which consumers discussed or engaged with the themes promoted in their ecotourism marketing and promotion materials. In developing the research methodology and interpreting its results I considered Robert Yin's (1994) four principles of case study research: that analysis draws from all relevant evidence; that alternative interpretations are offered in the analysis; that the analysis stay focussed on the most significant aspects of the case study, and, that my own professional knowledge and experience fuel the analysis. Case studies were adopted as a research strategy to collect and present information about destination promotional literature and the informal accounts of tourists who visited them.

The research design is exploratory and descriptive rather than strictly empirical – in keeping with the humanities method of literature review and case study design. Inductive and deductive approaches are adopted to provide new data and knowledge about the content of industry driven ecotourism texts. Observation and data are employed to investigate the relationship between discourse and tourism. In the literature review I summarised theory through which ecotourism is understood as an expression of discourse representing nature in particular ways that serve tourism industry rhetoric. In this section I explain how my research was managed; from literature review to research design and data collection. The Results section that follows explains the discoveries made as a result of this investigation. Early reading of the case study material revealed that one of the key rhetorical protocols associated with constructing and reporting on ecotourism was creative writing. This provides a rationale for adopting literary criticism as a method for reviewing tourism promotional copy. A close reading of such copy is based on the coding and analysis of 1,516 text fragments recruited from an extensive corpus of ecotourism promotional copy.

3.2 Methodology and Defining Data

The word 'data' is used in the following sections for coded fragments, keywords, narrative threads and descriptions that address the representational, creative and semiotic qualities of ecotourism texts. Information was gathered to provide a lexical topography for reading

promotional language. Coding the data facilitated a deep reading of the copy and a systematic categorisation of keywords and their contexts. This resulted in a significant dataset that was organised to provide insight into the strategies used in ecotourism promotion and marketing language. Case studies made it possible to evaluate creative writing strategies or scripts used by industry to construct ecotourism and to read these 'scripts' through the lens of 'the tourist'; an interpellated subject embedded in and expressing multiple discourses. As it is not possible to address all tourism discourse in this project, my focus is on language and how it constructs ecotourism which in turn represents nature in particular ways in its promotional texts.

A potential for personal bias is noted in the literature on case study research projects (see Stake, 1995 and Yin, 1994). An attempt to counteract this bias was made through the use of multiple sources of information and the use of multiple tools to recruit data, one of which, Leximancer, contains automated processes that have been established as capable of yielding consistently reproducible data. Objective accounts of data through statistical analysis is not the point of this research as I am focused on the representations of nature in ecotourism through a range of literary, discourse and marketing strategies. This is a qualitative research project with quantitative elements and its focus is on understanding the conceptual, cultural and philosophical implications of the data, rather than extracting a statistically driven story from it. However, in spite of the ideologically rich terrain, an objective or neutral review of the data was made wherever relevant and possible.

3.3 Recruiting Data

To investigate how ecotourism is represented in the marketing and consumption of tourism experience I recruited data on how ecotourism functioned as a keyword in Internet search behaviours, its value in the market and its deployment by destination providers. Data on the fictional devices and poetics (e.g. imagery, metaphor, narrative, figurative language) used by the hotels to promote ecotourism was gathered through sampling and coding of texts from hotel promotional literature, websites, internal newsletters and discussions held with management of the properties sampled. To assess the language adopted by industry to construct ecotourism and to ascertain its common themes, texts were recruited from the Internet for three case study targets: the word 'Ecotourism'; texts published by the

accommodation providers CGH and O'Reilly's; and tourist reviews of target hotels recruited from Trip Advisor.

62 documents from O'Reilly's (N=40) and CGH (N=22) websites, newsletters and press release material were read and coded into 1,516 text fragments using 92 codes to classify materials. These codes were developed after consideration of phrases common to tourism website copy derived from a close reading of a number of ecotourism websites. Of the 62 documents, 21 were web pages, 26 were press releases downloadable from the websites and 15 were newsletters. In addition, 228 individual reviews posted on Trip Advisor by tourists who had stayed at the case study properties were manually coded to determine the frequency and context of appearance of the themes. Analysis of concepts most frequently used in association with ecotourism destination promotion is included in the Discussion section of this thesis. Major code categories appearing in the textual analysis of hotel literature were duplicated using MaxQDA to recruit information from reviews posted on Trip Advisor. These texts were manually coded to create a combined dataset of 2,295 fragments to enable a range of queries to investigate how language is used in ecotourism and how nature is involved in its story.

3.4 Case Studies

3.4.1 Keyword Ecotourism

Case study data was recruited from several searches conducted in May 2011 to assess the online expression of ecotourism as a keyword. The use of the word "ecotourism" on the Internet was distilled into several clusters and maps of visual data which were ranked according to their frequency of co-occurrence; representing qualitative and quantitative dimensions. To establish the criteria for review, a comprehensive field of data was recruited using coded descriptive units developed after considering Internet usage of terms and concepts reflected in Google AdWords searches and Leximancer and MaxQDA's content analysis capacities. A search conducted using the Google AdWords search tool provided a snapshot of the approximate number of times per month users queried the keyword "ecotourism" as an average drawn from the preceding 12-months. This query helped determine how ecotourism was valued and searched for on the Internet.

Leximancer and MaxQDA are automated content analysis software tools that were used to extend investigation into the thematic aspects of ecotourism. Their capacity for facilitating

the profiling of terms through machine-learning processes was the main reason for choosing them. Only English language websites were included in the sample. A semantic and conceptual analysis of content extracted from the Internet was done using word frequency and co-occurrence rates as data. 369,000 web pages (the corpus) using the word ecotourism in their title were recovered using Google's search engine. 64 themes were identified in association with ecotourism within the corpus. These were ranked in order of their relevance and the most highly ranked were explored to gain a different perspective of the data. Queries provided a summary of material and the main concepts associated with ecotourism and how they relate to one another. Visual fields emerging from these queries display conceptual relationships between terms used in association with "ecotourism" in online texts.

Terms were automatically given a weighting by the software according to their relevancy. Algorithms were used to automatically generate "concept seeds" and a thesaurus of words for "ecotourism" was developed to facilitate clustering and visualisation. Concepts are collections of words that travel together within the text and hence are more than just keywords. Concept maps were generated to see if results from the word 'ecotourism' reflected observations about clusters of words and concepts associated with the words "environment" and "sustainability". Results were not intended for complex statistical analysis as I was searching for qualitative information, such as trends, themes, patterns and concepts most frequently associated with ecotourism on the Internet. This data provides new information for discussing ecotourism as a particular kind of discourse with particular sets of representations within tourism. The Google AdWord (formerly Keyword) tool was used to measure the frequency of the use of "ecotourism" and words/phrases associated with it in May 2011. A broad search was conducted on "ecotourism" because I wanted to ascertain the conceptual terrain associated with it and how it was being consolidated by Google and valued by the market. Results were organised in two ways; by frequency of searching and by relevance to ecotourism.

3.4.2 Promotional Language

To determine how destination providers construct their ecotourism story and to critique how this engages with ecotourism discourses, the two hotel chains CGH and O'Reilly's were selected for case study. I was interested in comparing a local provider with an international provider to see whether there were aspects of the ecotourism story that were culturally

embedded or whether the story transcended local culture to conform to an internationally driven ecotourism discourse. Website content was downloaded and organised into text files. Keyword searching was used to help establish code hierarchies. Conceptual analysis involved measuring documents for the presence and frequency of words, phrases or collections of words that represented each concept. Creative writing and poetic techniques such as figurative language, narrative, metaphor, rhyme, alliteration were searched for in the hotel's literature, reviews and ecotourism industry websites. Semantic and thematic clusters were developed to explore common keywords and promotional strategies associated with ecotourism. Two programs, MaxQDA and Leximancer, were used to organise texts from hotel literature to facilitate extraction of keywords and key concepts/themes. These concepts and themes were used as coding groups in the MaxQDA textual analysis program for manual coding to investigate their frequency of occurrence. Marketing and information copy from hotel literature, websites, brochures, newsletters, guest comments and press releases were reviewed and coded to determine how CGH and O'Reilly's perceived themselves and communicated that perception to potential tourists. The intent of the analysis was to investigate the ways in which language was deployed, considering poetics, narrative and other creative writing strategies in the marketing and promotional strategies of the two businesses.

3.4.3 Trip Advisor Reviews

This case study was undertaken to investigate how tourists discuss ecotourism and their associated environmental experiences. Data was gathered to determine whether tourist concerns intersect with those of CGH and O'Reilly's in consumer reviews posted on Trip Advisor, the world's most established review site. Trip Advisor is the first travel site "to reach 100 million reviews and opinions […] covering more than two million tourism businesses in more than 116,000 destinations around the world (New Media Trend Watch, 2013). Trip Advisor reviews were considered alongside guest comments from the hotels. To assess congruency between marketing copy and consumer experience of destinations, a comprehensive textual analysis of consumer reviews posted on Trip Advisor was undertaken using MaxQDA. Results were compared using qualitative analysis and quantitative categorisation of texts to determine whether the way a hotel promoted itself as an ecotourism site reflected tourist desires and experiences of that site. 228 Trip Advisor reviews were subject to coding of concepts representing themes in categories of tourism experiences

relevant to this research: destination, environmentalism, sustainability, culture, economic issues, creative writing, marketing and management. 2,000 individually demarcated fragments were coded in congruency with hotel case study coding. Slight modifications were made within the categories to accommodate the perspectives of tourists. 52 concepts were represented through these themes, enabling a deep investigation of issues.

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4. CASE STUDY FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this section the results of the three case studies are presented and discussed. First there will be a discussion of data collected on the keyword Ecotourism (section 4.1). This will be followed by: a critique of India and Australia as destination brands (section 4.2); an analysis of ecotourism language used by the two ecotourism providers under study, one in India and one in Australia (section 4.3); and a review of comments made by travellers who stayed at the properties operated by the two providers on the Trip Advisor website (section 4.4). Original data was recruited to contribute to knowledge about ecotourism's function as a keyword and the way ecotourism providers use it to promote themselves in relation to its key discourses. The Internet is a key space for helping construct, define and consume nature within the tourism industry. Understanding the profile of ecotourism online helps identify issues affecting the marketing and consumption of the environment in relation to travel destinations. By examining how ecotourism is constructed online and how people engage with it, important insights are gained into the way the environment is represented and commodified by the tourism industry. Importantly for the case studies is the need to look at how India and Australia are constructed as brands and destinations so that a context for interpreting Australian and Indian modes of describing themselves is understood. By reviewing the construction of India and Australia by their tourism agencies and tourists a frame is established to help interpret the descriptions offered by travellers on Trip Advisor.

Data gathered from content analysis of Google search behaviours, AdWord values and the semantic web associated with ecotourism promotion, helps extend the conversation about its meaning as a tourism experience. AdWords and keywords are used interchangeably by Google, though I distinguish them in the following way: AdWords represent the dollar value of keywords associated with ecotourism through the AdWords tool and my discussion uses "keyword" to discuss the words used in search terms associated with ecotourism that are independent of their monetary value. Google Keyword/AdWord searches measured the frequency of use of the keyword ecotourism and words/phrases associated with it, in Internet searches. There was no way of identifying the source of Google AdWord material: no urls, no publishers and no authors at the time the study was done.

In designing the research I aimed to find data that could lead discussions on the relationship between representations of nature in ecotourism discourse and the creation/promotion of nature-based experiences by hotel managers marketing ecotourism. As ecotourism

destinations are pitched to the market through promotional literature, a review of the construction of the pitch and how consumers responded to it, forms part of the analysis in the Discussion (sections four and five) part of this thesis. An analysis of consumer reviews reflects the reception of ecotourism rhetoric in the market. The way tourists report their experiences at CGH and O'Reilly's provides data on the value of the word ecotourism and environmentalism to consumers. Consumer reviews reveal the impact of ecotourism texts and rhetoric at the hotel sites. Content analysis with a semiotics and discourse focus facilitates a textual analysis that provides "convincing readings of cultural texts" and enables researchers to "draw various conclusions from them, by looking at the texts themselves rather than at the ways in which people actually consume the texts" (Slater, 1998, p. 234). Slater's approach is appropriate for interpreting my results as the constraints of this project require a focus on language. A focus on language connects with the pivotal work of Graham Dann (1996) who explored the language of tourism from a sociolinguistic perspective. Dann established a mode of reading tourism language that is useful as a companion to analysis of the specialist languages of ecotourism that emerge from the discourses that construct it.

As mentioned earlier, discussions on the nature of ecotourism hinge on understanding its discourses and how they relate to each other. It became clear in the early stages of this research that ecotourism was a word used predominantly by business, academia and government, with hardly any wider cultural uptake. As the word 'ecotourism' often achieves its meaning through surrounding words, it can be considered in relation to them to assess relevance. By exploring the context in which 'ecotourism' is used it is possible to gain an idea about cultural resonances and discourses invested in the word. In order to understand the context three case studies were undertaken: the keyword ecotourism and how it is used online; the way two ecotourism providers write their ecotourism story and promote it online; and what consumer reviews posted on Trip Advisor reported about experiences at the two providers CGH and O'Reilly's.

After critiquing the role of the Internet in ecotourism discourse I interpret the results drawn from case studies of CGH and O'Reilly's and how they engage with culture and nature. Data is examined in ways that contribute to knowledge about ecotourism's specific language. An investigation of how CGH and O'Reilly's express marketing discourse in their written materials, including website copy, involves an exploration of this language. This section also explores the connection between consumer reviews of CGH and O'Reilly's and their

promotional strategies. A focus on ecotourism promotion and its engagement with environmental discourses contributes to knowledge about the ways in which the environment is constructed for use by the tourism industry. India and Australia are compared as destinations that are rendered through tourism marketing literature and who share common approaches to ecotourism business.

Content analysis of case study texts was undertaken using observation, literary critique, thematic coding and the establishment of queries to interrogate the claims, values, philosophies and marketing/practices of the ecotourism industry; as expressed in the literature of sampled hotels and their sites. Ecotourism is promoted and written about in the context of global discourses that establish a pre-eminent mode of engaging with the environment, it is possible to witness this in the writing of promotional copy. In turn, this enables a review of the relationship between creative writing and cultural discourses as well as a review of it as a gesture oriented towards fictional and poetic constructions of nature. Case studies were subjected to literary analysis techniques involving close reading, explication and evaluation of writing strategies to determine how the two ecotourism providers constructed the natural world, their relationship with it and how they communicated that perception to potential tourists. A key part of the method used to code textual fragments was the assignment of codes based upon their semantic and literary content in ways that would allow themes and features from the discourse to be organised. They do not reflect any personal rejection or acceptance of the phrases, only their frequency.

4.1 Case Study One: Ecotourism as an Internet Keyword

The Google AdWord tool results reflect the frequency of the use of the keyword ecotourism and words/phrases associated with it online in May 2011. Results are organised in two ways, by frequency of searching and by relevance to ecotourism. As an extensive data set was returned only results with a monthly global search frequency of at least 2,000 inquiries per month for the preceding 12 months are included. Results are summarised in the table on the following pages. As Internet searches are usually conducted in lower case this convention is reflected in the results. Search results also contain misspelled search terms such as "costa rico" that I have not corrected to keep the original data intact. It is the intent of the search rather than the linguistic and grammatical accuracy that is important to this research.

Table 1: Most common global search results associated with ecotourism on 29/5/10

Keyword	Global Monthly Searches	Keyword	Global Monthly Searches
Costarica (sic)	11100000	eco resorts	8100
costa rico (sic)	11100000	eco hotels	8100
galapagos	823000	green holidays	8100
sustainable development	368000	eco adventures	6600
travel and tourism	201000	ecotourism is	5400
eco resort	165000	environmentally friendly hotels	5400
ecotourism	165000	what ecotourism	5400
eco tour	135000	eco friendly hotels	5400
adventure travel	135000	eco friendly hotel	5400
kerala tourism	110000	costa rican ecotourism	4400
tourism industry	90500	what is ecotourism	4400
adventure tours	74000	sustainable travel	4400
eco lodge	74000	eco holidays	3600
tourism jobs	60500	eco vacation	3600
costa rican tours	60500	eco tourist	3600
green hotels	60500	eco tour adventures	2900
eco holiday	60500	define ecotourism	2900
sustainable tourism	49500	ecotourism define	2900
tourism sustainable	49500	eco adventure tour	2900
ecotourism lodges	49500	definitions of ecotourism	2900
green travel	40500	australian ecotourism	2900
tourism eco	40500	ecotourism australia	2900
eco tours	40500	ecotourism in australia	2900
what is tourism	33100	australia ecotourism	2900
eco trips	27100	ecotourism tourism	2900
eco travel	22200	tourism and ecotourism	2900
adventure tourism	18100	ecotourism definitions	2900
green tourism	12100	ecotourism development	2900
tourism green	12100	development of ecotourism	2900
responsible travel	12100	eco tourism destination	2400
environmental tourism	12100	sustainable ecotourism	2400

Keyword	Global Monthly Searches	Keyword	Global Monthly Searches
green tours	12100	ecotourism sustainable	2400
eco lodges	9900	definition of ecotourism	2400
types of tourism	9900	ecotourism definition	2400
nature tours	9900	definition ecotourism	2400
responsible tourism	9900	definition for ecotourism	2400

The results in Table 1 show that the keyword tool threw up anomalies such as high yields on results containing the words "costarica" and "costa rico" (which perhaps reflects an additional confusion between Puerto Rico and Cost Rica in the misspelling) and "galapagos". 23,023,000 searches per month were related to ecotourism in Costa Rica when the search was conducted using a catchment period between May 2009 and May 2010. This return is significantly larger than other results and could reflect search engine optimisation techniques, specific campaigns or global perceptions about Costa Rica and Galapagos as natural spaces. Kerala, a state in India, returned more results than Australia; the only other country represented in the 73 results. Sustainable development was the most popular ecotourism theme in the results. Without knowing the source or context of the searches it is not clear why Costa Rica or Galapagos appeared so frequently in ecotourism searches. In the case of the Galapagos Islands perhaps the results reflect an association with Charles Darwin and the perception that they represent the seat of evolutionary theory and may be perceived as a pristine environment as a result. The reasons for the anomaly could stem from the producer's vigilance in branding their product in such a way that it connected with a global promotion campaign being undertaken at the time. As contemporary promotional activities are strongly invested with the practice of branding, buying AdWords, managing click throughs and controlling message, a sophisticated campaign could influence search results, as this is what campaigns are designed to do. The influence of the specific local context of Costa Rica on the global ecotourism concept could have been significant during the catchment period as a result of commitment to branding that matches with and reflects local community perceptions of place. A strong search engine optimisation culture and/or a reflection of the way ecotourism is woven into the discourses, texts and culture of Costa Rica could also have made a contribution to its appearance at the top of the ecotourism data.

Further investigation into this anomaly revealed that the Costa Rica Tourist Board launched an "aggressive campaign" to attract United States travellers to the region in June 2009 (Diaz, 2009). The campaign featured over 100 tourism providers offering a variety of options "designed to enhance the Costa Rica experience" (Diaz, 2009). In the press release circulated by the Costa Rica Tourist Board ecotourism and sustainability were heralded as key parts of the experience. The campaign was set to showcase the country's "world-class eco-tourism and adventure travel", its commitment to a "globally recognized, pioneering Certification for Sustainable Tourism (CST) program" and "model for successful sustainable tourism practices", its "critically acclaimed eco lodges" and commitment to "four pillars of sustainability" (Diaz, 2009). The Costa Rican anomaly could be understood as evidence of the strength of a campaign that resulted in a spike in Internet searches relating to ecotourism in Costa Rica from mid-2009 to 2010. When the search was duplicated while writing this section, Costa Rica did not appear in the top global monthly searches, giving weight to the argument that the anomaly was campaign related. On the other hand, a similar search for a campaign launched by the Galapagos Islands did not uncover one. When looking at these results it is important to note that: Internet research is dynamic and as a result does not yield the same outcome for the same inquiry over time; that campaigns can influence the data if they are significant enough, and; that results can be skewed by distortions in the performance of software tools that may be altered between searches.

Results point to the vulnerability of ecotourism to campaign fuelled language and rhetoric. It is also important to note that the campaigns of others can affect the search result appearance of other destination providers. AdWord purchases and other online search engine optimisation techniques embedded in marketing initiatives are designed to position those paying for the campaign above others. The result of such campaign strategies effectively alters the position of small ecotourism providers such as CGH and O'Reilly's in generic search result returns. In considering the rest of the data, references to specific places have been removed for more conceptually focussed results. After removing Costa Rica, Galapagos Islands, Kerala and Australia from the results, the data shows some small and perhaps irrelevant duplication of data, for example "eco friendly hotels" versus "eco friendly hotel". The term ecotourism appears to generate some confusion as 76,800 (3.5%) of monthly searches were dedicated to defining the term. This is a conservative estimate of confusion surrounding ecotourism, as other keyword searches also reflect attempts to understand its

meaning. For example the searches "ecotourism tourism", "tourism and ecotourism" reveal some attempts to distinguish ecotourism from tourism. Of significance is that results are independent of place and signified by important concepts in ecotourism discourse such as sustainability. Sustainability was the lead, place-independent term most commonly searched for on the Internet in the context of ecotourism's semantic web.

Sustainability in ecotourism was represented in 476,200 (22%) searches per month at the time of data recruitment. Of these, sustainable development is the most popular search, accounting for 77% of these results. Other nuances in the data emerge from consideration of the concepts of green travel and its potential relationship with environmentally friendly activities and how these might show differentiation from the concept of sustainability. For example, amalgamating data on words and concepts that could be reasonably expected to correspond with consumer interest in environmentally friendly travel reveals 171,000 (8%) of the eligible total monthly searches were for such experiences. "Nature", a keyword I expected to be seen in greater numbers in association with ecotourism, appeared once in association with tours (N=9,900) in the results. "Adventure" appeared more frequently than nature with 239,500 (11%) searches. It is reasonable to assume however that any search on ecotourism holds nature in the background of the inquiry. Accommodation and tour related searches account for a sizeable portion of the results with 853,200 searches or 39% querying these.

4.1.1 Context Analysis

A different picture emerges from a textual analysis of the keyword ecotourism conducted through Leximancer software. The proximity and frequency of words and concepts associated with 'ecotourism' is represented in the image below.

Figure 1 Ecotourism in panoramic view of most strongly correlated themes between May 2010 – 2011
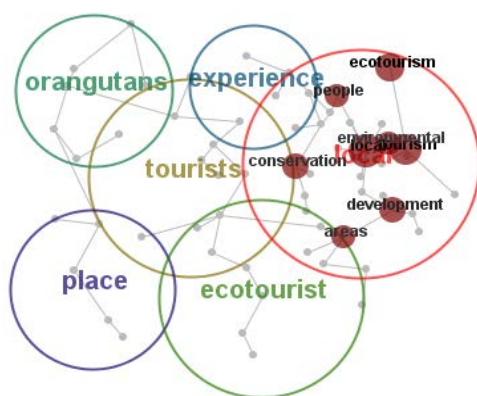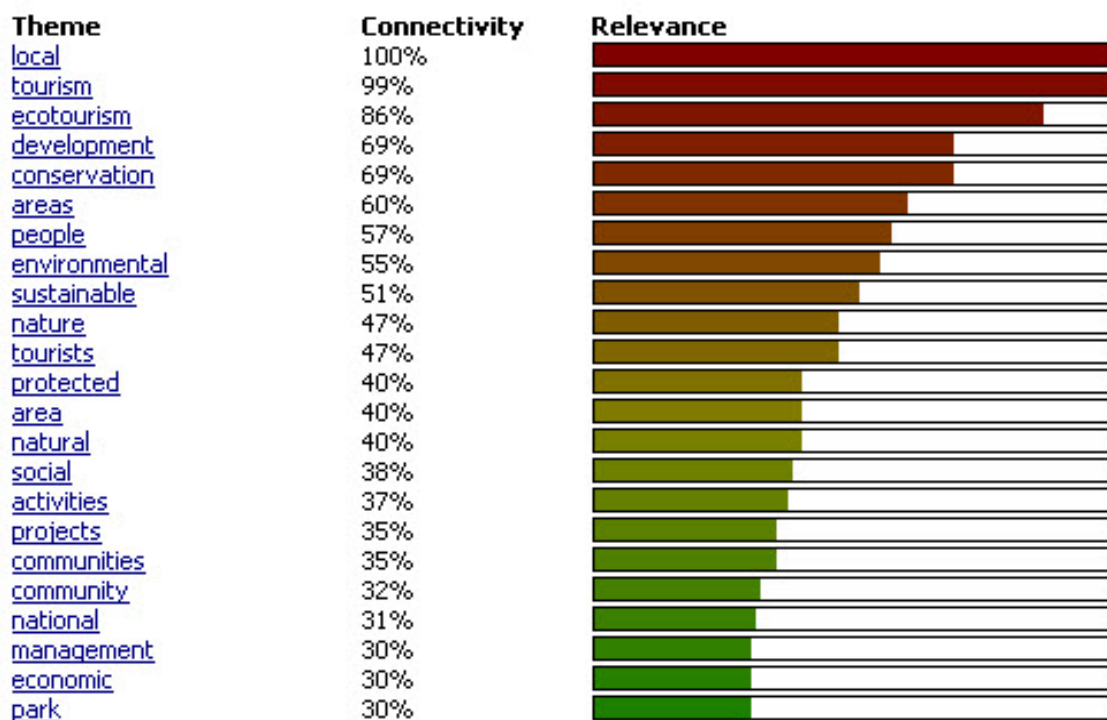

As the software did not amalgamate minor variations of a word (e.g. ecotourist vs. ecotourists) I have manually clustered such variations to yield more meaningful results. Leximancer facilitates analysis of meaning by mapping themes and concepts in the body of a text and their associative relationships. Themes and concepts related to ecotourism are more

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important for this investigation because they have a bearing on language and discourses recruited for marketing.

Results below 30% have been culled. To pursue an interest in seeing the relationships between concepts I opted for three views of the ecotourism data: panoramic, midfield and close-up. A fuller picture of ecotourism is gained through these views which reveal its intra-semantic relationships and conceptual content. The appearance of caribou and orang-utans in the results is an anomaly that may relate to search engine optimisation techniques of certain tourism providers or a quirk in the software's organisation of its linguistic corpus. Most of the texts engaging with ecotourism were clustered around a theme of 'local'.

Ecotourism through the lens of 'local' reveals that the development theme was 22% more strongly correlated (69%) with ecotourism than the theme of tourists (47%), pointing perhaps to more discussion being dedicated to addressing the processes of development than the activities of tourists. The concepts of community and communities were recruited as separate categories by the software for reasons that are unclear but that reflect diverse semantic relationships between ecotourism and community. The table below displays a list of related concepts that are ranked according to the number of times they appeared in a text segment referring to ecotourism.

Figure 2: Ecotourism-Local Theme

Theme	Connectivity	Relevance
local	100%	
tourism	99%	
ecotourism	86%	
development	69%	
conservation	69%	
areas	60%	
people	57%	
environmental	55%	
sustainable	51%	
nature	47%	
tourists	47%	
protected	40%	
area	40%	
natural	40%	
social	38%	
activities	37%	
projects	35%	
communities	35%	
community	32%	
national	31%	
management	30%	
economic	30%	
park	30%	

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A visual representation of the strong connection between ecotourism and the local theme can be seen in the close up view of the data on the following page. It is possible to see the direct co-occurrence of concepts and words associated with ecotourism online. The more times a concept occurs semantically and conceptually in direct association with ecotourism, the stronger the relationship represented through the size and colour of nodes. Themes are displayed as dots, with common themes sharing the same colour. 'Ecotourism' revealed several themes, which are represented in different colours. Brighter colours within red, purple, blue and green circles show greater theme dominance than dimmer shades of that concept's colour. Circles are dispersed on the map according to how closely themes connect with each other. Points of intersection reflect co-occurrence of themes. The further apart one circle is from another, the more distant their thematic correlation. The visualisation below reveals a network of themes that are closely and distantly related to each other.

Figure 3: Ecotourism semantic web in mid view

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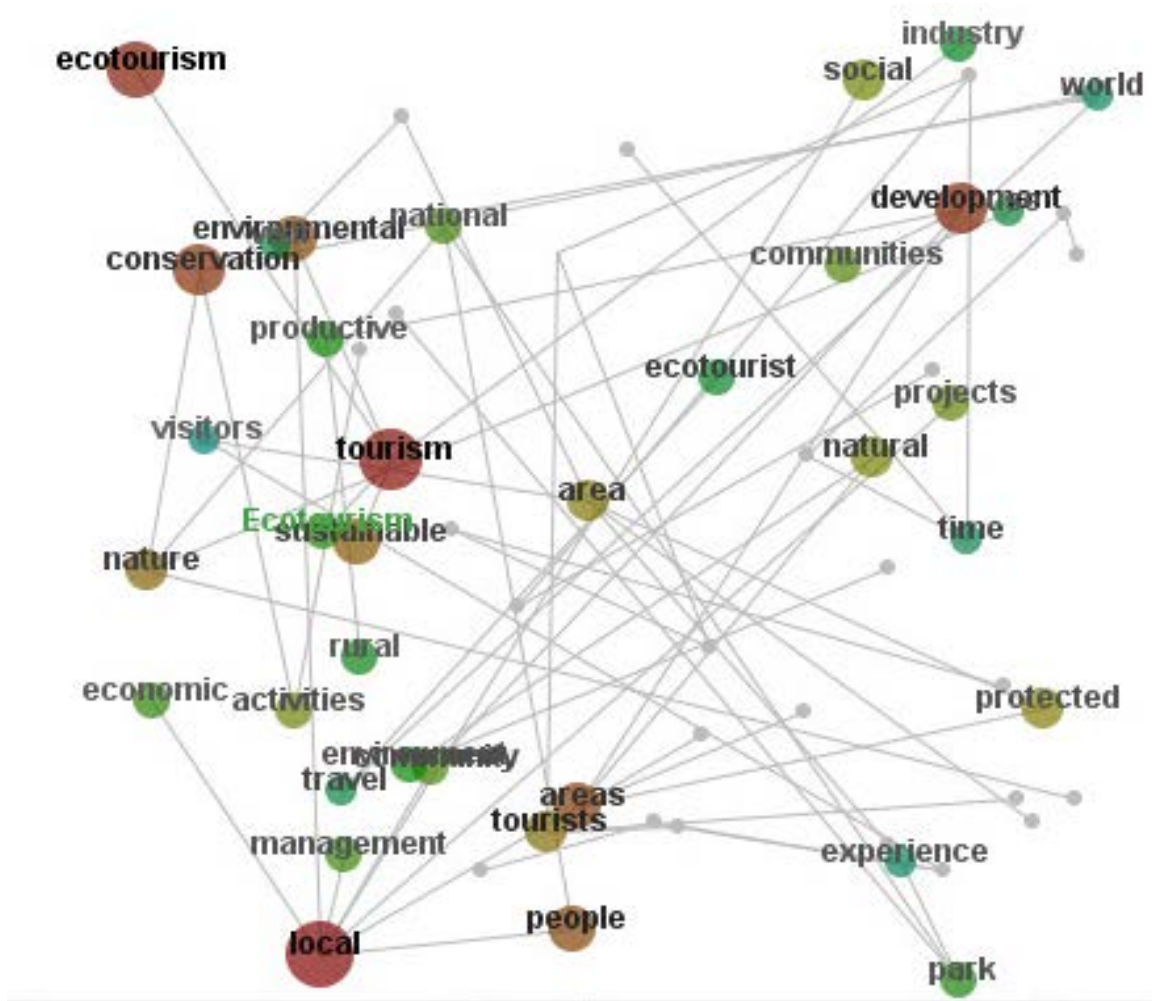
From this perspective the red coloured field appears to show a separate but close relationship between the concept of ecotourism and the concept of conservation and local issues. A close up view of the scene provides an even clearer picture of ecotourism's relationship with themes correlated with the local.

Figure 4: A close up view of keywords associated with ecotourism and its local theme
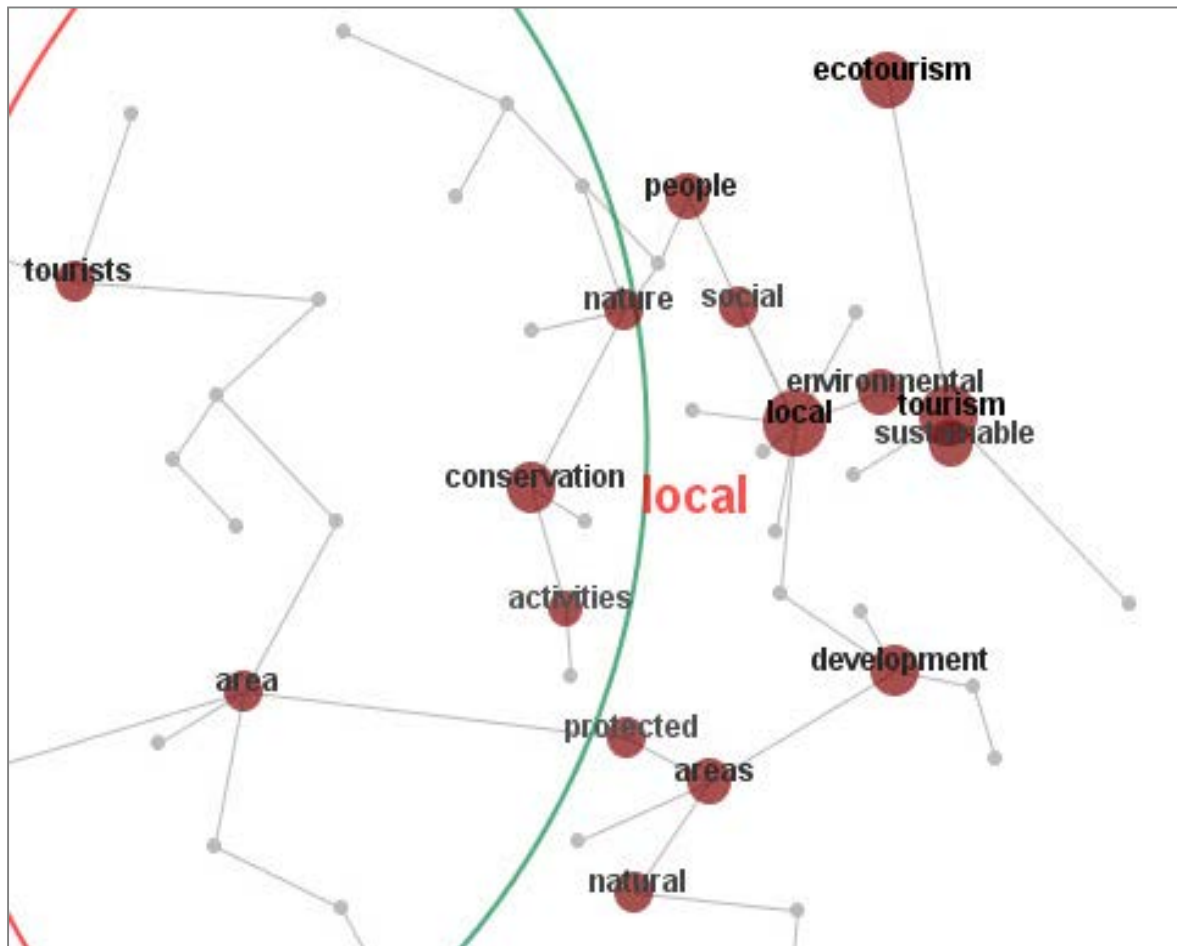
The activities of people through development, conservation, parks appear more frequently as concepts than those containing natural references such as trees, forests lakes. Strong semantic relationships between concepts are represented, even if there is only an indirect relationship between their locations in relation to each other. From the above field it is possible to see that some of the keywords associated with ecotourism in Google AdWords data are also present in concepts drawn from the online ecotourism corpus, for example, the concepts of development, sustainability and people. More interesting however are the differences; with website texts showing more inclination to talk about nature and its protection and to reveal a

connection with local social issues than AdWord data implied. 'Green' and 'sustainable' were more frequently searched for than 'conservation' but conservation was more present in website copy than 'sustainability' or 'green'.

Figure 5: Core themes drawn from online ecotourism texts
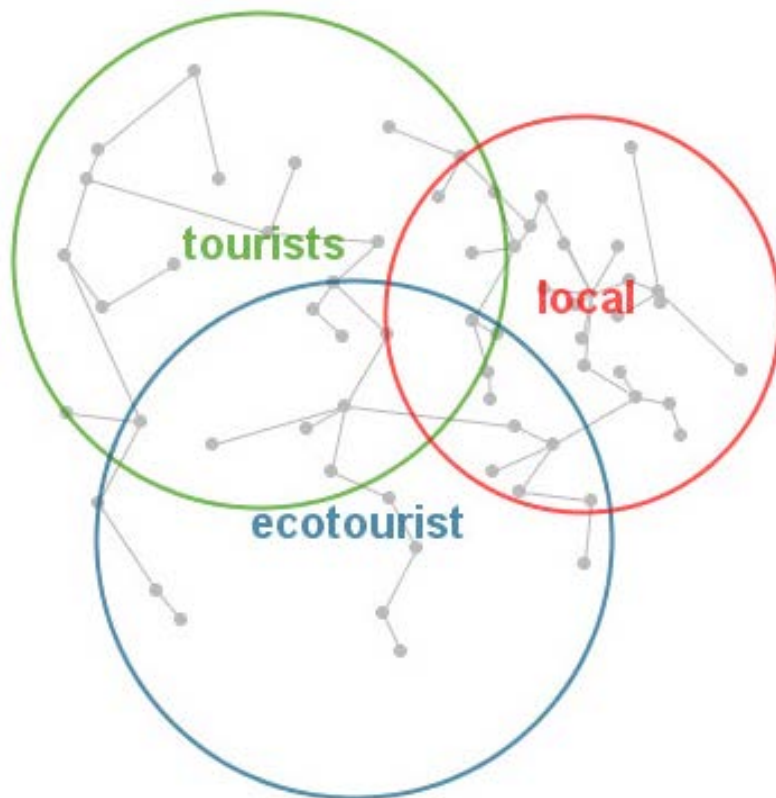
Three parent textual themes emerging from the ecotourism corpus: "tourists", "ecotourist" and "local" appear as intersecting but distinct zones. These results are displayed visually to the left and although they do not reveal much detail, they show an intersecting distinction between ecotourists, tourists and local concerns in online ecotourism texts.

When the term "ecotourism" was used, more conceptual and copy material was generated from the word "local" than from the words "tourist(s)" or "ecotourist(s)". It is possible that "ecotourist" and "ecotourism" are too strongly linked to require differentiation in texts, though the fact that such distinctions emerge in the data is counterintuitive. There appears to be some distinction between the status of "tourists" and "ecotourists". Ecotourism reveals a strong association with concepts of place and conservation, which is not surprising.

Figure 6: Meta concepts associated with ecotourism

Word-Like Ecotourism	Count	Relevance
ecotourism	135	100%
tourism	113	84%
area/s	112	83%
local	111	82%
tourist/s	101	75%
environment/al	89	66%
people	77	57%
ecotourist/s	74	55%
development	73	54%
conservation	61	45%
world/ international	58	43%
orangutans	52	39%
nature	47	35%
sustainable	46	34%
natural	44	33%
social	41	30%
travel	41	30%
time	41	30%
community	37	27%
animals	37	27%
protected	35	26%
site	35	26%
activities	34	25%
management	34	25%
park	34	25%
experience	34	25%
projects	32	24%
communities	32	24%
national	31	23%
productive	31	23%
caribou	31	23%
economic	30	22%
forest	30	22%
rural	29	21%
visit	29	21%
wild	28	21%

When results for "ecotourism" are represented in table form to quantify the data, a different perspective is revealed. When considering the theme of ecotourism the following results were associated with its meta concepts. The number of times each word appeared in proximity with ecotourism in the project thesaurus is presented left.

The concepts "local" (82%), "environment/al" (66%), "people" (57%) and "development" (54%) outranked "conservation" (45%), ''nature" (35%), 'sustainable (34%), and "natural" (33%) in terms of the number of times they appeared in close proximity with the word ecotourism.

Natural features such as "animals" (37), "forest"(30), "park" (34), "nature" (47), "environment/al" (89) appeared 237 times or in 12% of the content proximal with ecotourism. Human presence in the form of "tourist/s" (101), "people" (77), "ecotourist/s" (74), "community/communities" (69), "social" (41), "activities" (34) in ecotourism scored a frequency rate of 396 counts: 21% of content proximal with ecotourism. Economic and development concepts appeared 235 times (12%) in the ecotourism corpus as "development" (73), "site" (35),

"management" (34), "project/s" (32), "productive" (31), and "economic" (30), demonstrating an equivalency with natural references.

4.2 Destination

Destination is a charged word in tourism rhetoric. It holds metaphoric, image, cultural and commercial value and represents physical and imaginary space that can be easily manipulated by the marketing and promotion industry. Constructed through tourism discourse, traveller accounts, industry campaigns, website design and travel literature, the lure of a destination is ultimately dependent on how closely it portrays the experience desired by the tourist. Hollinshead talks about destination as a site of contested imagery expressed through a ''social language'' that constructs its message in certain ways (Hollinshead, 2000a, p. 153). Discourse theory helps expose how destinations manufacture representations. Knowledge, history and heritage are products of interpretation described according to sets of conventions (Hollinshead, 2000b, p. 501). Through a literary lens, destination is understood as a place operating in a scene of discourses that reflect constructions of nature, sustainability and culture in India and Australia. Brand developers, such as the two hotels being investigated for this study, are always looking for ways to reinvigorate their identity beyond "listing the thread count of sheets and how much marble there is in the lobby" (Ui-Hoon, 2006). The code behind the brand is now experiential: "A hotel stay is no longer just a room at the inn but a 'branded experience' with 'experience engineers' who have a nose for the popular" (Ui-Hoon 2006). Popularity has environmental and social consequences: "An odor of the popular now clings to wonders" (Daston & Park, 2001, p. 367). Clichés and hyperbole can taint the ink of description and render the copy of popular destinations less effective unless the clichés are embedded in search engine optimisation techniques that rank the most repeated keywords and phrases highly. Data reveals that destination is vulnerable to the status of keywords and public associations with them. The public's typing hand tosses its net of words into the Web for Google to trawl through ecotourism's huge corpus, returning all the appropriately tagged and meta tagged destinations. There is a conflict between the modes of constructing destination then: a conflict between fresh description, search engine optimisation and the tourist's quest for unique experiences.

A ritual negotiation of a place that transforms it from a common status to that of a parable or metaphysically empowered one, serves a "metalingual function" where a guide's

commentary is employed to construct the texts associated with a place (Dann, 1996, p. 42). Poetics is involved in guiding interpretations of sites through the use of description, lyric, metaphor, allegory, narrative and literary references. Guides help construct the symbolic value of natural sites in ecotourism rhetoric by creating intimate stories about animals, plants and indigenous lifestyles to fulfil the performance of intimacy and insider knowledge through anecdotes. Dann's view of language as a tool for constructing cultural spaces and helping frame their interpretation is particularly evident in the construction of destinations. Destination marketing involves a degree of mythmaking about place which impacts on culture through promotional activities that name, frame and enshrine it in specific ways for the tourism industry. In order to gain economic benefits from tourism a place must render itself more desirable than others. The marketing of tourism places has resulted in the proliferation of destinations that package cultures in particular ways for consumption by the tourism industry. This has an impact on local perceptions of culture and contributes to a kind of self-fulfilling meaning-making within it.

Clare Gunn (1988) identifies several stages in cultivating the desirability of a place in the minds of tourists. These include: accumulating mental images about travel experiences; modifying these images through research; making a decision to take a trip; travelling to and participating in the destination; returning; and accumulating images based on the experience (Gunn, 1988). Gunn refers to the way perceptions about destinations change in the minds of tourists as they move through each of the stages of their leisure travel experience. In the beginning destination images are accumulated from a variety of sources that are then frequently modified as a result of new information gathered before, during and after the trip. Edward Mayo and Lance Jarvis (1981), extending on the work of John Hunt (1975), also consider a traveller's choice of destination to be subjective and multi-faceted, placing particular importance on the alignment of traveller desire with destination image (Mayo & Jarvis, 1981). Cultural mediation is "not merely facilitatory but can be an active agent of change in society" (Ooi, 2002, p. 183). The physical presence of destinations is overlayed with imaginative conceits that are supported by intense campaigns of persuasion. Destinations and their cultures, which are partly constructed from what Chris Francovich describes as "world making through language", are coupled with institutional resources and "the linguistic ability of individuals to creatively weave narratives that fix both their identities and their conceptions of the world they live in" (Francovich, 2008, p. 40).

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The message a destination wishes to communicate must be clear and consistent across all media if it wants to solidify a potential tourist's perception of what is being offered. By establishing a positive expectation a hotel can reinforce a guest's experience. Most likely however, this will only be true if the hotel delivers on its promises. The following is an example of a successfully threaded line in the classic castaway narrative that pervades ecotourism rhetoric: "The beaches are powdery white, shopping barefoot is encouraged, and the pace is languorous, thanks to the island's sandy, car-free roads (locals get around by golf cart, fat-tired bicycle, or a leisurely saunter)" (Travel and Leisure, 2007). This copy reflects a poetic strategy that implies sensory fulfilment through description. Readers can feel the beach and setting crafted in the sentence. "Powdery white" evokes soft sand between toes, clean and relaxing surroundings, a peaceful tropical island with no traffic and limited civilization. The bicycle is fat-tired because it implies softness, easiness and support. Implied and operating in the subtext, is the hint of an unsullied paradise, a virginal beach where tourists can enjoy and sustain the environment at the same time. The sentence targets the stressed and unfit tourist by creating a scene of recuperation, laziness and unhurriedness, where everything is available to support recovery from an overheated lifestyle. The sentence demonstrates the strategies of the novelist but when "beaches are powdery white" is entered as a Google search phrase, 19 million results are returned with variations on the theme: "white powder sugar sand", "secluded beaches with powder-like soft sand" and "sink my toes into powdery-white, squeaky-clean beach sand". A destination with black sand or rocky shores will require a different metaphorical strategy to overcome the attraction of clean, soft, white sand in tourism's corpus. CGH's reference to "silvery sand" is one example of this. Grey or black sand are automatically rendered as inferior due to the dominance of white sand in the tourism corpus whereas silver sand holds the connotation of jewellery in its image.

As construction of destination is closely associated with sensory allusions or metaphorical values, in addition to representations through discourse, the next sections explore some of the ways Australia and India are promoted as destinations. Reviewing the way India and Australia are constructed as brands by governments helps shed light on industry strategies for promoting ecotourism destinations. I discuss how marketing is applied to the construction of countries as brands through the discourse of capitalism. I also review how tourists are presented stories about nature by destination providers in India and Australia, to extend

readings of ecotourism discourse and nature's place in it.

4.2.1 Brand

Countries are increasingly being branded by marketers commissioned by government agencies for adoption by the tourism industry. Within such branding it is common to find nature or values about nature expressed within the brand's identity. Of interest is the way these activities appear to be operating outside traditional tourism structures, emerging more from advertising and business than traditional Tourism Commissions. Australia and India have both experimented with such a strategy resulting in *Incredible India* and *Australia Unlimited* brands. Australia and India adopt similar strategies to appeal to representations of their nature as a unique asset in the tourist literature. In this section I will briefly critique the semiotic and literary strategies adopted to construct the brands and how nature is woven into the value of the brand, which is the preeminent rhetorical tool of marketing discourse. This review helps establish a subtext operating in CGH and O'Reilly's ecotourism texts and draws from the results of my content analysis. Australia and India are promoting or pitching nature, culture and sacred discourses in their ecotourism scripts in similar ways. Queensland beaches are described as positions from which tourists can watch "the sun set over the ocean from the white sands of a deserted tropical beach" or soak "up the view from the crest of a mountain you've just scaled" and watch "dolphins at play in the turquoise waters of a tropical lagoon" (Tourism Queensland, 2010a).

With such government lead strategies and overarching campaigns, it is not surprising that destination hoteliers will pick up the vernacular and extend the metaphors, themes and imagery that tourism organisations have established as the norm. It is also no accident that natural spaces are discussed in such ways, as there is a disciplinary speech in the tourism industry that adopts techniques of description in particular ways that are in keeping with global capitalism and its modes of establishing cultural value through discourse and practice. My case studies demonstrate how the metalanguage of tourism flows through the system into the consciousness of the copywriter faced with the task of describing a local niche. I have not found research that tests the phrase response of tourists to such copy, though that would be another interesting topic leading on from this study.

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India

Figure 7: Incredible India logo

India is no longer just India, it is currently the brand "Incredible !ndia" where the I of India is doubled through an exclamation mark that serves to signify emotion, surprise, incredulity. Through such a strategy natural spaces are promoted with a silent "incredible" signified in the background. Such signification emerges through the strategies of the breath, as exclamation mark evokes an outward breath through the propulsion implicit in its sign. The chant, the Om, and other spiritual discourses associated with India are also wrapped inside the exclamation mark and its incredible invocation. When it comes to promoting nature, for example the beaches of India, tourists are told "it incredibly has the most diverse varieties of beaches anywhere in the world. Placid backwaters and lagoons, bays and rough lava-rocked seas, marine estuaries with fish, crashing surf, powdery golden sand or palm fringed shores - Incredible India has them all" (Indian Ministry of Tourism, 2004). Such claims are reiterated in the copy of CGH, for example, in the following passage.

> One of the best ways to enjoy the lake is to take our sunset cruise, an hour-long
> idyll with flute accompaniment. The half-day cruise (extendable at will - time has
> a strange meaning around here) along the backwater canals is a fine way to
> experience village life, unfolding in vignettes along grassy banks shaded by
> tropical canopies, the village houses at mere handshaking distance. (Dominic,
> Coconut Lagoon)

There are however critics of the strategy concerned about the disconnection between the hype of promise and actual service delivery that leads to the failure of "many brand campaigns, long before they attain maturity" (Radhakhrishnan, 2008). Whether the Incredible !ndia campaign will end up in the "graveyard of departed brand campaigns full of tombstones" that promised "the sun, the moon and far beyond, but actually ended up being huge disappointments" (Radhakhrishnan, 2008), is yet to be seen.

India exists as a rich metaphorical environment for Western consciousness. Its capacity to perform metaphorically is enhanced by the ever increasing insularity of political and media

induced nationalism; which keeps profane India largely hidden from its sacred history and contemporary promotional image. Mystery is understood in popular culture as something secret, obscure, unknown and India uses this understanding to construct itself as a mysterious destination. India's identity as a romantic destination has prevailed since the colonial era and it is one the tourism industry promotes consistently. This promotional strategy was witnessed in the hotel and Trip Advisor copy. A part of India's romantic appeal lies in its construction as a nostalgically positioned sacred site for authentic global spirituality. Claims to authenticity operate as resistant messages to counter the discourses of globalisation and materiality. Spiritual discourse gilds the landscape of India that ensures India's nature is spiritualised for tourist consumption. Lately however, as India modernises and its sacred history transmutes into a spiritual brand, there has been increased interest in, and investment by, tourism agencies promoting India as a site for the world's spiritual rejuvenation. Such spiritual rejuvenation takes place less through the traditions of pilgrimage that historically inscribe the time and space of India, and more through metaphors contained in spa, health and wellness discourse.

> The spa has become the new monastery, the house of the spirit, a place where we all become one in the anonymity of robes, shared baths, bareness, peace and the mutual respect we hold for each other's space. The mystical quality of human consciousness is reflected in these temples of repose, where the hands-on therapist creates the bridge across the divide from chaos to peace, from stress to balance, guiding us further on to touch base with our inner gods, whoever they may be, bringing us home to ourselves. (Herron, 2009)

A key part of health and wellness discourse is the setting in which a hotel is located: the more natural the better. There are frequent references to settings in Indian tourism promotional copy. Indian tourism is overlaid with "inane platitudes" regarding its "ancient civilisation and the immense tourism potential inherent in its spiritual culture and attendant spin-offs" (Yadav, 2010). While domestic spiritual tourism in India "has survived and prospered with little help or conscious promotional activity, a newfound energy is lately visible in the tourism business to tap into this segment in a measured and calculated manner", with the result that celebrities such as Shiv Khera, Swami Ramdev and Deepak Chopra have helped build a brand image of India as an international spiritual tourism destination (Yadav, 2010).

Through their inspirational discourses, seminars, public appearances and other related efforts, Western celebrities such as the Beatles, Madonna, Springsteen, Kate Winslet, Alanis Morissette and Richard Gere provide "the sheen and edge of spiritual tourism to India internationally. Today, the line separating wellness, heritage discovery and spiritual tourism has become very thin indeed" (Yadav, 2010). In the centre of this narrative is the nature of India. Nature is recruited to serve India's enlightenment stories, pilgrimage sites, transformation narratives and spiritual practices such as yoga. India as a brand is being increasingly marketed to the West through discourses of the spiritual that were already introduced through representations of the guru in 1960's pop culture. Through discourses of the spa, health, wellness and Ayurveda, India's nature is recruited to serve the country's contemporary spiritual and healing discourse.

India's construction in ecotourism discourse displays Durkheim's ideas about the split of cultural life between two categories commonly referred to as the "sacred" and the "profane" (Durkheim, 1995, p. 34). A sacred object or ritual acquires the status of revered object as a result of its capacity to incorporate "beliefs, myths, dogmas and legends" (Durkheim, 1995, p. 34). A profane object or activity is something that lacks association with sacred rites, rituals or symbolic significance and in order for there to be a distinction between the two, cultural perpetuations of symbolic difference is required. Philip Smith (2008) calls the symbolic realm of the sacred "imaginative templates" through which certain cultural systems "live symbiotically with the collective rituals that reproduce them" (Smith, 2008, p20). There is a "deep gulf separating the sacred from the profane, the pure from the impure" that helps societies "make sense of the world by organising their environments and experiences using broader, extra-contextual symbolic patterns" (Smith, 2008, pp. 20-21). It is through such processes that sacralisation of an object, thing or person takes place and that India becomes a spiritual destination for Western consciousness. India, already infused with internal and external sacred status, speaks about religion, nature and ecotourism practices through uniquely conflicting and complicated discourses. India's nature is constructed in the tourism literature within a spiritual discourse of self-enlightenment, which reconfigures Hinduism's Vedic scriptures for mass global consumption in the new age industry.

Ecotourism is a relatively new concept in India and it is interesting to witness how its tourism marketing industry grapples with ways to present India's natural environments to the world tourism market. Offering several ways to enjoy "Mother Nature" in a "most pristine way"

Eco India offers the Himalayas, Kerala and the Lakshadweep islands as some places where tourists "can enjoy the treasured wealth of Mother Nature" (Eco India, 2008). Thenmala in Kerala is the "first planned ecotourism destination in India created to cater to the Eco-tourists and nature lovers" (Eco India, 2008). Three things are worth noting about Eco India's rhetoric. Firstly, the extensive use of the term "Mother Nature" would not be expected in official Australian literature promoting the environment due to awareness of its political value in gender discourse. Secondly the promotion of landscape as a site for rejuvenation connects it with the more established spiritual discourses of India. Thirdly it uses the term "pristine" in relation to areas that are known to be well populated and used by humans who always leave their mark. Eco India's website talks directly to Australia's eco-tourism industry and accreditation systems and its relationship with them. This leads them to adopt a more established mode of ecotourism rhetoric.

> The India topography boasts an abundant source of flora & fauna. India has numerous rare and endangered species in its surroundings. The declaration of several wildlife areas and national parks has encouraged the growth of the wildlife resource, which are reduced due to the wildlife hunt by several kings in the past. Today, India has many wildlife sanctuaries and protection laws. Currently, there are about 80 national parks and 441 sanctuaries in India, which works for the protection and conservation of wildlife resource in India. (Eco India, 2008)

Australia's ecotourism industry and its "protected areas", "environmental restoration" projects and legislation of use of natural areas are features shared with India's ecotourism texts. A draft Indian Tourism Policy (2002) demonstrates that nature appears as a relatively low priority in terms of an attraction, despite the emergence of an ecotourism industry. Tourism India's priorities are to present an "image of India abroad as a country with a glorious past, a vibrant present and a bright future" (Tourism and Culture Department, 2002). In a site published on the domain naturetourindia.net an interesting by-line reinforces the ambiguous status that nature holds in India's tourism industry.

> India, a country with an astounding array of natural wonders, an incredible history dating back thousands of years and a cultural backdrop that never fails to dazzle. The land of dreams and romance... the country of a hundred nations and a thousand tongues, of a thousand religions and two million Gods, cradle of the

> human race, birthplace of human speech, mother of history, grandmother of
> legend, great-grandmother of traditions. (Nature Tour India)

India is portrayed as a multicultural site of global history. A destination treasure, a romantic and spiritual country with sublime landscapes: not a resource pressured, overpopulated multi-lingual place where violent religious clashes and attacks on women are common. India is not alone however in romanticising the strengths of its culture while turning away from its weaknesses in its promotion. Incredible !ndia embraces the challenge of profiling a romantic view in denial of the strenuous and demanding lives lived by most of its population. This is also true of Australian promotional rhetoric.

Nature Tours in India promotes wildlife as its theme; a common technique of ecotourism marketing. Nature Tours offers "a thrilling experience" where tourists are told they will "see many species of exotic wildlife in the sanctuaries of India…. Travel to thick forests and tropical jungles and see tigers, leopards, deer, elephants, monkeys and other rare animals in the wild on Nature Tours in India" (Nature Tours). That elephants are mostly killed, captured for temple service duty or starved out of their habitats; that tigers and leopards are almost extinct and unlikely to be seen by anyone, and that monkeys are considered a nuisance, is left out of the tourism script. Australia promotes koalas, platypi, wombats and kangaroos that most tourists are unlikely to see due to their endangered, dispersed or distant nature. Exploiting the metaphorical value of a disappearing wilderness is something the two countries share.

Australia

Australia is discussed by the Australian Tourism Commission as "Brand Australia" that positions Australia in international tourist markets as a "Naturally Free Spirited" place. Australia is constructed as a place of spectacular natural environments, a distinctive friendly personality and a country with a "free spirited lifestyle and culture" (Gold Coast City Council, 2010, p. 24). Through such narratives, the population of the Gold Coast and Australia is exposed to images, commercials and advertising copy that reinforce Brand Australia's idea about being Australian. Recent outbreaks of deadly violent crime across the Gold Coast and Brisbane expose the gap between the fictional texts of Gold Coast marketing and the lived experience of its citizens. The impact of Brand Australia on Australians and their guests is a specialist study outside the scope of this research though it is necessary to

acknowledge that the branding of place and citizenship that occurs through tourism has an impact on communications taking place within and beyond it. Part of the making of a destination is the tone and style of language used to promote it. For example, the recent 'G'day USA (2010-11) campaign featuring Oprah Winfrey produced by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Tourism Australia, Austrade and Qantas Airways, shows how a particular phrase can become a signifier of a culture in the hands of the promotion industry. Greetings to a destination can thus become a part of the destination's international profile. G'day in the case of Australia, "have a nice day" in the case of the USA, "Aloha" in Hawaii, "Bon Jour" in France, are some examples of how local idioms become part of a destination's identity.

Figure 8: Australia Unlimited logo

Brand Australia or "Australia Unlimited" as it is called, has its own website, separate from Tourism Australia, developed by the advertising company M&C Saatchi in 2010 "following industry consultation, a public tender and extensive international and domestic research" (Australia Unlimited , 2011). The development of the brand drew on "key findings from this process" that was driven by a "desire for a contemporary and consistent way of presenting Australia internationally in the same way that other nations such as Canada have done for many years" (Australia Unlimited, 2011). Australia Unlimited's solution to the "problem" of Brand Australia is similar to India's in that it plays on the semiotic value of signs. Rather than an exclamation mark, Australia Unlimited adopts angle brackets that serve to symbolise the edges of the Australian continent which are portrayed in the logo as two boomerangs. Parenthetically the brackets serve to signify indigenous culture and containment, in spite of the "Unlimited" aspect of the logo. Australia Unlimited abbreviates as the domain extension of the continent ".au". All very corporate and neat and one could imagine the pitch in the boardroom, however the value of rebranding Australia as Australia Unlimited is yet to be seen and is a potential area for follow up research.

Australian identity has a long association with the land: colonisation, agriculture's "sheep's back", bush poetry, camping, leisure activities and a love of the quarter acre block, are some

examples of this relationship. By the 1850s says Tim Bonyhady "people were seeing the landscape in terms of national identity" (Bonyhady, 1998). For Indigenous Australians the land is often more than a material substance and politically contested space, it is an ancestral space; one deeply connected with the concept of Dreamtime (Sutton, 1988). Australia's colonial history and rural dependency continue to influence the symbols and themes of its contemporary creative product. A long history of nature writing, films set in the bush and recreational habits linked with "going bush" or going to the beach, position Australia as an outdoors loving people in tourism literature. This image is reiterated in Tourism Australia's marketing which attempts to recreate a spiritual connection for foreigners craving engagement of this kind.

Brand Australia in the hands of Baz Luhrman and Tourism Australia launched in October 2008, reiterated this kind of logic. Unlike the Indian pitch towards enlightenment built upon rigorous practice of asanas (postures) and diet, Tourism Australia pitched the "walkabout" as a mode of transformation to a world that was not sure what it meant. To Aboriginal Australians the walkabout has a specific meaning that differs from the new age idea propagated by the advertisement: "Sometimes we have to get lost to find ourself. Sometimes we gotta go walkabout" (Australia, 2008). Walkabout is a traditional Aboriginal concept of regeneration, reconnection with ancestors, a developmental phase and a means to re-charge one's spirit (Peterson, 2004). In broader Australian vernacular it means to disappear, take time out, re-charge one's spirit or go for a walk. Although these meanings are represented in Luhrman's campaign, he aestheticizes them. The walkabout of the Dreamtime space is transformed into a hackneyed montage of Australian images hinged on a clichéd sexist narrative where the female protagonist's personal transformation reinstates her desirability as love object. The Indian transformation story aims for sustained and life altering change. Tourism Australia appropriates the perception of authentic value in the international tourism market for a campaign that offers no long term rejuvenation, merely respite from the real world to which we all know the characters will return with an inevitable dissipation of the walkabout's influence.

Colonialism still informs perceptions of nature in Australia. An interesting disconnect with history seems to be a part of Australia's contemporary portrayal of nature, which as has been discussed, is internationalised for iconographic display in tourism promotional literature. Compare the banal, bright and expansive white sandy-sunny beaches, fireworks enhanced

Sydney Harbour Bridge, sunset infused skyscrapers and bright underwater corals and fish with the uncanny discourses of Australia's landscape interpreted through colonialism.

> In Australia alone is to be found the grotesque, the weird, the strange scribblings
> of nature learning how to write. Some see no beauty in our trees without shade,
> our flowers without perfume, our birds who cannot fly. But the dweller in the
> wilderness acknowledges the subtle charm of this fantastic land of monstrosities.
> He becomes familiar with the beauty of loneliness, whispered to by the myriad
> tongues of the wilderness he learns the language of the barren and the uncouth.
> (Clarke, 1998)

Marcus Clarke is speaking about the internal or domestic representations of nature that contrast with the tourism story. Travel writer Rick Ritchie describes Australia's beaches for the international market as "some of the best surfing beaches to be found anywhere. Here, visiting the beach is as much a social experience as an opportunity for relaxation and water sports, since the beach is integral to Australian culture" (Ritchie). A person lying on a beach towel is an ambivalent semiotic; it could signify any Western culture's beach. The surfing Aussie however, signifies the Australian culture referred to by Ritchie and has particular appeal in domestic and international representations. According to the Sweeney Report commissioned in 2008 "more than two million Australians went surfing during the summer of 2007–08. In terms of participation, surfing remains one of the top 20 sports in Australia, ahead of high profile games such as cricket, netball and football" (Tourism NSW, 2008). Surfing fastens to youth, beauty, health and nature discourses commonly associated with Tourism Australia's promotions of beach culture. California and Australia share these significations. In promotions of surfing culture the wave becomes the landscape and it is a doubled semiotic: one capable of destroying the surfer and one that can also be conquered by the surfer. In this way the adventure discourse is woven through the Australian landscape and its representation as a canvas for activities such as surfing, fishing, camping, walking, dining, snorkelling and relaxing. The theme of nature as a playground for tourism is underwritten in this active engagement with space and the stories contained within the adventure discourse. Adventure, along with spirituality, pilgrimage, health and wellness scripts within the tourism literature, helps construct nature as a kind of "meta-destination" where destination is both a place and a story about that place. My data indicates that O'Reillys is fully aware of the market value of these particular discourses as a mode of representing nature to the market.

Tourism literature represents nature and relationships commonly associated with it, through discourses of travel, authenticity and destination branding. The results of case study data contextualised in broader marketing stories reveal that India and Australia share ways of constructing their brand. In Australia nature is positioned predominantly within the adventure or sport and recreation narratives while India mainly recruits nature for its health and wellness discourse.

4.3 Case Study Two: Ecotourism Hotels, CGH and O'Reilly's

To investigate how destination providers construct their ecotourism story and how this engages with ecotourism discourses, the language of CGH and O'Reilly's was reviewed to ascertain whether the ecotourism story reflected a culturally specific detail or whether it transcended local culture to conform to an internationally driven 'ecotourism' discourse. The results are presented in the following pages as an analysis of the strongest themes emerging from the semantic web; namely ecotourism, destination, heritage, environment, sustainability, environmental imagery, conservation and animals. In addition content was classified as creative writing where it displayed the signifiers of creative writing such as description, lyric, metaphor, poetic allusion.

4.3.1 Ecotourism Theme

When textual analysis tools are applied to CGH and O'Reilly's writing, results indicate a disconnection from nature as an imperative of their ecotourism projects. Of the 1,516 coded fragments extracted from CGH and O'Reilly's texts, 'ecotourism' was referred to 77 times (5%), predominantly in the text of O'Reilly's. Of these references 22 (29%) were directly associated with development, economics and industry concerns such as best practice. Ecotourism discussions often involved reference to quality of accommodation, setting of accommodation and explanations of how environmental considerations were implemented. There was overlap with the theme of ecotourism when the credentials of each of the hotels were tendered in their copy as evidence of their ecotourism credibility. O'Reilly's opted for highlighting sustainability credentials, certifications, awards and building features. For example "The O'Reilly family pioneered ecotourism in Australia when they began showing visitors around the park in 1915. Our story is a classic case of ecotourism enabling a local landholder to find a sustainable alternative to farming in an area of great environmental

significance" (O'Reilly's). In discussing their tourism awards, O'Reilly's establish their authenticity as providers of ecotourism service.

> Recognised with the Deluxe Accommodation Award at the 2006 Queensland Tourism Awards, O'Reilly's was acknowledged for its role at the forefront of the Australian eco-tourism industry, its deep commitment to nature and conservation, its exceptional environmental interpretative program for guests, high standards of service and world-best sustainability practices that are helping to save the planet. (O'Reilly's (c), 2006)

This is one of the few passages that speak directly about preserving nature. The theme of quality was raised to differentiate O'Reilly's from other providers who may be perceived as co-opting the ecotourism brand.

> In 2005, O'Reilly's achieved the prestigious Green Globe Benchmarked Certificate under the new Green Globe Certification program, which recognises the operation's commitment to operating at the world's highest environmental standard. Green Globe is the global benchmarking, certification and improvement system assisting the international travel and tourism industry to attain sustainability. Green Globe provides a certification system that responds directly to the major environmental problems facing the planet, including the greenhouse effect, over-use of freshwater resources, destruction of biodiversity, production of solid and biological waste and social issues. (Bourke, 2007)

References to the quality of their builders were also used as a strategy to establish credentials and also as a means for O'Reilly's to add value to the villas they were selling on their property.

> O'Reilly's reaches new heights with Mountain Villas construction, May 30, 2008 Hutchinson Builders have taken out the top award for professional excellence in Queensland at the Australian Institute of Building awards, for meeting the unique construction challenge of building O'Reilly's new luxury Mountain Villas in an isolated location, on a steep hillside, surrounded by World Heritage listed rainforest. Whilst Hutchinson's are no strangers to award winning difficult projects on unusual sites, the two year development of O'Reilly's 48 eco-villas was well worthy of recognition for the complexity of the undertaking, not to

mention the end result. (O'Reilly's, 2008)

In 2011 O'Reilly's received an EarthCheck certification, providing international recognition from the travel and tourism industry for their environmental management. A similar strategy was adopted by CGH which represents its credibility through statements about their practices that reveal environmental consciousness and important industry connections. It positions itself as a leader of ecotourism in the emerging Indian market.

> Over the years, CGH has upped the ante; from putting in place high-tech, state of the art waste recycling and management systems, rainwater harvesting and vermi-composting to not using plastic bags, setting up patches of organic vegetables and ayurvedic plants and also butterfly gardens. "The quality of the naturalists at CGH; the skills that they bring are very impressive," says Hitesh Mehta, author and delegate of international tourism body, TIES. "In hospitality and as eco-resorts, the CGH group is exemplary and in the top bracket. Now, the inspiration for the future has to come from within. It is not a bad idea, because so far it has worked with positive results. (Dominic (b))

CGH also talks about their environmental actions in specific ways that connect with the sustainability, cultural and environmental discourses of international ecotourism policy.

> Plastic isn't exactly fantastic, particularly when it is used in an ecologically sensitive region. So, when the Periyar Tiger Reserve was declared a plastic free zone according to the Indian Wildlife act, Spice Village was anxious to use the opportunity to replace plastic bags with cloth ones. The cloth left over from making curtains at the resort now found a new use: 1,500 bags were made to give to families living in the area. The bags, which carries the messages "avoid plastic", "save the environment" and "recycle", were distributed by the Deputy Director Periyar Tiger Reserve to the chairpersons of the Eco-development committees of Mannans and Paliyans, the local tribes, on World Environment Day. (Dominic, 9 ways to make the most of your ecotourism holiday)

Ecotourism for CGH and O'Reilly's represents a business strategy that allows them to find a leadership niche in the tourism industry while expressing personal family business concerns for the natural environments supporting their properties.

Jayne Fenton Keane

4.3.2 Destination Theme

The environment surrounding a property was commonly referenced in relation to destination. Destination in relation to ecotourism (N=123) represented 8% of the total coded fragment content. Of destination themed content 21% discussed it as an experiential product, directly referring to experiences 26 times. Quality accounted for 9% (11) of references, uniqueness 11% (13) and beauty 3% (4). The remaining destination references were facilities related. The concept of destination cannot easily be separated from accommodation in CGH or O'Reilly's properties, as they are promoted as destinations in their own right. Although properties were frequently discussed in relation to setting and activities, accommodation references (n=69) focused on facilities and concepts such as luxury 17% (12), simplicity 10% (7), quality 19% (13) and comfort 15% (11). 39% of accommodation references related to costs, services, location and activities available. 30% of available coded CGH guest comments (N=72) expressed a sense of belonging and a desire to return to the hotel. 26% of comments expressed feeling connected with staff. Gratitude for hospitality was expressed in 25% of comments. The remaining comments (19%) related to activities, food and accommodation. Results are useful for considering the spontaneous or in situ views of guests against Trip Advisor comments. There is evidence of consistency of concerns for quality of staff, food and feeling valued, though there was a surprising lack of reference to the environment. Guests may be conditioned to respond to hotels through traditional review strategies that do not include specific environmental references.

Important to the O'Reilly's destination theme is its connection with Australian heroic discourse through its Stinson rescue account.

> During a stormy afternoon on 19 February 1937, Stinson airliner VH-UHH on route from Brisbane to Sydney crashed into the Lamington Ranges killing four of the seven on board, sparking a search that failed to turn up any wreckage. Ten days after the crash, Bernard O'Reilly set out on foot to find the Stinson wreckage. Through his superior bush skills he found the crash site and to his surprise, two survivors in desperate need of medical attention. After boiling the billy and making the survivors comfortable, Bernard left them to organise a rescue party. (O'Reilly B., The Stinson Rescue)

The origin story of O'Reilly's emphasises the development agenda that is integral to its destination rhetoric.

> Overloaded with supplies and equipment they left the Cainbable Creek Valley, climbed the torturous 'Heartbreaker' and scrambled along dense rainforest ridges to claim their selections. Their motivation was not the beauty of the mountains or a dream of a future tourist industry, it was dairy farming. The government encouraged young men to take up dairying by making land available on the mountain for this purpose. (O'Reilly P.)

4.3.3 Heritage Theme

Colonialism discourses are often reflected in heritage themes in tourism promotion. Of the 88 Historical/Heritage related references 23% of hotel literature referred to indigenous traditions, arts, culture and 8% referred to lore, myths and traditions. As CGH is connected to significant historical sites, each of their properties included information about local histories to contextualise the property. For example, "Before the Portuguese, Dutch and the English came to the Kerala coast to trade in spices and other local wares, the state has welcomed traders from the ancient Rome, Greece, China. Arabs and Phoenicians were, in fact, believed to be the first to drop anchor here" (Clapham, 2008, p. 3). 69% of the references were concerned with general historical and heritage issues such as architecture and local surrounds. Most of these references came from CGH, which showed a mix of concerns between the mythic, the architectural and the indigenous. The mythic is represented in statements such as "Gokarna…meaning 'cow's ear' is an ancient village full of lore, a famous Shiva temple, with two main streets lined by shops and traditional tile roofed brick houses (CGH Swa Swara (a)). Architecture is discussed in terms of the value of preserving old buildings within the ecotourism frame "Coconut Lagoon consists of a cluster of ancient 100 to 150 year-old tharawad houses that were dismantled from various locations and reassembled in Kumarakom. Tracking down the aasaris, or traditional carpenters, who had the knowledge and experience of the job was a project in itself" (Mathews, 2007, p. 9). In reference to the indigenous populations associated with its properties CGH says: "At Spice Village, our understanding came first and foremost from the tribal people of the cardamom Hills. Over millennia, they had perfected a gentle codependence, an almost spiritual harmony with the

works of nature. All we needed to do was uncover these ancient wisdoms and put them to work" (CGH Earth Spice Village (a)).

O'Reilly's made few references to heritage and history outside their own family lore and when they did, references were focused mostly on the historic qualities of the natural environment "Before European settlement, these sub-tropical rainforests were probably the most extensive rainforests in Australia" (O'Reilly's, 2005). Four years after the O'Reilly Family settled in the area Lamington was declared a National Park. Further linking O'Reilly's with heritage rainforest. O'Reilly's was forged through colonialism's "tools of the trade" including "axes, cross-cut saws, brush hooks and stout hearts" to create the farm (O'Reilly P.). An interest in tourism came later in response to "the enthusiasm of visitors" to the region in the natural environment. This enthusiasm influenced the O'Reilly family to think about a future in tourism: "Looking after guests seemed attractive when compared to milking cows by hand and carrying cream 15kms to Kerry on pack-horses" (O'Reilly P.). The connection between the O'Reilly family, the Lamington National Park and a premiere Queensland ecotourism destination makes it a unique tourism story (see B. O'Reilly 1981).

4.3.4 Environment Theme

Environment themed texts are reflected in corporate literature and guest comments. Of the results mentioning the environment directly, hotel managers express features supported by keyword findings. For example, both providers tend to discuss the environment through the human-environment paradigm rather than the environment-nature paradigm. This result mirrors evolutions in ecotourism definitions that view ecological systems as dependent upon people. Texts reflect ideological positions that bear a direct relation to how the ecotourism story is written by destination providers and the potential sites of conflict in it.

> At Spice Village, it's easy to think that you're in the middle of wild nature. Not
> so. These trees were born out of one man's passion. His name was A. W. Woods.
> An Anglo-Indian, he worked for the Government of the British Raj in the 1930s.
> Woods was a remarkable man, nearly illiterate, given charge of the forests solely
> on the basis of his passion for nature and his love and understanding of the local
> Ooralie culture. Woods also had the greenest of thumbs. And on the grounds
> surrounding his home (now the Woodhouse Bar), he created a remarkable
> arborarium. (CGH Earth Spice Village (a))

and

> Our naturalists have nurtured an environment which is a magnet for rare birds, butterflies and dragonflies. Our gardens, too, boast some interesting plant varieties. (CGH Earth Spice Village (a))

and

> ...to show that pedalling was good for the environment and for health. Setting out from the hotel, which is situated in Willingdon Island, the rally went all the way to town and back: 25 kms. Most of the staff who took part were pleasantly surprised to find that they were fit enough to go the distance. (Dominic (b))

There are common context related references coded into the meanings and uses of the word environment. 'Environment' is non-specific representing surroundings, ecologies or contexts in which living things are embedded and dependent upon. In ecotourism it is also used in reference to: material elements such as air, water, minerals, light, temperature: "Recent rain has ensured the waterfalls are flowing freely, while the creeks in the valleys are bubbling" (Tidmarsh, 2007); business practices e.g. "The Biogas facility converts natural and plant waste into clean, burnable fuel with minimal impact on the environment" (Dominic, Coconut Lagoon); and social and cultural forces associated with development e.g. "The festival will showcase Minicoy culture, cuisine, handicrafts, games, and the diverse fish and coconut products made by the Maliku Hikimas Producers Society (MHPS) and other Women's Self Help Groups and serve as a platform to launch Minicoy products outside Lakshadweep" (Hoon, 2008). Jose Dominic directly addresses an important feature of the environment rendered through ecotourism; its ecological attributes from which tourists can gain experience.

> Ecological experiences can never come out of a handbook. There are no rules, no simple tried-and-tested roadmap (sic) to follow. Every environment emerges from endless combinations of local culture, climate and geography. In fact, no two spots on earth are exactly alike. And because every environment is unique, it needs to be uniquely respected, uniquely understood. (Dominic (b))

The hotels under study tend to use 'environment' in ways that emphasise its identity as a thing apart from the hotel as something which the hotel has a relationship with and that involves an awareness of the environment as a resource: "We are deeply committed to

preserving the unique natural environment surrounding our guesthouse, so that friends, family and guests may enjoy it, as we do, now and into the future" (O'Reilly's Environmental). It is not only represented as a natural place upon which the hotel is built but also as an asset available to make the hotels attractive to their customers or guests e.g. "The ongoing success of O'Reilly's Rainforest Retreat, Mountain Villas and Lost World Spa relies heavily on the preservation of the natural attributes of the surrounding environment. To this end, the World Heritage values of Lamington National Park provide a basis for all our planning, design and operation" (O'Reilly's, 2005).

O'Reilly's and CGH demonstrate their interpretation of the environment as an asset in diverse ways. The O'Reilly family discusses environmental impact in mostly non-specific ways, though the "caretaking" aspect was central in references to a management plan in press releases and newsletters: "Before a sod was turned we underwent a stringent environmental planning and approval process, working with independent consultants to manage every aspect of the development and implementing a comprehensive Environmental Management Plan" (Bourke, 2007). In discussing the environment O'Reilly's demonstrated a commitment to the idea that accommodation should not involve a compromise in guest comfort or luxury: "Appreciating the luxury of spacious and comfortable accommodation, guests can be secure in knowing that the environment has not been sacrificed to create their creature comfort" (Bourke, 2007). This sentiment was echoed frequently in their public documents: "Where luxury lives alongside nature. Getting close to nature certainly doesn't have to mean pitching a tent – with O'Reilly's Mountain Villas proving luxury accommodation can be both unobtrusive and eco-friendly" (O'Reilly's). Statements did not always relate to environmental practices and were often generalist and ambiguous in nature. The O'Reilly's eco-friendly luxury 48 Mountain Villa development was promoted as ensuring guests "could enjoy the beauty of the environment, while treading lightly on the earth" (O'Reilly's). Having 'botanical prints' on furnishings was tendered as evidence of an environmental theme saturating the property "Modern in design, the furniture is warmed by the use of Queensland Maple and botanical prints in cushions that reflect the rainforest canvas with furnishings and layout promoting relaxation" (Bourke, 2007). Also the experience of being in the rooms was likened to being in the middle of the forest: "Sitting up to 8 metres above the ground, you really get the sense you are floating in the forest" (Bourke, 2007). The luxury villas "provide the perfect nature escape offering spacious and contemporary accommodation designed to

connect with the natural surroundings. The interiors reflect the lush greens of the rainforest canopy, the rich hues of the rainforest floor and the vivid tones of the spectacular sunsets" (O'Reilly's Rainforest Retreat, 2013).

The idea of environmental sensitivity as a core business expressed through aesthetics, such as room decoration and architecture, was also expressed by CGH, who opted for an anti-luxury strategy in establishing their ecotourism credentials: "Accommodation on the island is simple and unpretentious" and "from the furniture to the towels to the landscaping, our first purpose has been to stay true to the environment, not to provide opulence and gadget-based luxuries" (Dominic, Bangaram Island). Such a statement shows attempts to connect the environment of the room with the environment beyond it, though whether it is really environmental not to "provide opulence and gadget-based luxuries" is open to discussion. This statement of homeliness became confusing when elsewhere on the site references to luxury were made in relation to CGH's over-arching mission "the only uniformity in the resorts under the hotel group is the minimal interference with nature or the local environment, without compromising on luxury" (Dominic, Bangaram Island). Such mixed messages could be confusing for guests. More cynically, it could appear as a way of making excuses for less than luxurious facilities while trying to charge for and sell a premium product; which are criticisms levelled by guests on the Trip Advisor site. On the other hand the strategy of promoting facilities in this ambiguous manner could be an attempt to appeal to both luxury and rustic markets. Trip Advisor results point to a mixed reception of this strategy. Of the 397 references to the theme of environment, a number of concepts emerged that were common to both providers. These included but were not limited to, the environment, wild animals and management strategies.

The environment was often promoted as a general feature of the destination 17% (67). For example, guests were asked to enjoy "the birds, dragonflies and butterflies that thrive by the Vembanad lake in Kumarakom.... Explore life on the backwaters; visit the bird sanctuary and farms and learn to cook with spices" (Dominic, Coconut Lagoon). Also, at "900 metres above sea level the rainforests of World Heritage Lamington National Park offer a green, lush and cool escape from sweltering summer conditions. The mountains also provide a perfect vantage point to view the spectacular approach of summer storms from the west and vibrant sunsets full of orange and red hues" (O'Reilly's, 2004 (b)). Wild animals 15% (58) were often associated with destination. CGH copy for example, included the following statement:

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"While there are 40 tigers around (according to the last census), they're shy animals, so don't bank on seeing one. But elephants, definitely - herds and herds of them. Not to mention monkeys like the Nilgiri Langur and the Lion-tailed Macaque, deer like the Sambar, Gaur, flying bats, flying squirrels, flying snakes (harmless, really), and over a 143 species of Orchids" (CGH Earth Spice Village (a)). Such a statement conjures a fecund jungle image reminiscent of childhood stories and National Geographic photographs. Tigers are called shy rather than endangered, which accomplishes two things. Firstly it minimises the threat of attack by tigers and secondly it sidesteps the politics of endangered species and their management.

O'Reilly's on the other hand, acknowledges "that many rare species of plants, birds and animals are rainforest specialists, and their vulnerability to extinction is due to the increasing rarity of their rainforest habitat" mentioning that its business is not "adding to that vulnerability" but instead "can be considered to have a positive impact on this rare habitat" (O'Reilly's, 2005). Unexpectedly the rainforest only featured in 6% (25) of environmental references in O'Reilly's copy; a figure matched closely with the frequency of references to the concepts of Eden/sanctuary 6% (22) and garden 5% (19). Water at 4% (16), energy at 3% (11), waste management at 2% (9), and carbon at 2% (9) were the other concepts associated with environmental references. Such results reflect the expected vernacular of environmental rhetoric found in ecotourism literature. The remaining 3% related to concepts such as natural, fresh and pollution. Fragments drawn from CGH guest comments showed that environmental appreciation accounted for 19% of spontaneous comments by guests.

4.3.5 Sustainability Theme

Sustainability was represented in 476,200 ecotourism related searches per month in December 2009. In May 2011 this number had grown to an average of 2,500,000 searches per month and in December 2011, 2,821,000. These figures indicate a persistent growth in interest in the sustainability aspect of ecotourism. Sustainable development emerged as the most significant aspect of ecotourism's sustainability discourse. The data also shows that search behaviours reflect attempts to pursue differentiation between green travel and sustainability. Such pursuit of differentiation gives credence to arguments drawn from the literature that discourses within ecotourism may not sit comfortably with each other. Sustainability is an important concept to both providers, who wrote extensively about their

various initiatives in this area 12% (49). The process of creating a "self sustaining fish pond" at Spice Village from an excavation "leftover" is mentioned as a way of proactively engaging with what we would call a hole in the ground "in most cases it would have been paved over and forgotten. We found it filling up naturally with groundwater. So we added some Carp, some algae and some ferns. Today, 13 years later, it's a tiny living biosphere, an example of what happens if you simply leave nature alone" (CGH Earth Spice Village (a)). How excavation represents a form of leaving nature alone is unclear. At the Coconut Lagoon property, waste management represented a strong theme: "From waste water recycling to plastics disposal, from sewage treatment to the avoidance of all chemical pesticides, Coconut Lagoon represents a new, highly sustainable model for ecologically sensitive tourism destinations" (Dominic, Coconut Lagoon). O'Reilly's made less generalist statements, favouring discussions about numbers and dollars to demonstrate the serious level of its commitment "The new plant represents a $1 million investment in sustainability for O'Reilly's, strengthening environmental credentials that have seen the family-run business surpass benchmarking standards set by the international Green Globe organisation for water consumption and energy use" (O'Reilly's (c), 2006).

There was no mention of the costs of doing environmental business in this way by CGH which could represent a cultural difference. O'Reilly's showed a penchant for specificity: "In 2005 O'Reilly's EMP was completed (sic) revamped, with a range of new sustainability initiatives instigated, including purchasing green power to save 290 tonnes of greenhouse gas emissions each year - the equivalent of taking 68 cars off the road for a year or planting 1,200 trees!" (O'Reilly S., 2006). Where these calculations come from is a missing point of this narrative. Also important to O'Reilly's is its positioning as a pioneer of ecotourism "After pioneering ecotourism in Australia, the O'Reilly family now combines old-fashioned experience with modern best practice, with an Environmental and Social Sustainability Policy and a comprehensive Environmental Management Plan (EMP) ensuring the retreat couldn't be greener" (O'Reilly's , 2006). Below is another example of O'Reilly's addressing the Australian industry's apparent preference for statements that reflect evidence of ecotourism claims.

> Our comprehensive Environmental Management Plan, Advanced Eco-
> accreditation and Benchmarking with Green Globe 21 ensures O'Reilly's
> operates to best practice sustainability standards, and represents the

environmental ethic of our business. O'Reilly's maintains a commitment to protect these World Heritage Values and to educate guests and visitors about the significance of the area to global conservation. (O'Reilly's, 2005)

4.3.6 Environmental Imagery

References to images were popular in 11% (43) of environmental references. A tendency towards discussing the environment in relation to its image value was seen in 11% of environmental references. These references were supported by much photographic material that 'set the scene' for interpreting each of the properties and its surrounds. For example CGH discusses how "tourists often gloat about an early morning sighting on the bulletin board outside the Tiger Club at Spice Village, the CGH resort in Thekkady. 'Today's sighting: Elephant, barking deer...'" (CGH Earth Spice Village (a)). Discourses of the gaze associated with tourist activities also emerged as central to promotional strategies that often talked about gazing, sighting, looking, painting and photographing views. O'Reilly's placed a lot of emphasis on this aspect of their experience: "To top it all off, the bathroom has a spa bath with views through a full-length picture window of the breathtaking mountain scenery (O'Reilly's (b)). CGH appeared to place more emphasis on experiential engagement, though this was still strongly associated with gaze related activities.

> US-based tour operator Murray Kronick does not use a camera on his travels; he uses his sketchbook to capture idyllic locales. His work is reproduced, and sold as limited edition (signed and numbered) prints. On a recent tour of the CGH properties with wife Sylvia, Murray was inspired by the rural greenery of Spice Village and produced a fine illustration of the Wood bar, in its 'wild setting'. Murray and Sylvia, who are inveterate travellers, also have worked with volunteers organisations in developing countries for the last eight years. (CGH Earth Spice Village (a))

In other promotional copy CGH says there "is nothing here, to take away from what is natural. The architecture respects the terrain, the climate and the natural offerings of the land. The colors of the earth and the forests are what define living spaces here" (CGH Earth Spice Village (a)). In addition to representation through photographic shots of scenery on the websites, the environment was often described in the vernacular of landscape painting, for example perspective, light and colour.

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> A little away from the village, Swa Swara lies on 26 acres of rolling hills and gardens adorned by flowers, shrubs and spices that give each other company on a carpet of green lawns, lined with serene coconut palms. Beyond the lawns is a vegetable garden bursting with the greens of the season and paddy fields that nourish those who stay at Swa Swara. (CGH Earth Swa Swara)

and

> Wait for a clear, clear day. Then, wherever you might be in God's own country, just look high to the east, above and beyond the paddy fields and the palm tops. Pitched and standing like pavilions against the horizon will be rows of faint blue smudges, fading into the sky. These are the highlands of Kerala, and they are another world. (CGH Earth Spice Village (a))

O'Reilly's, perhaps unintentionally, invokes a photographic reference "This room has plenty of natural light and great views to the western ranges. The room is equipped with black out blinds should you require them" (O'Reilly's (e)). Here the view is let into the room until the aperture of 'black out blinds' closes it off. Like the stock photograph, descriptions of sunsets and lightning storms are also prominent: "Summer sunsets are stunning, while summer storms make for a spectacular sight over the western ranges, particularly as many storms roll in from the southwest" (Tidmarsh, 2007).

An evocation of nature drawing on romantic poetry's motifs of idylls and pastoral scenes, where landscape becomes a setting for walks and picnics, was also common. Stargazing and adventures are also discussed. When the stars come out summer "proves the best time to view Saturn in the night sky. 'Orion's belt (the 'saucepan') is very distinctive and a good starting point, and Sirius is the brightest star in the night sky and easy to spot even for the amateur stargazer" (Tidmarsh, 2007). National parks are important to the environment theme, representing 7% (29) of environmental references. O'Reilly's was more predisposed to promoting this aspect because of its location.

> Lamington National Park covers more than 20,000 hectares and rises to over 1100 metres in a rugged range running along the Queensland–New South Wales border. 20 million years ago, the area was home to many active volcanoes which were bubbling with lava for over three million years. Once dormant, what remained was a changed landscape of rugged mountains and valleys, at the heart

of which is Mount Warning, the eroded caldera of an ancient volcano. This area is now known as the 'Green Cauldron' and includes a haven of subtropical rainforests that stretches from the Tweed Valley to the Queensland coast, and west towards the Great Dividing Range, enveloping Lamington National Park. (O'Reilly's, 2005)

Spice Village is the main CGH property located near a national park. Periyar National Park provides the property with access to a lake that covers "777 acres of mixed grassland and vegetation, including some of the most pristine tropical rain forests in the world" (CGH Earth Spice Village (a)). Integral to the value of national parks in the ecotourism agenda is its potential for engagement with animals.

4.3.7 Conservation and Animals

Conservation of animals, birds, plants, resources and indigenous lifestyles were the most commonly mentioned conservation themes accounting for 7% (27) of results under this theme. Examples include:

Oriental darter numbers reduced drastically from 121 to 75 in 2005, in a gap of four years. The heartening news is that numbers of the endangered bird increased to 144 in 2006. […] At last count, the property boasted about 90 varieties of birds. (Mathews, 2007b, p. 3)

and

Tradition will meet modern conservation as O'Reilly's works with researchers to establish a best practice model for feeding wild birds that will show the way for bird feeding in backyards across Australia. (Tidmarsh, 2007)

and

Feral animals and domestic pets of all types are excluded from O'Reilly's.
· Only endemic species are allowed as personal pot plants or hanging baskets.
· Weeds are to be eradicated from the site and surrounds and the area maintained thereafter.
· Endemic rainforest species to be planted around the Villas and maintained as such thereafter. (O'Reilly's, 2005)

and

> Conserve water. Many of our destinations are in areas where water remains a problem for the locals. And while there's plenty available at our resorts, we ask you to keep in mind that there's only so much to go around in the region. Be sensible in water use. Most times, you'll find a little placard in your room, giving you a few helpful tips. (Dominic, 9 ways to make the most of your ecotourism holiday)

References to animals featured regularly in texts but most of these related to birds, with the copious press releases from O'Reilly's regarding bird watching activity, influencing the results. Some samples of texts referring to wild animals are below. Animals were mostly discussed as wild attractions, as domesticated companions or as pets. For example "thus entered Rocky and Rexy- the two Labrador puppies, Gange and Parvati- our cows and Shiva the bull and the 20 guinea fowl, apart from, of course, the 20 odd Langurs (black face, long tailed monkeys), Brahmani kites, white bellied sea eagles and the odd peacock that come and go as they please" (Tolani, 2008, p. 4). Both hotels made decisions not to include technology in some of their rooms because the managers believed that these things detracted from a guest's ability to engage with a space: "With no televisions or phones in the room to allow you to completely get away from it all, bird calls replace phone calls and rainforest views replace television screens" (O'Reilly's (b)) and "Imagine a resort where less is really more. No air-conditioning or television or nightclubs. Just a mirror, held up to an age old culture and a living harmony. This is the tribal village, reborn for the modern traveller" (CGH Earth Spice Village (a)). Recognition of the animal life surrounding the property was supported by engagement with these animals where possible.

> Discover more about Australia's remarkable wildlife and come face to face with some of these amazing creatures at O'Reilly's new 'Wildlife in the Rainforest' show. The interpretive show features a range of native Australian animals, including owls, turtles and some of Australia's deadliest snakes. Afterwards a 'chat and pat' session gives you the chance to get up close and personal with some of these fascinating critters all under the watchful eye of trained guides. (O'Reilly's, 2009)

and

> For a bird enthusiast, this means the opportunity to spot a diverse range of birds,

> from the raptors who enjoy the lofty heights almost 1km above sea level, to the birds of the eucalypt forests, such as the famous Glossy Black Cockatoo and those that make the coastal swamps and lagoons their home. (O'Reilly's, 2010)

and

> And always, standing in salutation are rows of Kerala's storied temple elephants. These gaily-caparisoned animals, clad in the distinctive silk colours and traditional ornaments of the region, are an integral part of the festivities, which stretch late into the night. (Dominic, Kalari Kovilakom; The Palace for Ayurveda)

The endangered Oriental Darter is described by CGH as a guest of the property: "Coconut Lagoon, which provides a friendly atmosphere for all winged visitors, seems a favoured location for the bird" (Dominic, Coconut Lagoon). Anthropomorphism and personification are used as strategies to engage tourists with animals and their habitats by both providers: "A Vechoor Cow keeps the grass from growing too tall, content in the knowledge that it belongs to a special breed indeed" (Dominic, Coconut Lagoon). Like other bowerbirds, says O'Reilly's, "the Satin Bowerbird male builds his love nest on the ground to entice the girls" (Bourke, 2007). O'Reilly's has conservation programs for birds and uses anthropomorphism to help personalise them for guests: "With their beautiful colours and gentle dispositions, butterflies must be the best-loved of all insects" (O'Reilly T., 2007/08). The example below is dedicated to the Bowerbird and personifying its behaviour. This strategy helps the resort configure wildlife as characters, and in this case, a particularly stereotyped male playboy character; a "larrikin" in the Australian vernacular.

> The male Satin Bowerbird is a natural show-off and playboy – and he'll go to great lengths to attract females to his bedroom – otherwise known as a Bower.... While the more retiring Regent Bowerbird relies on his distinctive and colourful plumage to lure the ladies, building a fairly austere and functional Bower, the blue Satin Bowerbird appreciates that the female of the species is into home decorating. They will build quite elaborate structures and decorate them with blue 'trophies' – kids cars, sunglasses, pens, toothbrushes, blue and purple flowers – anything blue or shiny qualifies to set off the décor of a Satin Bowerbirds courtship arena. (Bourke, 2007)

Naturalist and botanist voices were often used in texts and predominantly involved lists of birds, butterflies, plants and wild animals that could be spotted within or immediately surrounding properties. For example in their discussion of birds "you can expect to see" CGH lists the "Great Hornbill, Red Billed Leiothrix, Mustached Warbler, Goldcrest, Bright-headed Cisticola, Chestnut-bellied Nuthatch, Green-backed Tit, Slaty-backed Forktail, Ultramarine Flycatcher, Dark-sided Thrush, White-tailed Rubythroat, Collared Falconet, Merlin, Pallas' Fish Eagle..." (CGH Earth Spice Village (a)). O'Reilly's talks about a track "entirely within rainforest" where "Antarctic Beeches feature on the higher sections. With relatives in South America, Papua New Guinea, New Caledonia and New Zealand, the beeches offer a link to our Gondwanan past and are part of the reason for Lamington's World Heritage listing. Some larger, multi-trunked examples are thought to have originated from seed perhaps 5000 years ago" (O'Reilly, 2007).

4.3.8 Creative Writing

Text fragments were assigned codes based upon their semantic and literary content in ways that would allow themes and features from the discourse to be organised. The codes do not reflect any personal rejection or acceptance of the phrases, only their frequency. By determining the features of the texts that reflect creative writing practices in fiction and poetry I can extrapolate the mode through which literary production is reflected in the discourse. This extrapolation helps fuel the analysis and discussion in ways that consider the findings of the Literature Review (Section 2) and the data (Sections 4 & 5) to reveal new knowledge about ecotourism texts, nature's role in them and tourist responses to them.

Creative writing features represented in the texts (N=156) such as voice, character, narrative, description, cliché and hyperbole, were present 11% of the time. Examples of cliché / hyperbole drawn from written materials include exaggerated descriptions of place such as "Befriend the misty morning air, stretching to meet the first rays of a bright new morning. Share the memories of your day with a million stars, in the night sky over Gokarna. As the fresh scented breeze of this village tucks you in and watches you drift into slumber" (CGH Earth Swa Swara); and "A holiday at the CGH resorts is like a box of chocolates. Each guest has a favourite one —Bangaram, Marari Beach, Coconut Lagoon, Brunton Boatyard— that they choose over and over again" and "We believe SwaSwara is poetry in stone, tinted in a

passionate colour symbolizing the energy of mother earth, offset by the purity of white" (CGH Earth, 2007, p. 7).

O'Reilly's did not adopt such a personal voice in its copy, preferring instead to focus on clichés/hyperbole rendered through a corporate tone "New ecotourism era begins with the ultimate natural escape" (Bourke, 2007) and "let bird calls replace mobile phone calls, bush berries replace Blackberries and create space to focus on rewarding outcomes" (O'Reilly's (e)). "Rewarding outcomes" represents the vague and corporate tone common to many tourism promotional websites. Primary school children were the target for some of the texts: "Recent rain has ensured the waterfalls are flowing freely, while the creeks in the valleys are bubbling" (Tidmarsh, 2007). The use of storytelling as a device was witnessed in 17% of the copy and it was mostly concerned with family business and staff background stories. For example, CGH's family business origin story acts as a welcoming voice that begins: "We're the Dominics, and we're to be your hosts if you visit a CGH property. Perhaps you'd like to know a little bit about us? CGH was founded by our father, Dominic Joseph Kuruvinakunnel on the harbour island of Willingdon, in Cochin, Kerala" (Dominic).

The O'Reilly's family story begins with scene setting: "In February 1937 Australia was shocked to hear that a Stinson airliner was reported missing on a flight from Brisbane. The news did not reach the Guesthouse for almost a week until Herb O'Reilly in Kerry informed his brother Bernard that it flew up the Kerry Valley and disappeared into cloud towards the McPherson Range" (O'Reilly, B.) The story progresses in great detail through what happened after the phone call. A key point to the narrative is the discovery, by Bernard O'Reilly, of the wreckage.

> Bernard decided to search the area where the flight path of the Stinson crossed the McPherson Range….He pushed his way through dense rainforest dominated by lawyer vine and spent the night huddled with his back to a tree. Next morning he climbed Mt Throakban and sighted a tree 8 kilometres away that appeared to have been burnt. …Three hours later a 'coo-ee' startled him and he came upon the crash site to find two men, John Proud and Joe Binstead, still alive after 10 days. (O'Reilly, B.)

The O'Reilly's story represents an example of the Australian tradition of the yarn and eventually segues to an explanation of their tourism business. CGH showcases the expertise

of some of its staff through the strategy of a background story. One example is told through the central character of Girish the naturalist: "In his pre-Spice Village days, when Girish ran a photo studio, it was conspicuously different from the others in town. The walls of his studio were adorned not with photos of smiling young couples and starlets, but with pictures of wildlife. Even as a student of commerce, Girish earned his pocket money by selling stickers for the World Wildlife Fund (WWF)" (CGH Earth Spice Village (a)).

The Dominic family demonstrates a desire to be written as ecologically and socially responsible, committed to excellence and respectful of expertise within their corporate narrative. Unlike the Australian family, CGH invites others into its story and appears less concerned with family heraldry. O'Reilly's, a much smaller concern, hinges its identity on its family members, who are represented as characters within the O'Reilly Story. One such character is Vince, who runs the Canungra Valley Vineyards: "Vince O'Reilly was an obvious choice to be honoured with a bottle in his own name, after sharing naming right honours on the vineyard's Muscat with brother Peter, with whom he ran the O'Reilly's guesthouse for four decades from the 1950's" (Tidmarsh, 2007b). A penchant for constructing and locating the O'Reilly family in the continuum of Aussie pioneer stories was evident in the following example.

> An original O'Reilly boy, Mick left the mountain to run his own dairy before returning to the O'Reilly's family business in times of financial trouble in the mid 1940's. His decision to privatise what was then a public company and convince sons Vince and Pete (Big Pete) to come into the business as the second generation of management, set the guesthouse onto a path of success over the following decades. He and his wife Annie ran the Gran O'Reilly's General Store until the early 1980's. (Tidmarsh, 2007b)

Poetic strategies were witnessed in 72% of coded copy considered to be using creative writing methods. Poetic description e.g. "Teardrop shaped, thick with cool coconut plantations and encircled by a corona of silver sand…" (Dominic, Bangaram Island) accounted for 11% of these results. Rhyme and rhythm were present in 5% of cases, e.g. "Bamboos burst in tilting spires. Cascades of trumpet flowers, pepper vines and honeysuckle wash down the hillsides. (CGH Earth Spice Village (a)). Alliteration 20% and imagery 30% were the most frequently used techniques and were often combined with onomatopoeia when

animals were written about e.g. "Bees hum around teak trees, and Colombian coffee bushes. Guinea fowls and ducks chatter about" (CGH Earth Spice Village (a)).

Rarely does a text use just one strategy however with: alliteration e.g. "Remove your colleagues from the clamour of the city and introduce them to nature's calm" (Clapham, 2008); and imagery e.g. "A kingfisher dives low out of a clear blue sky" (CGH Earth Spice Village (a)) feature commonly in descriptive passages. Place was most often described poetically, although it was also subject to cliché and/or alliteration. For example: "A few hours inland from the coast are places of cool mists and sun-dappled, silent valleys, home to vast plantations of teak, cardamom, tea, rubber and coffee" (Spice Village); "Buds burst in growth spurt at vineyard (O'Reilly, 2007); "Rain can quickly turn the beech forest into the leech forest... on a typical winter's day, this wet, muddy, bloody world becomes something different entirely" (O'Reilly, 2007). O'Reilly's descriptions tended to involve reference to a product, a program, a meal, a wine or a room "Autumn arrives with birds on song and waterfalls flowing.... The active program sees participants out and about from warming up with a walk at dawn to enjoying dusk listening to the chorus in the canopy of the rainforest and then joining the night owls for some spotlighting" (Bourke, 2008). Also "picnics on the grassy banks of a crystal clear creek are a popular lunch option" (Bourke, 2008); "our first Verdelho promises passionfruit and mango aromas, medium body and a zesty citrus finish" (Tidmarsh, 2007b); and "the workshop will feature *plein aire* painting, early morning light and sunset colour excursions, studio work, slide presentations, and of course invigorating and interesting walks in the rainforest" (O'Reilly's, 2004).

The creative writing technique of allusion was also a popular strategy with 8% of coded fragments reflecting its use to evoke feelings, mystery and history, and to associate the resort with outside influences that appeared to enhance the status or mystique of a place. In the case of CGH's island resort Bangaram, perhaps predictably, a shipwreck was alluded to in the following and other references: "Popular dive spots off Bangaram include Manta Point and the wreck of the Princess Royal, sunk 200 years ago" (Dominic, Bangaram Island). Films of *The Lost World* have been made regularly since 1925 after Conan Doyle's *The Lost World* first introduced the concept of prehistoric life existing on a plateau in the Amazon basin. On May 10, 1989 the Colong Foundation for Wilderness nominated that the Border Ranges National Park and the Limpinwood Nature Reserve, 8,500 ha of land in total, be protected under the moniker of 'The Lost World'. The Lost World wilderness is home to a rich

diversity of mammal, bird, reptile, amphibian and plant species and it this that the O'Reilly's Lost World Conference Centre and Spa overlooks. Capitalising on the allusion already installed by the conservationists, the O'Reilly's Lost World Spa Gold Coast Hinterland website displays a picture of a woman reclining in a cedar spa tub with, strangely, her back turned away from the "rugged wilderness area to the southwest of O'Reilly's" known as The Lost World. To read heavily into this, the picture embodies the disconnection between people and wild environments. Her shut eyes and back turned away from the wilderness to face the comfort of a warm and cosy room that offers relaxation and pampering, highlights another issue that recurs in the scene of ecotourism; the background of nature as a backdrop to touristic experiences that protect the tourist from immersion in chaotic and potentially dangerous wild nature.

By installing "the remote areas of Southern Lamington and the famous Lost World (Moonlight Crag)" as a spa backdrop, O'Reilly's signifies some of ecotourism's conflicts reflected in the Literature Review section of this thesis. Briefly however, a conflict emerges from the need to develop natural areas in order to encourage visitation (and some argue protection) of them and the inherent compromises associated with this (Boo, 1994). The image of the woman reclining in the spa and its signification are embedded in a text packed with modern ecotourism messages.

> Nestled within World Heritage listed Lamington National Park, in the Gold Coast Hinterland, O'Reilly's Lost World Spa is a true nature haven for those seeking rejuvenation, relaxation and balance. Created with vision and integrity and named after the rugged wilderness area to the southwest of O'Reilly's, The Lost World Spa embraces the natural elements of the surrounding environment, offering discerning guests a chance to be nurtured amongst nature. (O'Reilly's (d))

A key phrase here is the reference to a "chance to be nurtured amongst nature" (O'Reilly's (d)). Herein lays the crux of the matter; that ecotourism marketing consistently demonstrates the human value of the environment in terms of its utilitarian and material functions. Such a view of nature privileges its status as a resource over its status as a realm capable of fulfilling many functions; some of which fall outside the jurisdiction of human needs or desires.

CGH and O'Reilly's texts are peppered with alliterative fragments such as "cling to clay till you create a work of art" (Swa Swara); "breezes and barbecues... The Rippling Road... The

fruits of fresh water (Coconut Lagoon); "stand on the sands of infinity and let your intuition wander into the wilderness (Swa Swara); "Lamington rainforest is at its lush and luxuriant best... crisp, clear mountain air... (O'Reilly's (e)); "buds have begun to burst" (O'Reilly's (b)); "stake out a spot on the scorching sand... hive of activity of harvest time" (Tidmarsh, 2007). Of the poetic strategies adopted by CGH and O'Reilly's, imagery and evocation were the most common devices. These qualities were used to describe places, people, animals and the environment. CGH used these strategies in a more evocative and metaphoric way, while O'Reilly's tended towards a greater reliance on literal descriptions; in other words a greater tendency towards telling rather than showing was witnessed in the O'Reilly materials. For example, CGH describes Bangaram with an abundance of adjectives that embellish the text with hyperbole and cliché: "With virgin coral reefs, turquoise blue lagoons, silver beaches, exotic fishes and lush green coconut palms, we almost had no work to create a destination on Lakshadweep's Bangaram Island" (Dominic, Bangaram Island). Silver beaches are better than grey ones; lush coconut palms have more evocative value than straggly ones; exotic fishes are more attractive than ordinary ones, except perhaps in Australia where exotic means something different in a negative, environmentally destructive way due to its association with damaging, introduced plant and animal species; and finally the reef is virginal as opposed to frequently visited and by implication, spoiled as a result.

O'Reilly's on the other hand firmly embeds much of its imagery in the utilitarian: "Designed to subtly resemble birds perched high amidst the trees and built from natural and lightweight materials, the villas offer stunning mountain and rainforest vistas" (O'Reilly's, 2008); "In the hinterland below, O'Reilly's Canungra Valley Vineyards offers the shade of silky oak trees for a picnic beside a picturesque creek, with award winning wines the perfect refreshment" (Tidmarsh, 2007); "stunning views of mountains silhouetted against clear blue skies and into the rainforest" (O'Reilly's, 2006); and "Inside the fire is warm and the upstairs bar is the best place to watch day turn into night in a kaleidoscope of pinks and oranges, relaxing over a cocktail or a glass of wine of course" (O'Reilly's, 2006). CGH's penchant for metaphor, imagery and description yields some intriguing copy: "Like a poor man with a big heart, Bangaram, in the Lakshadweep Islands was a remote and bare destination, but one of great beauty, with some of the most spectacular coral in the world" (Dominic, Bangaram Island); "Swim out to the curve of the Om and let your hair down in the sea of mysticism" (CGH Earth Swa Swara); and "Canoes ply silently through the pellucid afternoon, and our next-door

neighbours from the Kumarakom bird sanctuary drop by at the restaurant for an occasional snack" (Dominic, Coconut Lagoon).

In summary, the case study of industry promotional material contained in this section (4.2) demonstrates the techniques of its language and how it connects with ecotourism's discourses. The data reflects content in the "Literature Review" (section 2) that shows ecotourism to be an ambiguous and largely exploitable term capable of many functions. It is also clear that the only time the word ecotourism is engaged with directly by both CGH and O'Reilly's is when referring to industry credentials, qualifications and awards. This reinforces the findings of AdWord and Keyword searches I completed using Google, which show ambiguity around the term and its constituents such as sustainability, conservation, nature. Also reinforced is the view of ecotourism as a professional word with professional values in the tourism industry. These values and meanings appear to be distinct from the language used to pitch to tourists and appear to be associated with the word environment rather than nature. This is an area of potential future research.

4.4 Case Study Three: Trip Advisor Reviews of CGH and O'Reilly's

Results of the analysis of consumer reviews posted on Trip Advisor are presented in this section. The goal of this case study is to see whether hotel management connected with the concerns of tourists staying at their properties and to explore the implications for ecotourism promotion of findings. As each reviewer often spoke about multiple concepts, each result is an expression of the number of times the concept was mentioned in relation to the total number of reviews. This was the most meaningful way to consider the themes and concepts raised by tourists. Results have been categorised to reflect congruency with the other case studies undertaken and the 'Literature Review' focus on key discourses operating within ecotourism. It is expected that Trip Advisor reviews would contain more criticisms than guest comments supplied to hotel management as a result of the anonymity available to tourists using the website.

4.4.1 Accommodation

In relation to accommodation, 77% percent of the 228 reviews mentioned the style of the accommodation. No attempt is made to acknowledge or correct the spelling or grammar of the review content in this section. Of interest was discussion about points of difference between hotel rooms at the resorts and those typically associated with the tourism industry,

for example open rooms and the 'elements'; a site where people interact directly with the outdoor world.

In commenting on a stay at CGH's Swa Swara property tourist reviews were mixed about the open air villa style part of the room. Although the bedrooms at the resort are enclosed and air conditioned, the rest of the internal room area is a private, terraced miniature courtyard: "A really spectacular design. BUT- being that most of your accommodations, except the bedroom, are exposed to the outside, if you don't enjoy insects or frogs at night, you might want to adjust expectations or look elsewhere" (20, 2010). Reviewer Vic 20 reported this open area as part of "the charm of the place" being especially taken with sharing the room with a local tree frog "that hung out in the bathroom and the wardrobe closet" and the nightly turn down service that involved "a tidy of the bedroom and a fumigation of the outside area which included frankincense (yes, the kind from Catholic mass), a mosquito coil for the covered area. We thought these to be very thoughtful, non-toxic, and satisfactory for bug control" (20, 2010). Duncater had a different reaction to the property, saying that the worst part of their stay was the bathroom: "I understand that "garden bathrooms" (i.e. open to the air) are "traditional" here, but in previous accommodation the bathroom had been protected against mosquitoes by netting. Not here. Having taken great care not to be bitten, stripped off and showering in this bathroom resulted in countless bites" (Duncater, 2010). Bangaram is another property that attracted mixed reactions about nature. While acknowledging that Bangaram Island is surrounded by water and that the monsoon brought mosquitoes with it, Duncater expressed annoyance that the "hotel hasn't done something to protect guests in an area where Dengue Fever and Japanese Encephalitis aren't unknown" (Duncater, 2010).

48% of reviews with an accommodation theme contained references to the expense of the accommodation. "I can't recommend this hotel to anyone" says IDMoscow responding to other reviewers commenting on Swa Swara "I know that there are many who liked the place – good for them. I would say that this is a too big price for yoga course and nice villa with cheap tasteless food, bad beach, tractor noise and smell of the dung. At same price there are many other nice quiet and quality places in India to stay" (IDMoscow, 2011). O'Reilly's also came under fire for their pricing: "We stayed in a mountain view room which was pretty average for what we paid. The restaurant is also average but expensive" (PCW93, 2010). Accusing O'Reillys of "living off a reputation that is no more" PCW93 warned other travellers to expect "mediocre accommodation, food and service at premium prices. We have

travelled extensively worldwide and O'Reilly is probably the worst value for money we have come across. We would recommend a day trip to the national park" (PCW93, 2010). 18% of accommodation related reviews contained a reference to pool issues: "Being a 5 star luxury resort the swimming pool could have been bigger and better. I will give just 5 out of 10 rating for the swimming pool. There is just a mediocre not so exciting pool out there" (arreddy, 2009). To some tourists the pool was a significant part of their destination ambitions: "The lovely pool well set surrounded by lagoon/lake, canals and stunning vegetation with plenty of wild life and palm trees suffered again a mite by the water being very warm at all times and thus less than refreshing to enter. However it was clean and the jacuzzi was a bonus" (Lemniot, 2007). 8% of tourists commenting on accommodation talked about facilities, 4% about the garden, 3% about the Internet.

4.4.2 Activities

In relation to activities, 12% of reviewers mentioned cruises such as the afternoon motorised canoe trip offered to guests at Coconut Lagoon. Cruising "through the smaller canals of the backwaters really shows what life is like. A free sunset cruise on the lake every evening is a great way to close the day and prepare for dinner – the only problem being it is very popular" (briangb, 2009). 18% discussed Ayurveda, a traditional Indian healing practice and yoga. Commenting on Swa Swara, Alistair reports that the place

> is all about the yoga (my wife said it was excellent), the meditation (wife says
> some good, some odd) and the ayerveda. We had a consultation with an ayerveda
> doctor who prescribes a course of massages. My wife got the oil in face thing,
> while I ended up being pummelled with hot oil bolus. Not very indulgent, but
> therapeutic apparently. (Alistair, 2010)

A common practice in the Trip Advisor community is to talk about other reviews and to offer an opinion about them. It is interesting to think of Trip Advisor as a scene of review palimpsests that write over or critique earlier writings about place. "I read other reviews" says Alistair "and saw that there is lots of nakedness and showers with massage girls who rub you down. I was looking forward to this, sadly, as I am a guy I had male masseurs. It is weird being naked with him, but you get over it quickly, and you actually need him to wash the gallons of sticky oil off your back" (Alistair, 2010). Such transparency offers travellers an ability to talk back or strike through the text of a paid or compromised reviewer. Perhaps in

such an environment, the reviews that are the most trusted are those that offer some criticism of a place that appear authentic. For example "the hotel has private area next to the public BEACH, but it was awful! That nice photo on the internet site of the hotel 'relaxing in a hammock under the serene coconut palms' in the real life looks completely different. The area looks like some backyard of the farm, where people store their all the trash" (IDMoscow, 2011). As mentioned in the Literature Review, authenticity is a significant and powerful discourse infusing the scene of ecotourism and it is comments such as this that plug into the discourse. 14% of reviews containing reference to activities mentioned walking "we hit the "boardwalk" and suspension path for a quick hike before morning tea" (Academic, 2011). 9% discussed bird watching: "Guests get to join some free guided tours. I think the best one was the early morning 6.45am birdwatching walk - it gets crowded after that and they keep taking you to the same area" (Kalgoorlie, 2009). 8% talked about multiple activities "Key attractions i would say at the place are the sunset cruise, the village walk, the butterfly garden and bird watching" (Gladiato, 2009). 5% mentioned snorkelling or diving; 4% cooking; 4% yoga; 3% art; and 2% mentioned spa treatments.

4.4.3 Conservation and Animals

A focus on animals was evident in 39% of the reviews, the majority of which, 69%, referenced birds: "You have to relax here, you are surrounded by wildlife beautiful birds and butterflies and the little cattle that keep the grass down are seriously cute. The resident naturalist is very knowledgeable and enthusiastic and we enjoyed a butterfly walk and an evening BIRD boat trip" (Bonniegi, 2010). Also, "the grounds of the hotel are huge and really lovely and I recommend the BIRD watching tour in the village canoe at sunset which takes you out into the poetic lily pad BIRD sanctuary for a very quiet and close-up view at the BIRD life" (CherylAd, 2008). Some tourists at the Coconut Lagoon property talked about the cows "we had a species of an endangered COW grazing directly outside, we were not the only ones. Tied to the tree so nothing to worry about. These are kept for conservation purposes" (JP80-Wor, 2008). Also, "the location of Swaswara is beautiful. Om BEACH is a 5min stroll from your villa. The resort lies in a valley and on numerous acres of land. Rice fields, vegetable patches, flowers everywhere...and once in a while, a monkey comes over to say hi" (TravelBa, 2010). What is important to note here is the touristic value of beautiful and friendly animals that leave no dung or smells behind and that don't threaten tourists in any way with their wildness. It's a fine line that the animals tread between being accepted into the

ecotourism script or being eradicated from it. Such an eradication potentially endangers the animal because an unpredictable animal can create financial and legal risks for operators.

4.4.4 Sustainability

26% of Trip Advisor reviews made a direct reference to environmentally sustainable activities, "the emphasis on environmental sustainability was very gratifying and the early morning bird walk with the naturalist was absolutely fantastic - he knew so much and was very good at sharing it so that we looked at the birds much more knowledgeably from then on" (annemick, 2011). Tourists were variously engaged with sustainability discourse but consistently they complained if they were given what they perceived as a compromised experience: "A major potential irritant is that all of the water- shower, sink, foot-washer- is derived from 'top-water' to make it more eco-friendly. This is commendable of course; however, it does come with rather pungent consequences" (richardm, 2010). The 'top-water' of Bangaram Island "is riddled with sulphur (yes the same sulphur that is in the stink-bombs set off by school boys or that makes you wretch when your car emits it) which truly stinks, those of a weak constitution will find this hard to stomach, and indeed our neighbours' daughter vomitted the first time she used the shower" (richardm, 2010). Tourists aware of environmental and sustainability issues noticed gaps between rhetoric and practice and were critical of them. "The picnic was great" said PCW93 of the picnic O'Reilly's supplied in backpacks, however they complained about being "provided with plastic containers and cutlery" wishing instead for "dry ingredients in biodegradable recycled paper bags or wax paper and the other elements in a reusable tupperware lunchbox" (PCW93, 2010). PCW93's offered a solution to the issue, i.e. to "try and keep it all finger food and have no cutlery or have reusable cutlery. It would be no effort to return them with the backpack. I would not order the picnic again unless this is changed. Actually the only thing I can really fault is the lack of environmental concern. It could be better in the detail" (PCW93, 2010). As an ecotourism provider O'Reilly's needs to be concerned that an environmentally savvy traveller can only find fault with their "lack of environmental concern". It speaks to the heart of their credentials as a provider of environmentally sustainable experiences. Discrepancies between rhetoric and practice attract criticisms from reviewers.

4.4.5 Authenticity, Romanticism, Imagery and Colonialism

13% of reviews made statements that related to authenticity: "Resort gives you many options of rooms like Mansions, villas, Private pool villas. We stayed in Mansion which is authentic old Kerala housing style" (kridhm, 2011). Another reviewer said "Authentic Kerala is what they promised and what I got" (chitrame, 2009). 35% discussed the beauty of the location: "The sea is a beautiful aquamarine green and while we were there it was absolutely still. You could snorkel right off the beach and see some lovely coral and pretty fish" (hairies0, 2009). Food was mentioned in 87% of reviews and 52% of reviewers talked about their unique experiences in some way: "I wore a sari for the first time at this resort, and the young woman from reception, and a young woman from housekeeping helped me get it on. So much cooing, and attention to little details... I nearly wept, the experience was so sweet. I haven't been attended to like that probably since I was a little girl" (anniekif, 2009). Another reported that after a life time of travel experiences "I was stunned by back water surroundings, surprised by location of the resort, satisfied by food and services and sizzled by superb leisure activities whether fast packed water launch driving or quite & calm boat sailing in river, indeed a hilarious and unforgetable adventure" (yogesh74, 2009).

Almost half of reviews, 46%, talked about staff, with 24% of those comments complaining about poor service: "The staff at the hotel were not great.... The majority of the restaurant staff came across as not interested (too busy chatting to remember if we asked for tea or coffee). The reception staff were bordering on rude and the general feel was one of not really caring" (SBran, 2008). When tourists were not complaining about poor service they were generous with their compliments of staff, who appeared integral to the quality of the experience: "I'd probably give this place 4 stars, but I was just accompanying my wife who absolutely LOVED it and she was the target market. What swung it for me was the superb STAFF" (Alistair, 2010). The interesting thing about the staff comments is that they expose some of the underlying discourses operating in tourism. Here are two examples of comments inspired perhaps by colonialism: "The STAFF cannot do enough for you, laze round the pool with a fabulous view of the lake with it's fisherman, rice boats & wildlife" (Thebestt, 2010); "Would love to visit again anytime. The STAFF are extremely polite, helpful and always wear a smile which makes you feel special" (CYAN-D, 2011).

20% of comments contained references to location with an occasional tourist revealing the discourse of power in their discussion.

> Next to the private beach area there are some fields of the hotel. During our stay there were field works continually going on: first day there people were burning some old grass and the beach area was in a smoke for a many hours, next day we spent in traktor engine noise, when I finally at 3.40 pm called to the reception and explained that actually we stay in this hotel, because it is far away from Goa, it should be quite place for relaxation and meditation and asked them to stop that noise I was told, that the field works will be finnished at 4 pm, thus good news for me, I have to wait only 20 min more! Next day was quite, but on the fields they put a dung and the smell was wonderful. I would say that farm and hotel in the same place isn¨t the best combination if you are not agrotourist. (IDMoscow, 2011)

What's most interesting in this comment is the way capitalist rhetoric infuses the expectation. If a tourist buys a tourist image from a provider then they expect to have the experience they purchased. Most disgruntlements appear to stem from the deceptive practices of marketing that promote images that have been sterilised of sensory data but that evoke them in the reader. If the destination does not match its image and descriptions, the tourist reports the disjunction. Below is another example of the way one scene can be read in multiple ways. For some, a secluded island in the backwaters entered by boat is valued as a prestigious and secure experience, but in this instance an entirely different read is offered.

> We arrived at the hotel jetty in the afternoon, to be boated to the hotel, after 10 days hectic traveling around Kerala. Nobody was around and it felt strangely deserted – quite a feat for India. Finally we boarded our water taxi, and arrived at the entrance to the hotel after about 10 minutes. It was almost like entering a prison. As we approached the inlet, the guard – sorry, security man, raised the barrier to let us in, and we heard the thud behind us as he dropped it back into place. The hotel appeared to be isolated from the rest of the world, an image the hotel likes to foster. (briangb, 2009)

The above comment is indicative of the way subjectivity fuels the interpretation of experiences, texts and discourses composing the scene. Tourists receive texts and experiences through their subjectivity and though promotional copy is concerned with delivering text based images, sensory details will be filled in by the tourist and reported back.

4.4.6 Creative Writing

In the following section text fragments were assigned codes based upon their semantic and literary content in ways that would allow themes and features to be identified. I used my experience as a published poet and author to determine how to code the fragments, though the codes do not reflect any personal rejection or acceptance of the phrases, only their frequency. Regarding the Trip Advisor material coded for creative writing content 6% was deemed to contain clichéd descriptions such as "long rides, sometimes into the setting sun" (chitrame, 2009); "We have just returned from a two week vacation in Kerala, India – God's Own Country. One of the jewels we found during this vacation was The Coconut Lagoon, Kumarakom" (KDMumbai, 2009). Here the tourist is directly quoting the state's own slogan as a truism or personal insight; Kerala is often promoted as *God's own* country amongst other things. 4% used a narrative strategy in their review through the sharing of personal travel stories or perspectives. Some examples of this strategy include the following.

> We arrived at the Coconut Lagoon on a rice boat having spent a night on the backwaters of this truly magical place. We picked up our boat at the Alleppey (Alappuzha) pier and sailed around the backwaters picking up our dinner on the way (langoustines). The next morning we "docked" at the hotel and after the warm welcome at reception shown our bungalow which was very comfortable with a view to one of the backwaters with boats passing to and fro. (DariusMe, 2008)

Another reviewer shares their trepidation about returning to a favourite place. After having "such a wonderful stay at Spice Village two years ago Boulbon reports being "a little nervous about staying again. Could it be as wonderful as we remembered? Would we be spoiling a perfect memory? On the contrary, everything we enjoyed about Spice Village was still there. The warmth, welcome and friendliness was as great as ever and the note on the pillow in the bedroom said 'Welcome home'" (Boulbon, 2009).

7% of reviews used description: "The resort is aptly named as it is full of coconut trees. The purple orchids which are in heavy bloom lend further beauty to the greenery" (rimjhim, 2009); "The welcome you receive begins with the senses - a necklace of fragrant flowers, which is just the first fabulous scent you will experience as you walk the lovingly tended grounds" (GiveMeMORE, 2008). Hyperbole was present less in tourist reviews than in the

promotional copy of CGH and O'Reilly's. 3% of consumer reviews repeated promotional slogans such as "Kumarakom is truly Venice of the East" (BJSMumbai, 2009). Poetic references (4%) were used to describe some of the extraordinary feelings or experiences travellers encountered, for example, "a candle-lit table next to a lapping ocean with delicious, well-prepared food, under the stars- with electro-charged plankton lighting the edges of the water" (richardm, 2010). Such poetic acknowledgements were less prevalent than environmentally themed reviews however.

4.4.7 Environmentalism

21% of tourists talked about the environment in a way that focussed on it as a setting, for example, "the resort is so picturesque and I was surprised at how lush and green it was everywhere" (LH2010, 2010); "The setting was great, under the stars and with a bonfire blazing away to deter mosies" (shaun_diamond, 2008). 19% mentioned views of the environment: "O'Reillys is a rather special place in the middle of the Lamington National Park with great views, some unique wildlife and vegetation" (mfs1011, 2009); "We have enjoyed the Vembanad lake view from outside of my Room" (somuCalicut, 2010). 24% spoke about nature "this property is located on the hill top. surrounded by forest all around its in the middle of lush greenery and nature" (renovatio, 2010); "The lagoons team with fish, the reefs are alive with humpheads, barracuda, morays and even Manta rays" (fothers07, 2007). After reading fothers07's review I am left wondering whether they witnessed this wildlife or simply reported what they read in the brochure. Sometimes it is difficult to tell.

16% of tourists used the word 'eco' in their review: "The ECO/Green Ethos of this chain of hotels is really refreshing" (AdeleZ, 2011); "This place is very expensive and costs a lot to get too but is marketed as a great ECO style place, totally unspolit. This is far from true" (KatieE, 2006). 6% talked about the destination as a sanctuary: "The atmosphere of the spa is a true sanctuary, with the rooms opening out to the mountains / nature outside (including some very exotic-sounding songs of the resident birds)" (Love2Escape, 2008). Another wrote that the property "is impeccably kept, a true oasis of green tidyness, the hotel is obviously very well managed and the presence and vigilant eye of the GM can be felt" (bueffbueff, 2010). 5% mentioned national parks; 4% nature trails; and 3% the word "paradise".

In summary, consumer reviews reveal that tourists are actively engaged with the experiences and promotional copy used to sell ecotourism holidays to them. Tourists appear to care about

authentic portrayals of experiences and expect messages to be consistent with product. Assessment of authenticity is however dependent on the subjectivity of tourists and their expectations and interpretations of ecotourism. Nature is consistently discussed as a background or setting, even in the ecotourism scene. This finding raises questions about the value of expecting ecotourism to fulfil a conservation agenda because if that which is being preserved conflicts with the expectation of tourists or the financial viability of operators, it is less likely to be valued. Tourists are noticed to be reiterating slogans in reviews and to being critical of environmental activities and experiences that do not match the rhetoric of promotion.

5. DISCOURSES DISCUSSION

As mentioned in the Introduction, this thesis contains six sections: an introduction, a literature review, methodology, case study research findings and discussion, a discussion on discourse and a conclusion. Section Five reviews the findings of case studies, literature, keyword data analysis and tourist reviews by critiquing the discourses associated with them to determine how coherent the story of ecotourism is across its many writers and producers. The discussion is fuelled by broader concerns than the data alone because though the case studies uncover specific attributes relating to ecotourism's key elements, such as internet representation, destination construction and tourism experience reports, these fields represent only a few aspects of ecotourism's narrative and production. This section on discourses is another data set conducted in a literature review style. It is one of the ways that my research expresses its multi-modal strategy to produce new knowledge through an establishment of context in which a reading of the case study data can be extended across disciplines. By engaging with broad cultural discourses that fasten to ecotourism the discussion utilises data where it sheds light on how ecotourism produces its story and how this connects with the discourses operating within and though it. Specifically, in this section an overview of the research findings is presented to determine: 1) How ecotourism is represented in the marketing of tourism experience; and 2) how nature is represented within ecotourism literature. In exploring these areas I contribute to knowledge about: how the ecotourism story is written; how nature is represented within it; how consumers respond to its texts; and, the way nature is represented in culture that has consequences for broader conservation discourses and ideologies. The research is important because it demonstrates how the methods used by discourse and its engines such as marketing and promotion are deployed to transform ecological space into political and cultural discourses that position nature as a theme within them to perform a host of utilitarian functions.

Tourism's language has an impact on culture and operates within it as a system involving "naming", "framing", "enshrinement" and "reproduction" (Dann 1996, pp. 41-42). In the naming stage an "expressive function" is adopted to authenticate or mark a place as "worthy of presentation" in for example, tour guide descriptions that reveal direct experiences with them (Dann, 1996, p. 41). Using the role of the tour guide and its relationship with tour groups, Graham Dann describes a process that, when extrapolated to the wider culture, helps a region determine its identity for the purpose of promoting it to others. A tour group, or

visitor guided through an area, is encouraged to show interest through asking questions that demonstrate knowledge about ways to interpret the cultural representations being presented to them. Dann argues that the function of a tour guide is to help translate culture and to present its stories in a way that helps tourists identify with the area or "sight" in the same way as the tour guide: "The referential function is employed to provide information about the sight" (Dann, 1996, p. 41). By detailing the history of a site and personal relationships with it, a tour guide "supplies the names and a working knowledge of the various elements of the property, occasionally using linguistic codes to refer to special terms" (Dann, 1996, p. 41). In this way the naming function of tourism begins to translate cultural spaces into specialised and personalised scripts, one of which is ecotourism, that uses scientific rhetoric from biological, geological and social sciences to guide encounters.

Boundaries created through language are placed around an area in order to protect and enhance important cultural and environmental sites. A site becomes constructed as a place to visit through the way tour guides talk about it (Dann, 1996) and through the ways it is represented online. Dann's noticings about the operations of language extends to discussions in website literature. When for example hotel copy and staff speech express attitudes to a place, tell stories about a place or display feelings about it, the intention is to inspire reciprocal thoughts, feelings and attachments to it to help preserve the area from damage "feelings of intimacy and warmth thus evoked are similarly used to protect the exhibits from damage" (Dann, 1996, p. 41). Attempts to create relationships between tourists and sites happen according to Dann through processes of identification. Such identifications seek "to enhance the visitor's perception of the sight and consequently to treat its objects with care and to refrain from verbal deprecation" (Dann, 1996, p. 41). The language used by destination managers impacts on cultural and environmental ideologies and creates a method for separating and inscribing space.

The ongoing lack of a precise, commonly agreed upon definition of ecotourism has resulted in "misunderstanding, argument and debate" with ecotourism being confused with "adventure and nature tourism, not to mention sustainable tourism" (Mader, 2004). It is interesting to note that Mader's statement implies that nature tourism is a misrepresentation of ecotourism. That nature tourism could be conceived as misrepresenting ecotourism reflects how central the conflict between humans and nature remains in the industry. A key to the debate is the extent to which ecotourism has been pulled in different directions to serve different

discourses. An increasingly ambivalent relationship with nature confuses its role and status in the ecotourism story. In considering Trip Advisor results I acknowledge the problem of the label "ecotourist" as there is no demographic information that enables people to identify themselves as ecotourists. It is not possible to label people "ecotourists" on the basis of them staying at an accredited ecotourism facility. There is much more potential research to be done in understanding ecotourism motivations in guests staying at ecotourism resorts.

My research reveals that nature is comprehensively being put to work as a commodity in ecotourism discourse as much as it is in the discourses of politics, tourism and business. For example, in ecotourism texts nature appears as a gaze commodity, resource, spiritual scene, adventure space, conservation site, literary symbol and destination for health and wellness. The way nature is represented in texts and its connection with ecotourism discourse and promotion is more fully considered when literature and data are weighed together, which is the purpose of this section. When ecotourism is considered as a product of language, a commodity and discourse, it is possible to see how its rhetoric potentially works against the preservation of natural areas such as wilderness, oceans and deserts. Different texts interact with ecotourism's language and representation in ways that confuse conservation ideologies within the rhetoric. As a keyword, ecotourism's use in online searches, reviews, academic literature, and marketing/promotion texts reflects diverse meanings and representations. A specific ecotourism language is exposed that fastens to nature, culture and environmentalism ambiguously. The marketing of ecotourism connects with discourses such as globalisation, Romanticism and environmentalism in the promotional literature of government bodies and societies in India and Australia. This kind of representation often conflicts with conservation ideologies and rhetoric.

The more commodified and unnatural nature becomes the more representative it is and the more it can be exploited to perform the functions of nature in any particular discourse. If tourism is producing experiences without understanding the nature of the scripts written and translated for producing them, then at least in the case of ecotourism, confusion can result in a proliferation of inappropriate products that inevitably compromise the integrity of ecotourism's key texts. This compromise results in it being trivialised to the extent that it transforms ecotourism into a niche of mass tourism rather than a set of ideologies, texts and practices in opposition to it; which is what it originally set out to do. Transformation into a niche of mass tourism reflects the process of commodification of avant-garde product by

mass culture proposed by MacDonald and Williams. It also reflects how mass tourism is able to recruit profitable and malleable niches to turn them into brochure entries on the mass tourism menu. The language of tourism promotion reflects views produced in the cultural criticism discipline, particularly those associated with broader processes of cultural production. Writing in all its forms helps create ecotourism's identity. Creative writing, travel writing, promotional writing and poetics all contribute to the methods through which tourism is promoted, constructed and desired. Fundamental to understanding the importance of language in creating the experience and identity of ecotourism is understanding how people search for it on the Internet.

Of the 100 search terms returned from the Google 'ecotourism' keyword search I conducted in 2010, 15% were related to defining, or educating about ecotourism. This supports earlier findings of a 2004 study of 25 government tourism agencies that found 80% of respondents had created their own definition of ecotourism (Mader, 2004). My results indicate that this situation prevails in spite of more than a decade of industry and academic attempts to agree on a definition. The lack of consensus reveals a potential difficulty for the business of ecotourism: its policies, cultural claims, environmental relationships and future. The pursuit of an agreed upon definition reflects globalisation texts that establish the world economy as a scene of potential consensus in spite of the political rhetoric that enforces difference through nationalism. Each country has its own relationship with nature that reflects different histories, spiritual relationships with the land and economic capacities. Online searches show high variability in themes correlated with both ecotourism and sustainability. Definitions vary, but generally ecotourism is discussed in website materials as an activity involving natural destinations, minimal impact, promotion of environmental awareness, financial benefits for conservation, and respect for local people and their human rights. Some themes, for example development, impacts and sustainability, show stronger relationships with ecotourism than others such as nature, conservation and wilderness. Trends in the tourism industry towards niche marketing have resulted in a proliferation of terms that confuse ecotourism's earlier identity as a conservation oriented activity; for example 'local', 'responsible' and 'conscientious'. Of the three terms, the 'local' theme showed the strongest connection to ecotourism within the case study results.

Ecotourism definitions often include references to biological diversity, cultural autonomy, sustainability, employment, local economic returns and indigenous management. Ecotourism

appears to be strengthening its relationship with economic and cultural discourses and weakening its relationship with nature conservation discourses. For example, presentations at an ecotourism conference attended in 2010 included a talk from representatives of the National Landscapes Program and National Parks. In their presentation they outlined ways that were being investigated by government agencies to make natural areas more "financially self-sustaining" and "culturally relevant" (Tourism Australia and Parks Australia). Such statements demonstrate trends in policy rhetoric and change the tone of ecotourism's discourse in relation to natural areas. By transforming nature into "public space" or "national landscape" a utilitarian ideology underwrites the discussion by establishing public ownership of nature. This activates the 'user-pays' discourse of free-market capitalism which in turn puts ideological pressure on providers and consumers to attend to the "management" of nature. When "nature" becomes a "natural area" it is potentially stripped of its rhetorical wildness and literary value to become a piece of real estate, a public asset and a thing to be managed. Sustainability, accreditation, responsible management and green washing emerge from such techniques of discourse.

5.1 The Meaning of Ecotourism

In the 1990s ecotourism was viewed as "a sustainable form of natural resource-based tourism that focuses primarily on experiencing and learning about nature, and which is ethically managed to be low-impact, non-consumptive, and locally oriented" (Fennel, 1999, p. 43). The strong local theme has remained along with the trope that ecotourism as an activity occurring in natural areas "should contribute to the conservation or preservation of such areas" (Fennel, 1999, p. 43). When this idea is considered in relation to my data there appears to be a shift in the strategies applied to core ecotourism rhetoric appearing in policy and management instruments. This is potentially a future valuable area of research.

As the discourses intersecting ecotourism presented in the literature review proved to be extensive, I needed to determine a way of analysing how the word is exercised in practice in the vast online tourism corpus. Ecotourism often achieves its meaning through its context, the way it is embedded in promotional texts, to achieve its niche status. By exploring its contexts it is possible to gain an idea about what ecotourism means to different sectors of the community. Ecotourism discourse often refers to concerns for local impacts, whether those impacts are environmental, cultural or social. Local concerns for conserving threatened

ecosystems are fundamental to the ecotourism story. Ecotourism appears to be a product of environmental, social, tourism and sustainability discourses which each impose different accents on the scene. The proximity of these discourses can polarise views and create conflict about, for example, environmental protection, accessibility to wild areas and the role of profitability.

Keyword case study results indicate that the content of texts involving ecotourism on the Internet is simpatico with concepts of ecotourism developed by industry. For example Ecotourism Australia defines ecotourism as an "ecologically sustainable tourism with a primary focus on experiencing natural areas that fosters environmental and cultural understanding, appreciation and conservation" (Ecotourism Australia). The International Ecotourism Society defines it as "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people" (1990a). The Ecotourism Society of India outlines 17 objectives intended to promote sustainable development and "responsible best practices in and among the tourism fraternity" (Ecotourism Society of India, 2008). Amongst these objectives there is much policy focussed on managing resources in a sustainable manner. Results indicate that ecotourism is a sector of the tourism industry trying to fulfil multiple objectives that do not necessarily prioritise conservation, the environment or sustainability in ways that are expected. For example, under the heading "ecotourism" the principles of development, responsibility / ethics / sustainability, economics and best-practice were most frequently co-located in the keyword data. Conservation featured as a relevant theme 61% of the time. Although these themes may align with industry objectives, there is a lack of clarity about whether such views are shared by tourists. My investigation of tourist accounts on Trip Advisor and in guest book comments shows a low adoption rate of the word ecotourism. When endeavouring to source information about this initial finding it became clear that there is a lack of available research on the relationship between industry views of ecotourism and those of tourists; representing another future area of valuable research. This is confirmed by the Google AdWord data that reveals confusion about ecotourism definitions.

The lack of consensus on the meaning of ecotourism supports an investigation of language, themes and concepts surrounding and contained within it. This has been an ongoing problem and one reflected in attempts by researchers over the years to distil an agreed upon meaning for ecotourism. In 2005 Julia Caldicott and Don Fuller summarised key ecotourism definitions. Their findings reveal an interesting and enduring contradiction. On the one hand

several references to undisturbed areas are made while on the other managerial and policy approaches appear in statements about cooperation with indigenous communities, preservation of natural resources. A reading of their findings confirms the results of my research: that the representation of nature has shifted from a space of wilderness, wildlife and natural areas to a resource that can be managed through human practices such as sustainable development and its rhetoric about impacts. As mentioned earlier, recent rhetoric portrays nature as a space humans need to conserve, manage and exploit in a particular way. It is common for these strategies to appear in the discourse in ways that advocate the need to preserve nature as a resource for future generations of people. The rights or presence of the non-human domain are not addressed in common definitions except as things or ecologies to be admired, named, enjoyed, measured or learned about; hinting that ecotourism functions to service the tourism industry and the tourist more than nature. There appears to be no ethical or moral imperative in the definitions to protect nature for its own value, enabling the discourse to distance material nature from representative nature in a self-legitimising manner.

Discourses in ecotourism's story construct social spheres and influence actions as they are frequently positioned in relation to ecological destruction or harmony. In the 1990s the concept of ecotourism emerged from a growing interest in the natural environment complimented by rhetoric about the importance of conserving the natural environment. By the mid-90s the "idea of visiting and experiencing high quality natural environments and also protecting them from harmful impacts" became acceptable and marketable (Orams, 1995, p. 3). Early interest in the relationship between tourism and conservation, the essence of ecotourism's origins, can be demonstrated at least from Gerardo Budowski's proposition in 1976 that there were three possible scenarios or strategies for nature, conservation and tourists to relate to each other in tourism discourse: conflict, coexistence, or symbiosis (Budowski, 1976). Budowski advocated a symbiotic relationship between tourism and conservation. My research indicates that the word ecotourism has evolved from its original meaning associated with preserving nature, to a discretionary word with primarily administrative, legal and business functions. Its evolution from a proposition that embraces certain environmentally motivated value sets and language, to a word of significance within the tourism vernacular, reflects what Habermas (2001), drawing from Weber (1968), refers to as processes of rationalisation and specialisation; processes that result in ever increasing forms of differentiation. Habermas adopts Weber's argument about the replacement of

traditional and charismatic modes of administration with legal and managerial systems, to discuss the role of detachment in influencing cultural values. Habermas argues that the major problem of differentiation is that it creates a "detachment from the current of tradition" (Habermas, 2001, p. 45). It is possible to witness this process in the detachment of conservation rhetoric and its replacement with the language of sustainability in the way ecotourism is represented. This is one of the techniques of language that has helped ecotourism become a rationalised and specific environmental rhetoric operating as a niche within mass tourism's diversification. This rationalisation or specialisation enables tourism to partition its environmental responsibilities into a speciality area where conservation values can be promoted. This does two things: firstly, it enables the rest of the tourism industry to differentiate itself in ways that do not require conservation values, and secondly, it establishes conservation values as a specialty area requiring legal and administrative management and accountability. In other words, rationalisation and specialisation are processes that marginalise conservation values at the same time they appear to be promoting them.

Confusion about the meaning of ecotourism is revealed through my data. With 11,100,000 global monthly searches on the term "what is tourism" and 301,000 searching for "what is ecotourism" (November 2011), the word tourism itself is also revealed as an ambiguous term. Consolidating results to accommodate an additional 13 variations on the question "what is ecotourism" from the top 100 returns, revealed 2,977,600 global monthly searches dedicated to defining it. There is not enough background data to determine the nature of such inquiries, which suggests an area for future research. As expected however, "Eco" emerged as an expression of ecotourism's ecological and economic functions within tourism discourse. Self-branding, promoting and marketing by businesses and organisations supports an easy adoption of "ecotourism"; increasing its instability. Shane O'Reilly, Manager of O'Reilly's, drew attention to this problem when during our interview he reported his frustration with "competing with anyone who wants to jump on the ecotourism bandwagon. Some of them [hotels] just put a card in the room requesting that guests don't wash their towels and say they are protecting the environment" (2011). Green washing as this strategy is called, is supported to a certain extent by the tensions and flexibility of the word enabled through its ambiguity. By performing as a professional market word in the processes of globalisation, ecotourism does not resist the forces of mass tourism but slots into its discourse as a niche through which

market differentiation can continue: thereby extending tourism, management and market discourses and the language of "impacts".

Ecotourism's impact on culture has both positive and negative benefits. Positive benefits include: fostering "community stability and well-being through economic benefits and local participation"; "aesthetic and spiritual benefits and enjoyment for residents and tourists"; and, providing accessibility to a range of people (Weaver, 2001, p. 21). Other positive impacts include environmental education (Orams, 2002); increased employment opportunities, economic benefits to local communities, improved services and infrastructure (Weinberg, Bellows, & Ekster, 2002); and improved standards of living (Orams, 2002; Weinberg, Bellows, & Ekster, 2002). What is missing from this list of positive benefits is any statement about conservation. Such rhetoric positions ecotourism as an enterprise that privileges cultures over environments and enables the discourse to fulfil a human centric function that detaches people from their relationship with nature. Other views of ecotourism suggest it requires at least two elements: the natural environment and education, where nature-based tourism emphasises education (Weaver, 2001b). David Weaver argues that an emphasis on education differentiates ecotourism from nature-based activities with a leisure or adventure orientation such as sea, sand and sun, trekking, climbing, or rafting (Weaver, 2001b). The nature of this education is unspecified. A sceptical view of ecotourism holds it as a glossing over of ordinary tourism with socially and environmentally responsible rhetoric that renders it as a scene of language rather than a legitimate tourism endeavour (Duffy, 2002; Isaacs, 2000). Such scepticism views ecotourism as predominantly a "green washing" campaign emerging from marketing (Romero, 2008). My data supports a view that the word ecotourism is enmeshed in contradictions that facilitate exploitation of nature.

Representation through language is understood as the essence of constructing and interpreting tourism experience (see G. Dann 1996; Friedländer 1992; Williams 1976). Ecotourism is a product of exchange between the forces of culture and nature which, while interpolated, are considered in the discourses of marketing and business at least, to be distinctive realms. Ecotourism requires the exploitation of resources and enables the consumption of environments and communities by tourists through the "eco" prefix, which evokes "positive" images through association with the words "ecology, ecosystem, ecosphere and eco-sensitive" (Orams, 1995, p. 3). The eco prefix "accumulates new meanings associated with sustainability and environmental responsibility" says Frank Hutchins who joins others in

observing that it "presses individuals, institutions and communities to preserve and protect the environment" (Hutchins, 2007, p. 75). However, ecotourism "continuously pries open new spaces into which physical bodies and cultural meanings flow" resulting in "mutability rather than sustainability, where local nature is reordered as global commodity, and local meanings are reinterpreted to better align with consumers' desires" (Hutchins, 2007, p. 75). Hutchins raises a point that is crucial to this research; that the environment is represented in multiple ways. It can be represented as an idea, a vernacular, a social practice, a space, a product of natural science, ontology, culture and fiction that harness it to a variety of social and economic functions. Such pliability of meanings glued to the word "environment" helps it serve the representative functions of discourse emerging from tourism and the broader culture.

Ecotourism emerges as a specialty within the broader category of alternative tourism that arose in the 1980s and 90s. A worldwide reaction against mass tourism and the "idea of nature-based tourism, which was protective of nature as well as enjoying it" came to fruition in the early 1990's (Valentine, 1992). Negative sociocultural, economic, and environmental impacts generated by mass tourism and an uneven distribution of financial benefits, prompted an economic migration of profits from host communities to transnational companies (Weaver, 1998; Scheyvens & Russell, 2009). Deforestation, soil erosion, wildlife disturbance and social and cultural degradation are also legacies of mass tourism that help explain ecotourism's emergence (Weaver, 1998; Scheyvens & Russell, 2009). Two things are important for understanding the value of my research here. Firstly, the academic rhetoric does not mention that the word environment is a tool of discourse that helps reconstitute nature as an ideology and scene of managerial intervention with implications for how conservation is interpreted at local levels. Secondly, the "eco" prefix is more popular in industry texts than in tourism promotional copy, indicating distinctions between expressions of ecotourism as an environmentally driven business and a lack of capacity to contain a coherent meaning in the tourism marketplace.

Without coherent meaning tourists are unable to ascertain what they are buying or supporting. As ecotourism experiences are often marketed as premium products that cost more, it is clear that ambiguity around the product of ecotourism is not supporting this kind of value adding. An implication of this is that ecotourism could be seen as unprofitable and nature as something that tourists are not interested in. In other words, the failure of ecotourism to yield

the outcomes hitched to it could result in nature being considered as a low priority for tourists through its construction as "environment". This in turn could lead to a diminution of environmental concerns and create a threat to the ecotourism project. By alienating ecotourism from the natural world or by hosting tourists that are not interested in nature, ecotourism destination providers could leave tourists uncertain about the ecotourism narrative and its relationship with nature.

5.1.1 A Professional Word

Definitive ambiguities and ecotourism's capacity to account for social, cultural and economic values in the practice of nature related tourism, facilitates green washing and enables the privileging of the needs of the tourist industry, local development and people, over nature and conservation practices. This privileging is evidenced by keyword search results that reveal strong semantic linkages between ecotourism and economic activities such as "sustainable development" and cultural features invested in the "local" relationship. The Triple Bottom Line (TBL) discourse (environment, society and economy) attempts to overcome such privileging but appears to add to confusion about ecotourism instead. A conflict in discourse orientations within the TBL model results in accusations between different parties represented in it, that other ideologies and discourses are being granted more status (Ecologically Sustainable Development Steering Committee, 1992, p. 11). When coupled with my keyword results these criticisms of the TBL model support a reading of ecotourism as a word that serves the business of tourism more than the tourist or nature.

Further evidence for ecotourism as a predominantly business, administrative and academic word is gleaned from online copy where the lack of use of ecotourism by the case study hotels, tourists on Trip Advisor and Google AdWord data, showed low uptake and use of the word at the interface between tourists and destination providers. Trip Advisor results show a distinction between business and tourist uses of the word and point to several distinct strands of discourse being associated with ecotourism, with mixed results. Foucault's (1979) view that government processes control everyday life through increasing appropriation and management by state apparatuses, is evidenced through the use of ecotourism as a business administration and government policy word. Destination providers associated with natural areas could be expected to engage with environmental discourses through these processes. It would be interesting to survey ecotourism providers to gain a clearer picture of their

perspective on the value of the word to their business. Ralf Buckley offers a different perspective, arguing that a precise definition is not necessary because if "'ecotourism' is being used for marketing, for example, it does not need to be defined at all, as long as it persuades people to buy products" (Buckley, 2009, p. 2). AdWord data and the values placed on keywords associated with ecotourism makes it unclear whether the word ecotourism is capable of persuading people to buy products.

Other researchers such as Bramwell (1989), Paehlke (1989) and Pautz (2010) highlight the modes through which managerialist processes overwhelm understandings about the environment. Bramwell and Paehlke argue that removing the environment from the domain of public concern transforms it into an object requiring specialist management. Expert managers are able to use technical strategies, tools and complex administrative practices to establish authority over the natural world in a bid to establish it as a commodity (Bramwell, 1989; Pautz 2010). Once established as a value commodity in addition to a resource, the environment can serve a role for the destination provider's identity as protector, advisor or expert in the area. Some evidence of this was found in CGH website copy which offered nine ways guests could reflect ecotourism values. These recommendations included: being informed, dressing modestly, conserving water, eating locally, not tipping in an ad hoc way or giving money to beggars, avoiding room service, travelling light and getting involved with community activities: "Our destinations are run like little village communities, and there's always some things to do at the organic farms and paddy fields. Learn how to peel cinnamon, pick up a recipe at our cooking classes, take a bullock cart ride...the options are endless" (Dominic, 9 ways to make the most of your ecotourism holiday). Such recommendations show high correlation with ecotourism's environmental, social and economic rhetoric.

Shane O'Reilly reported ecotourism's diminishing capacity to establish a nature-conservation niche status as being due to increasing numbers of accommodation providers green washing and tourists being unwilling to pay for, or discriminate between, deep ecotourism, rhetoric or 'spin'. On the other hand, consumers on Trip Advisor sometimes criticised O'Reillys and CGH Earth for selling expensive nature based experiences through "basic" accommodation, perceived green washing and pseudo environmentalism. This may reflect the demographics of people reporting on Trip Advisor though this information could not be ascertained. A recent profiling of environmentally conscious consumers found that people with deep commitment, called dark green consumers, were "likely to be older, more educated and

affluent than 'light green' consumers" (Grail Research, 2009, p. 9). The same study found that though both groups of consumers "shared similar motivations for buying green products, 'light green' consumers make their buying decision on impulse and out of curiosity at the store, while 'dark green' consumers plan their purchases ahead of time" (Grail Research, 2009, p. 10). These factors could contribute to the degree of commitment 'dark green' tourists have to the nature and conservation aspects of ecotourism discourse and their penchant for increased sensitivity towards greenwashing. The Grail Research findings considered in conjunction with my results helps explain why most tourists report positively on certain engagements and not others. Most tourists reported positively on active engagements with nature such as walking, bird watching, snorkelling or scuba diving. They also gave positive feedback on activities involving the gaze such as perceiving beauty and enjoying views, but reported negatively on overpricing, enforced environmentalism or compromises to accommodation and service. In essence there are fewer dark green consumers around, and though they have higher disposable incomes, they expect more for their money (Grail Research, 2009, p. 10). Due to higher education levels, dark green consumers are also more likely to be informed about environmental issues and perhaps less susceptible to marketing rhetoric of a green washing nature. Research data points to an issue matching tourists to properties/destinations and matching ecotourism experiences with rhetoric; especially if words such as 'luxury' are going to be invoked in the same breath as 'nature': two seemingly disparate discourses. In 2011 Grail Research undertook another study which found an emerging distinction between light and dark green consumers with a potential future impact on ecotourism. 43% of 'light' green consumers who purchased environmentally-friendly products in the past had reduced their purchase of green products or switched to conventional products 2009-2011 (Sincoff, 2011). There was a one percent increase in the consumer group reflecting dark green traits. The reasons given for a reduction in light green consumption were mainly economic.

Tourists on Trip Advisor reported negatively on being charged a premium for eco-branded experiences that did not match the rhetoric of uniqueness, luxury and quality often contained in the destination provider's texts. One of the reasons for this may be individualised interpretations of ecotourism that conflict with professional uses of the word. Ecotourism is constructed through discourse, creative writing texts and promotional strategies in ways that fail to match the claims of marketing copy. Misconstrued or unrealistic expectations, a lack of

authenticity, misleading representation by providers of the quality of their product, cultural positions, economic capacity and travel experience may contribute to the way ecotourism is encountered in the tourism market. Cohen (1979) has spoken of the "push and pull" factors associated with destination choice, and how an individual's holiday needs and ideas about what constitutes quality could also influence whether or not disappointment is experienced on a holiday. Ecotourism is embedded in broader tourist discourse and is therefore subject to tourism's overarching texts about travel.

Search results, Internet relationships and case study information reveal that as a business word ecotourism is associated with credentials, government policy and as a tool to attract investment money. As a business word it enables government processes and managerialism, which may be important for establishing industry imperatives to engage with environmental issues within a frame of ecotourism. Government processes determine "where any kind of legal or financial decision depends on whether a particular tourism product is considered ecotourism" (Buckley, 2009, p. 2). For Buckley "some protected area management agencies grant preferential access rights or concession conditions to ecotourist operators, relative to tour operators more generally so they need precise criteria to decide when to apply their own policy" (Buckley, 2009, p. 2). Government processes were present in keyword and AdWord search results, revealing a close relationship between ecotourism rhetoric and "conservation" and "local" discourses.

Keywords and themes closely related to ecotourism industry and policy, such as "development", "communities", "management", "productive" and "tourists", lacked the quality of engagement found in the language of tourist feedback. In general, tourist reviews lacked the tone of corporate speech and policy. An example of how professional language seeps into promotional copy is reflected in some of the O'Reilly's press releases.

> We have an Environmental and Social Sustainability Policy and a very
> comprehensive Environmental Management Plan (EMP) that commits us to
> conserving resources, preserving the World Heritage values of surrounding
> Lamington National Park, as well as educating guests. [...] We enjoy national
> Advanced Accreditation in Eco-Certified Tourism as well as international
> accreditation through the prestigious Green Globe organisation. (Tidmarsh, 2011)

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This is not the kind of language that could be expected to attract tourists as it lacks engagement with nature experiences and speaks directly to policy. It is possible that the purpose of this sort of text is to establish a position within local government and political frameworks in order to attend to the managerialist discourses of bureaucracy; including the bureaucracy of Tourism Queensland and Tourism Australia. Such a reading of the purpose of tourism copy is afforded weight by Buckley's 2009 review of ecotourism where he concluded that "government tourism agencies have sometimes provided small-business grant programmes, or subsidized marketing, specifically for ecotourism operators, and once again they then require precise criteria to determine whether particular companies are eligible to apply for such assistance" (Buckley, 2009, p. 2). Determining an appropriate definition for ecotourism is essential argues Buckley because it grants a framework through which funding support to one service or another can be defended, as "any decision on eligibility may be subject to legal challenge" (Buckley, 2009, p. 2). It may be necessary for O'Reilly's to keep reiterating their managerial credentials in relation to the environment because they operate on the edge of a World Heritage listed resource and are subject to close scrutiny of their business as a result. They may also wish to access government funding for the kind of initiatives mentioned by Buckley. My research concurs with Buckley's view that definitions and accreditation of ecotourism serve predominantly as instruments of managerialism and academic research. This gap between the management requirements of ecotourism and the expectations of ecotourists is also seen in tourist reviews of CGH and O'Reilly's.

> The heat and humidity during the day in March, April and May can be unbearable, particularly for those who are not used to intense higher temperatures. This is made worse by the absence of air conditioning in the no-frills huts. Yes it is an eco-resort and air-con is not eco-friendly but you deserve to know that if you wish to stay cool, then the only way to achieve this is to remain in the ocean. In essence if the heat is too much for you then it is inescapable, a major problem at night! (richardmalpass, 2010)

In spite of the indeterminate nature of tourist identities on Trip Advisor, the results recruited from this community help explain why such a powerful corporate keyword has such a relatively low presence in Google search results and a high conceptual relationship with development and local themes. The development theme was more strongly correlated with ecotourism than the theme of tourists, pointing perhaps to more discussion being dedicated to

addressing the processes of development than the activities of tourists or the needs of conservation. A pattern emerges here of a keyword that serves predominantly as a managerial tool to establish a niche in the tourism palette; a word that in general appears disconnected from the language of tourists. It is also possible to speculate that accreditation programs provide an overarching reassurance to tourists of managerial responsibility towards the environment: "The emphasis on environmental sustainability was very gratifying and the early morning bird walk with the naturalist was absolutely fantastic - he knew so much and was very good at sharing it so that we looked at the birds much more knowledgeably from then on" (annemick, 2011).

Tourists and members of the community may expect the government to be monitoring industries with environmental claims that impact on their community. By adhering to structures of accreditation tourism managers and policy makers can address this perceived responsibility. The proliferation of accreditation programs fits with such a view of the role of managerial discourses within ecotourism. Lee Etherington, Operations Manager for the Australia-based Local Focus Nature Tours asks "where is the ecotourism accreditation demand coming from? I know of countless examples of consultants, governing bodies, academics, telling operations and each other that products should be accredited, but as an ecotour owner/operation, I have never been asked if I have advanced ecotourism accreditation by a consumer" (Etherington). This noticing by Etherington fits with my research that did not find a single use of the word ecotourism by a tourist in their Trip Advisor reviews of the providers. This lack of direct reference does not necessarily mean accreditation is not valued, as it may be an assumed aspect of ecotourism experiences.

A view of accreditation as a structure for assuring legitimacy could be read as one that hedges against green washing and implies protection for tourists and the community against exploitation of the particular value system encoded in ecotourism discourse. Examples of interrogation of environmental messages by consumers were found in reviews of CGH and O'Reilly's. One example of consumer sensitivity to green washing expressed within Trip Advisor reviews is a response to CGH's published online statement about it staying true to the environment. The mission statement begins with a discussion on furnishings and how "from the furniture to the towels to the landscaping, our first purpose has been to stay true to the environment, not to provide opulence and gadget-based luxuries" (Dominic, 9 ways to make the most of your ecotourism holiday). Progressing through statements about how much

their guests appreciate the chain's environmental sensitivities, CGH opens itself to potential criticism; "Our guests seem to love it, because they've been prepared to meet us half-way and more. To join us in planting a tree. Or bringing in the pepper harvest. And cheerfully overlooking the odd insect in the room (chemicals would be effective, but they'd ruin the groundwater, you see...) (Dominic, 9 ways to make the most of your ecotourism holiday). Of the tourists who responded directly to their eco message however, the majority offered positive reviews and praised the chain for its efforts: "Inspirationally run on ECO principles. Even the buildings and bedrooms have been crafted from remnants of ruined traditional buildings" (Sapphire, 2009).

Not all tourists accept the CGH rhetoric on face value however, with some criticising it for its strategy and/or its claims and the expected consumer response to them. For example 'novice78' from Delhi reported Coconut Lagoon as "a good hotel and i am not disputing it. it is just that too much has been written about the so called eco-friendly experience that we miss out on the other important stuff that travellers look forward to on an expensive vacation!" (novice78, 2010). Other reports from the CGH portfolio reflect tourist engagement with several aspects of ecotourism discourse. For example climate change is addressed: "This is an ECO friendly hotel and everything they do tries to minimise their carbon footprint" (Bonniegi, 2010). Environmental values are also spoken of in reviews: "The whole resort had an eco feel from seeing the cows chewing on the grass and the efforts in the rooms to be ethical and true to the environment" (Man_with_wife, 2010). Nature is confirmed as something separate from the tourist and resort when a tourist says: "Nestled between the forests, and a botanical marvel, the place gives you no reason to step into the actual forests" (hills, 2009). Environmental education was reported positively: "We were particularly impressed by the resident Naturalist consultants who showed us around the Eco-friendly resort, took us on early morning treks in Periyar Tiger Reserve and were on hand to give us slide shows of local flora and fauna after dinner every evening!" (exmothianExmouth, 2009). Resource management was criticised when it resulted in an experience the tourist did not like: "The room is basic but has a ceiling fan, a fridge and the essentials all work!... Disliked – subdued lighting in the rooms - ECO light bulbs" (keithteeth, 2007). Site reviews in guest books often reported on experiences such as walking and gazing at sunsets in ways that afforded them authenticity. Authenticity is used here in ways documented by Cohen (1988) for supporting personalised constructions of authentic experiences. A couple of examples of

the role of personal voice in establishing the authenticity of a review include: "It was unbelievably beautiful, especially on our early morning or late evening sunset walks" (notabene, 2008); "The area around the CL is a dream for anyone who likes to walk, go on various water transport (from small canoes to speedboats and large houseboats) or enjoys nature at its most exquisite" (Lemniot, 2007).

A specific search for comments mentioning ecotourism and Australia on the Trip Advisor website in June 2011 yielded 14 traveller reviews. A repeat search for comments mentioning ecotourism and India across all of Trip Advisor yielded 10 traveller reviews; two of which referred to business names containing the word ecotourism. Of the total 52,085 Traveller Reviews published on Trip Advisor (June 7, 2011) only 377 or 1% contained the word ecotourism. The nature of the Trip Advisor site does not facilitate category breakdown to ascertain what countries are more strongly associated with ecotourism reports. The low incidence of returns on the ecotourism keyword on Trip Advisor supports a couple of results from the text analysis. Firstly, it helps explain why Green Tours was more expensive to buy for a promotional campaign at $3.18 USD per click (i.e. the price it cost the purchaser each time a person clicked on the word to reach their page) than ecotourism, which cost $2.41. Traveller reviews for green tours yielded 6,274 results. In other words 12% of traveller reviews on Trip Advisor mentioned "green tours", that is 11% higher than the number mentioning ecotourism.

The above values associated with ecotourism click throughs give credence to an interpretation of ecotourism as a corporatized or managerialist word. Trip Advisor results add a consumer value to the interpretation of ecotourism and reveal a lack of uptake by tourists. In reading keyword results it is important to note that Trip Advisor reviews emerge from tourists who have no particular investment in the organised corporate language of ecotourism – however creative that corporate representation might be.

5.2 Sustainability

The promotional literature analysed in this study reveals how the rhetoric of sustainability influences the way some ecotourists and industry managers view destinations. Data and literature considered together suggest that ecotourism appeals to tourists seeking less environmental impact, or at least the illusion of it, to assuage conflicting values regarding their impacts. A problem for ecotourism providers is that they attract a significant amount of

commentary that is unrelated to ecotourism rhetoric drawn from sustainability discourse. Sustainability discourse contains environmental, economic and cultural texts. As sustainable tourism is a concept and business model gaining increasing influence, destinations must compete over claims about their environmental impacts in order to position themselves as responsible and successful providers of ecotourism. Sustainable tourism appears dominated by rhetoric expressing tensions between profit and the requirements of residents living in a tourist community. The texts of ecotourism are designed to underplay the profit goal of the tourism industry (Johnston & Tyrrell, 2005, p. 127) and sustainability is one of the ways it expresses an idea of "balance" between profits, communities and natural environments. Literature on sustainability embodies an idealism emerging from globalism, which contributes to promotion of the international community as an interconnected global system that shares atmosphere, oceans and forests in addition to economic needs. The logic of globalisation is adopted to manage a balance between economics and the environment because, within the discourse of sustainability, "Earth" is constructed as a shared system embedded in a network of co-habitation. Tourism, as a multi-faceted discipline, is pressured by its conflicting agendas of preserving the natural and cultural heritage of an area while supporting development activities. Economic discourse expresses a connection with neoliberalism that invokes market forces as a stabilising feature of its rhetoric and the way it represents nature.

Agitation between science, Romanticism and economics discourses helps explain tensions in the language of sustainable development promotion, ecotourism's leading rhetoric. Sustainable development, which appeared substantially in the data, expresses a particular ideology that privileges economic discourses over others. The environment becomes a tool through which nature is transformed as a site for resource management rhetoric, which is represented as the rational and reasonable position within economic texts. Such a representation emerges from eighteenth century European Enlightenment thinking, which through questioning cherished ideologies at the time, established reason, empiricism, science, progress, freedom, secular objectivity and individualism as the most valued aspects of Western society. These aspects of Enlightenment discourse appear today in the sustainable development theme of ecotourism which commodifies nature to fit the accountability frameworks of globalisation. Sustainable development as a discourse results in a transformation of the natural ambiguous world of "nature" to the condition of "environment"

which enables the application of economically rationalised processes to it. This is a metaphorical and literal minefield as the transition from nature to environment echoes other tensions in the relationships between economic theory and Romanticism, for example the relationship between the romantic and the scientific.

Ecocriticism, the natural sciences and environmentalism appear to inadvertently support the project of economic rationalism by contributing to the split between the words "nature" and "environment" that paved the way for establishing "the environment" as a separate discourse capable of operating independently of nature's material and etheric qualities. This severing was achieved by alienating social processes from nature and setting up nature as a thing that had to be saved and protected from human exploitation. It may be that early discourses of environmentalism helped construct nature as an abject realm with ambiguous qualities that had unforseen yet important consequences for an industry such as ecotourism. Perhaps without an environmental movement there may not be such a politicised separation of thinking; a separation that established nature as an "other" and an economic battleground. Nature may be differentiated through rhetoric that acknowledges the "rights" of the non-human realm to space and integrity. By asserting a value of protection of nature it is frequently represented in the discourse of environmentalism and conservation as a victim requiring salvation. This in turn activates differing psychological responses. Pro-environmental behaviour is based on certain types of values (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987; de Groot and Steg 2009). Value orientations, i.e. values relevant to environmentalism such as self-interest and altruism towards other people, species or the Earth's biosphere, are believed to express distinct sets of personal psychological profiles (de Groot and Steg 2009). Altruism extended to humans is thought of, though not proven, as different from altruism towards other species and the biosphere (Stern et al, 1999). In ecotourism and sustainability debates these values are enmeshed in rhetoric that attempts to appeal widely by positing an ideology that humans need to save the environment in order to save themselves.

Whether or not promoting this representation of environmentalism is an effective strategy is unclear from available research. Views are often polarised in the political arena by setting the environment and the economy in opposition to each other. Ecotourism straddles this divide in unique ways. The premise of altruistic rhetoric shows up in my results through discussions of recycling, climate, water and energy conservation more frequently than discussions on habitat protection. Wilderness versus nature, nature versus the environment and the environment

versus people are all representations that reflect spatial-temporal-cultural-political locations of texts which highlight the instability and unaccountability of "nature". The scientific and economic discourses of sustainable development rely, to a certain degree, on romantic sensibilities about, and engagements with nature, to give weight to their representation of nature as an ideology worth selling. Discursive interactions and conflicts emerging from language result in competition for power over nature through competing discourses involved with ecotourism. Sustainability discourse is managed mainly through economic rhetoric, as nature is already established within the discourse as a self-regulating or balancing system that needs responsible caretaking.

Climate change is another aspect of cultural debate currently driving sustainability discourse. A focus on climate demonstrates a shift of public environmental discussions away from conservation of ecologies at local levels, to the conservation of planetary systems and humanity; reflecting a globalisation of environmentalism. Climate change rhetoric enables the forces of globalisation to continue exercising power over the world's populations. After the global financial crisis of 2008 exposed weaknesses in free market economic discourses and practices, resistance emerged from some sections of the community as world banks and economies collapsed. In response to this resistance another globalisation narrative was deployed to orchestrate a return to power by reactivating the Doomsday Clock. The Doomsday Clock was created in 1947 to represent the nuclear threat and is now used to track the urgency of climate change. The Doomsday Clock is a semiotic and discursive representation of apocalypse narratives. The board of directors of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, a group established to forecast the likelihood of nuclear annihilation, added climate change to its list of top concerns for the survival of humanity. In so doing the "concept timepiece", was reset to stand at five minutes to the hour in 2007 and again in 2013 (Huffington Post, 2013). It is interesting to note that the clock was reset in 2007, around the time the foundations of the global financial crisis were starting to emerge. This emergence may have been a coincidence or a reflection of the impacts of growth narratives in capitalism that revealed economic and environmental schisms simultaneously. Importantly for this discussion is the management of the doomsday narrative through environmental and social discourses which invoke science and technology to "save" the planet. The atomic scientists used the Doomsday Clock to signify climate change as a crisis issue. Inadvertently and

ironically however, the resetting of the clock facilitated a rise in nuclear power rhetoric. Nuclear energy was promoted as a solution to global warming.

> Given rising public concern about global warming and a recent history of reliable operation among nuclear plants, "the climate for introducing new plants is probably the best it's been since the industry started canceling plants" 30 years ago, said Brian Balogh, a history professor at the University of Virginia. Unlike most types of power generation, nuclear plants do not emit the gases that cause global warming, once they are completed. (Wald, 2008)

Sustainability becomes a rhetorical tool that can be co-opted to varying degrees to address ecotourism's environmental and social ideologies. Science and environmental discourses are enmeshed in sustainability rhetoric through its description of the world as a shared mega ecology that capitalism can manage through scientific and technological advances. The carbon narrative central to the climate change "story", accepts the idea of Earth as a bounded space that we all inhabit but it reconfigures it to serve economic discourses that promote sustainability. I use the word "story" deliberately in relation to climate change; not to deny its reality, but instead to notice how the issue is constructed through discourse and narrative strategies. Narratives of climate change feature in development discourse, which connect with ecotourism's increasingly preeminent sustainability rhetoric. Ecotourism is discussed as a way tourism can contribute to global millennium goals such as the eradication of poverty and improved health outcomes for local populations. In so doing, organisations are able to attract funding and recognition by fastening themselves to sustainability rhetoric.

The doomsday scenario invokes environmental destruction and its impact on humans and punctuates economic discourse in ways that support technically, scientifically and economically oriented solutions such as taxes, increased energy costs and perpetuation of the user pays ideology. Global cooperation and technological prowess are invoked as scientific approaches to the catastrophe of climate change. The short-lived Occupy Movement of 2011 drew attention to capitalism's use of power and control but was unable to change any of the structures central to its discourse. Ideologies associated with environmental discourse are able to be co-opted by economic rhetoric aligned with the carbon story, possibly to deflect resistance texts such as those signified by the Occupy Movement. An understanding of imperialism demonstrates that distraction of the public from ongoing and sustained criticism of globalisation's impacts is needed to prevent structural change to economic systems. In the

contemporary scene the champions of capitalism are constructed in the media as ambiguous characters who have mismanaged the economy with disastrous global consequences. By deflecting the public's protest towards these ambiguous characters meaningful reform is avoided and the persistent ideology of sustained economic growth can be continued; despite the climate change discourse.

By enabling carbon trade as a solution to atmospheric problems, the market forces that created the pollution problem in the first place are entrusted with the solution. Importantly for the "captains of capitalism" (Miller), there is potential profit in carbon trade which may explain a privileging of the carbon story. In Australia, the carbon story told by the Labour Party enabled policy makers to channel community energy and debate into an environmental issue that could be addressed or managed while creating new lines of sustained revenue from the population. The companies generating much of the carbon dioxide are offered sweeteners and subsidies that ensure their profitability. It is of course not that simplistic, as consumers by their very act of choosing to consume are depleting resources, creating emissions and destroying habitats. Advertising, marketing and mass media are however designed to overcome consumer resistance to purchase, disposal and refashioning. Restraint or lack of consumption is often promoted as a recipe for recession by economists. Ecotourism is at the forefront of tourism's positioning within this complex field of economic discourse interactions. Ecotourism links with sustainability's repackaging of modes of consumption to appeal to those elements of the population that are persuaded by environmental narratives.

5.3 Ecotourism, Globalisation and Culture

The ecotourism industry represents culture, nature and identity in ways that make places desirable by using marketing strategies which draw heavily on fiction, aesthetics, rhetoric, performance and poetics. Tourism challenges national sovereignty through processes of exchange facilitated through the Internet and its communication capacities. A shift in the way people engage with others as a result of tourism and technology makes it "more difficult than ever to predict the activities and behavior and knowledge of a person based on his or her age and gender and physical location […] as many of the daily social roles that were once unthinkingly enacted are now the subject of constant doubts and negotiations" (Meyrowitz, 1997). The Internet is central to the tourism industry and its shift from demographic based to interest based groupings. Geographic location is no longer central to identity for those who

have unrestricted Internet access. Culture's transcendence of traditional demarcations such as border controls and customs, leads to governments having a "diminished control over their citizens' knowledge and experiences" (Meyrowitz, 1997). Information transactions are increasingly virtualised and are becoming more vagrant and transgressive through digital and real border crossings. Of particular interest to the tourism project is the irony implicit in crossing borders to seek difference, while diluting differences between hosts and guests over time as a result of this crossing.

Tourism rhetoric often represents culture as dualistic due to the establishment of positions of insiders and outsiders. A "logic of belonging" (Coleman, 2002, p. 5) is established to distinguish between producers and consumers and hosts and tourists who are "challenged in contexts where audiences can be both local and distant, and where hosts are themselves tourists in other places" (Coleman, 2002, p. 5). Preferring a view that accommodates mediation and a "focus on closeness and connections" Meyrowitz suggests that communities "are defined by their boundaries" where with "every change in boundaries comes a new form of inclusion and exclusion, a new pattern of sharing and lack of sharing of experience" (Meyrowitz, 1997). He proposes three phases of cultural progression, "traditional, modern, and postmodern" that are linked in important ways to "a dominant mode of communication: traditional to oral communication, modern to literate communication, and postmodern to electronic communication" (Meyrowitz, 1997). Each evolution in communication technologies involves "a shift in social boundaries and hence a shift in the relationship between self and others" (Meyrowitz, 1997). This relationship infuses tourism and the tourist's identification with place, culture and nature. A weakness in the argument could be the binary itself, which assumes the categories of producers and consumers can be sustained as distinctions. Discourse enables a pathway through this because it addresses the logic of representation and transitions investigations towards understanding multiplicity as a key feature of tourism culture. Multiplicity is a useful model because it facilitates thinking about tourists within their own sets of representations. By interrogating the representation of tourists as outsiders through the dualism of "the logic of belonging" (Meyrowitz, 1997) multiplicity repositions them as participants in the reconstitution of culture. This occurs through an unfastening of tourists from a "distinctiveness of place" to re-position them in relation to local performances, descriptions and perceptions of culture. In other words, the

tourist joins the host in the creation of cultural identity through representational gestures, strategies and rhetoric of multiplicity (Meyrowitz, 1997).

Colonialism and imperialism are two concepts that are often used interchangeably due to their shared political and economic practices and rhetoric. Although considered a modern phenomenon the strategy of one country dominating another is ancient. The Greeks, Romans, Moors, Chinese, Mongolians and Ottomans were some of the ancient civilisations that set up colonies in foreign countries. Since the sixteenth century however, improved shipping and navigation techniques facilitated the transport of large numbers of people and goods around the world; resulting in modern colonialism being expressed through the processes of globalisation. Karl Marx noted the "civilising mission" common to colonialism/imperialism expressed through the discourses of capitalism that fuel globalisation. Tourism has a robust appetite for global markets and can be observed to align with capitalism's progress narrative according to principles predicted by Marx and Engels: "In place of the old wants, satisfied by the production of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations" (Marx & Engels, 1848). Mass tourism reaches out in every direction, requiring constant expansion and competitiveness between providers that has an initial positive effect on a culture through employment, cultural exchange and improved facilities. This initial positive effect is undermined later however as the processes of competition drive up living expenses and create a dependency on increased consumption. Commodification and globalisation are derivatives of colonial, imperial and industrial periods, texts and practices. Three dominant systems are involved in establishing a world view of globalisation: socialism, communism and capitalism. Socialism and communism lost their distinction in the discourse of American capitalism during the collapse of the Soviet Union. Greek-style socialism has recently come under duress as a result of the Global Financial Crisis. The rise of China's state based socialism creates uncertainty in a world geared towards the Western mode of exchange and value. Important is capitalism's mode of producing itself through controlling mass media information and the bearing it has on the scene of tourism. Integral to the processes of globalisation are global finance systems and their associated rhetoric. In the scene of ecotourism, the influence of mass tourism ideology is reflected in the choice of language used by hoteliers to promote their destinations and the way consumers discuss their experiences

with them. Even the structure of the consumer review template of Trip Advisor reflects globalisation's drive towards consistency and established ways of determining value that make no allowances for niche products such as ecotourism. The origins of mass tourism are entwined with systems of global commerce.

The World Bank's first loan for a tourism-related activity was in 1967 for a hotel in Kenya. Between 1969 and 1979 The World Bank loaned approximately $450 million to 18 developing countries for 24 tourism projects, with other international aid and lending institutions following shortly (Cox, 2006). The bank came under fire for its support of "conventional tourism and large hotel projects" that "encouraged indebtedness while failing to address the problems of poverty in Third World counties" (Cox 2006, p. 877). As a result, the bank was forced to close down its Tourism Projects Department in 1979 out of a "growing concern about the environmental effects of resort development, along with a string of financial failures" (Cox 2006, p. 877). Eco-tourism projects are supported by large business associations including:

> World Tourism and Trade Council (WTTC) and Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA); international institutions such as the World Bank, the World Tourism Organisation, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), the European Union/Community (EU/EC) and the Earth Council; bilateral development agencies; worldwide operating NGOs such as the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), the World Conservation Union (IUCN), Conservation International, the World Resources Institute (WRI), the Domestic Technology Institute (DTI), the Ecotourism Society, and the Adventure Travel Society. (Pleumarom, 1996)

Such widespread investment results in an expression of cultural globalisation that leads to cities full of the same brands with codified systems of production and meaning. The brand occupation of a location becomes a signifier of the relevance of that location to global trade, ideology and iconography. A city without, for example, Coca-Cola and McDonalds, is constructed through globalisation discourses as *Third World* or *Developing* which implies a status of lack within the global signifiers of success promoted by the discourse. Such connotations have a bearing on status in the tourism industry, as they represent potential

forces of attraction or repulsion. Most importantly, the processes of globalisation represent a means for standardising tourism paradigms and establishing discourses about the environment and culture that can be interpolated through places interchangeably; with little attention paid to local circumstances. Given that the local domain showed up in my data to be an important part of ecotourism's identity, there is an innate conflict evident between broader tourism structures and texts and ecotourism's focus on local scenes. The seduction of globalisation's rhetoric lies in its ability to place economic benefits and sustainability discourses in the foreground while discouraging efforts to challenge the primacy of the discourses. Nature is represented in multiple ways through such processes. For example, it may be presented as an imaginary realm fulfilling literary archetypes such as Eden, sanctuary, garden, playground, or represented in texts as resource, destination, asset, view, setting. Content analysis of hotel texts and tourist reviews demonstrate that nature is often discussed as a thing apart from itself and people, though it serves a multitude of functions in the rhetoric.

Results returned from the case studies and literature review indicate that culture is integral to ecotourism discourse, particularly in relation to local expressions of it; be that indigenous, authentic or unique. This capacity of culture reflects Williams' statement that it contains the "most ordinary common meanings and the finest individual meanings" (Williams, 2002, p. 6). Although Williams' definition of culture is broad, it is useful for investigating tourism's representation of culture through the niche of ecotourism. Culture is experienced, commodified and marketed by and within certain sections of the community, yet touristic space is simultaneously an inhabited, imaginative, metaphorical and individually produced space. As a subculture of broader social and cultural production, tourism expresses an idea of culture as something produced everyday by everyone whilst at the same time being engineered by specialist producers (Williams, 2002). Ecotourism's corpus of specialised environmental rhetoric expresses its subculture through shared linguistic practices and codes that are increasingly globalised. Globalisation occurs as members of a society grow more alike in the way they dress, talk and shop due to a homogenisation of culture developed and promoted through corporate strategies and the media. However, an antidote to homogeneity is promoted within the rhetoric of capitalism which creates a perception of choice by establishing market differentiation.

Tourism is promoted as an endeavour that pries open the world to present alternative cultures, ways of living and histories to tourists who in theory are able to return to their own culture in informed and enriched ways. This opening of other cultures makes them prone to digestion by the forces of globalisation. Technology and tourism share these ways of discussing their value. Technology is fuelled by the rhetoric of openness, opportunity, exchange and democracy that benefits communities by creating collectives of interest rather than geographically or demographically bound identities. This makes it difficult to predict the activities, behaviour and knowledge of a person based on their demographic grouping. A rapid change in culture has been facilitated by the Internet as it unfastens people from the values of location. Depending on the viewpoint, this aspect of social evolution, one that simultaneously offers both homogeneity and a refuge from it, can have positive or negative effects on culture. Tourism and the Internet offer modes of engagement with others that can facilitate an evaluation of personal representation and expression.

Tourism copy also represents nature through strategies that render it as other, exotic, mystical and erotic to inscribe it with corporate codes of desire language. When nature is universalised in tourism rhetoric it becomes increasingly commodified in ways that potentially offer benefits as well as threats. An iconic natural object such as a reef is often promoted with a globalised tone and technique where the images and description of one reef is hard to distinguish from another, as airbrushes, filters and charismatic marine animal montages surround the promotional texts. For example, Bangaram Island is promoted by CGH as an aesthetic paradise with "turquoise hued world of clear, warm seas, silver sands and a stretching canopy of palms. Sparkling coral reefs glitter through the pellucid waters, home to myriad life forms. Whether diving, swimming or just soaking in the sun, Bangaram can create for you the illusion of being the last person on the planet" (Dominic, Bangaram Island). Compare this with descriptions of Lizard Island on the Great Barrier Reef

> It begins with a special place. […] Beautiful, natural and wild, the most northern
> Great Barrier Reef resort, Lizard Island is a place reserved for the fortunate few.
> [...] Our 24 white sand beaches lie undisturbed but for the occasional footprints.
> Tucked amid the largest reef system in the world, snorkelling or diving and deep-
> sea game fishing excursions reveal a diversity of life beneath crystal blue waters.
> [...] Secluded picnics on private beaches open a window of luxury. Accessible
> only by private plane, this Great Barrier Reef resort rests discreetly within the

island oasis. [...] (Lizard Island Resort, 2013)

Both Australian and Indian tourism copy position the tourist as an elite visitor to an unspoilt island of nature where sand and water are portrayed as heightened features. Trip Advisor reviews of the Bangaram Island resort comment on other things, for example its lack of luxuries and its environmental status: "it is beautiful, spectacular. Scuba and snorkelling are not really good around the island as the coral has largely died, which is very unfortunate" (Muppet50, 2010). The same person commented that everything was okay in the end because a nearby island was still alive meaning they could snorkel and dive. This demonstrates the substitutive and resource value of nature as a commodity in the ecotourism agenda. The unfortunate death of one reef didn't cause too much aggravation to the reviewer because another nearby reef could be consumed in the leisure itinerary. As an aesthetic and representative object constructed by tourism, every reef loses its integrity as a local ecology and becomes iconic as a "Reef". Perhaps only serious divers and scientists will care or notice the difference. Colonialism, imperialism and neoliberalism permeate these descriptions of the reef and the way tourists interpret them, providing an example of the power of these ideologies within tourism discourse to help establish a view that tourism development and progress equate with luxury, opportunity and leisure. Implicit in the development rhetoric is a proposition that cultural conditions are improved by tourism development through improved living standards, greater access to education and economic stability. The cost to local identity and ecologies is rarely placed in the foreground of such a portrayals.

Neoliberalism drives the politics of free market rhetoric and economic growth and is a process fundamental to globalisation. It is an ideology emerging from the USA that has impacted significantly on tourism rhetoric and policy in the West (Bourdieu, 1998). The influence of neoliberalism can be felt in the administration, management and policies of tourism, where market forces are considered to be superior to government initiatives or community values (Bourdieu, 1998). Deregulation, privatisation, corporate access to and management of publically owned areas, user pays and industry self-regulation are all part of neoliberalist rhetoric. Recent developments in ecotourism discourse reflect a growing influence of neoliberalism on recreation policy. For example National Parks in Australia have traditionally been represented as sanctuaries for the protection of nature. At the Global Eco Asia-Pacific Tourism Conference (Ecotourism Australia, 2010) free-market rhetoric was promoted in discussions about the role of National Parks in the community. National Parks

were discussed by federal administrators in ways that alerted to a change in status of parks: from sites of conservation to managed spaces underpinned by "user pays" ideology. One of the instruments of this shift in representation of National Parks from sites of conservation to recreation sites is witnessed in the policy development rhetoric of the National Landscapes Program.

The National Landscapes Program was presented at the conferences as a strategy for converting Australia's natural spaces into a brand for the tourism market: "Around the world the term 'National Park' is a prime brand name for tourism" (Schofield, 2010, p. 6). The program begins its policy scene setting by suggesting that certain National Parks be selected for redesigning to "suit the market" through "a long term strategic approach" to co-opt protected areas for the business of national tourism. The discourse of conservation that drove the formation of the National Parks is presented as a quaint ideology with no "real world" contemporary value in the current economic environment (Schofield, 2010, p. 6). Such claims suggest that nature must pay its way by being available to the tourism industry as a commodity, which requires the positioning of nature as a kind of welfare recipient that must give back to society. As the Australian public already pays for the parks through its taxes, it is clear that what is at stake is an ideology embedded in neoliberal discourse that assumes everything can be made accountable, even natural areas. Yet this accountability rarely acknowledges the role of public funding as a pre-existing user pays element. The five year goal of the program demonstrates this. The "Vision" for "5 years+" includes

1. Brand Recognition
2. Environmental Sustainability
3. Cultural Connection
4. Economic Outcomes
5. Investment and Innovation
6. Experience Delivery
7. Partnerships
8. Information Sharing
9. Gateways
(Schofield, 2010, p. 8)

By converting National Parks into National Landscapes the National Parks Department aims to "attract high-yield Experience Seekers – visitors who stay longer and travel more widely than other visitors" (Tourism Australia and Parks Australia). In addition the Department expresses a desire to: "Promote world class high quality visitor experiences"; "Enhance the value of tourism to regional economies"; "Enhance the role of protected areas in those

economies"; and "Build support for protecting our natural and cultural assets" (Tourism Australia and Parks Australia). The reference committee for the National Landscapes initiative was composed of predominantly government agencies and it determined that the program "has succeeded in aligning the plans and actions of agencies, governments, communities (including Indigenous), and industry, sometimes crossing jurisdictional boundaries with local communities driving development and adoption of destination development plans" (Schofield, 2010, p. 25). Such rhetoric is an example of the mode through which the ideology of neoliberalism is actioned through tourism upon the conservation discourse traditionally underpinning national park governance.

This kind of policy driven initiative is noticed by others as a "sudden, dramatic, upheaval for which many managers are not prepared" (Stewart, Parry, & Glover, 2008, p. 366). In their paper on the role of discourse in recreation and leisure William Stewart, Diana Parry and Troy Glover (2008) discuss the role of financial issues in conservation discourse. They argue that a National Park manager's role is shifted by economic discourse from that of "an administrator of public funds to that of an entrepreneur operating in the public sector. In this new role, the manager is required to search out and aggressively exploit opportunities which will enhance the services which can be delivered (Stewart, Parry, & Glover, 2008, p. 366). Nature, habitat and the non-human appear to hold weak positions in the discourse and are noticably absent from the five year vision presented above. The practice of establishing "business units" in government departments reflects the continuing dominance of a market-based ideology that "has become a major discourse for research related to political-economic governance of recreation" (Stewart, Parry, & Glover, 2008, p. 366). In the case studies, the language perpetuating the consumption of nature through globalisation is witnessed in the establishment of nature as a recreation site, an aesthetic object or spiritual space. The lack of "wilderness" or "nature" in keyword search results is testament to this. Though the words wilderness and nature are also products of discourse, particularly conservation discourse, they contain within them an acknowledgement that nature exists as a material thing with its own non-human criteria. The failure of ecotourism to be directly associated with wilderness and nature may be one of the reasons it struggles to be understood by tourists and researchers. The keyword ecotourism has to a certain extent become a self-referential web of neoliberal rhetoric that supports entrepreneurial endeavour associated with nature. This rhetoric can

undermine the personal conservation ideologies of providers such as CGH Earth and O'Reilly's.

The general theme of neoliberalism responsible for shifts in recreation discourse, manifest an "entrepreneurial mind-set" that requires managers to determine how services can be produced with "minimal use of public funds and resources" (Stewart, Parry, & Glover, 2008, p. 366). The ideology of the entrepreneur, which represents another discourse of influence imported from the USA, has become a rationale for the ecotourism research community in ways that emphasise new forms of service delivery to generate alternative revenue sources and "public services" (Burton & Glover, 1999, pp. 1-2). Contemporary recreation policy shapes management strategies and frames research though a set of market-based ideologies recruited to minimise government spending on public recreation (Burton & Glover 1999 p. 4). In order to assert the ideology of neo-liberalism across the community, a mode of communication is required that can overwhelm existing, resisting or alternative discourses.

5.4 Marketing and Promotion

To imagine a world without discourse is to "imagine a world without language and therefore to imagine the unimaginable" (He, 2007, p. 1). He views language as a mode for being in the world and as means of communicating in an immersed sonic field of language where "we live by languaging or discoursing, not in discrete audio or visual units but in connected sound waves and orthographic forms to which we assign meaning on the basis of our past experience with them" (He, 2007, p. 1). Destination marketing uses language to develop a sense of place that extends beyond built and natural environments into the realm of imagination and desire. Imagination and desire is then adopted within local rhetoric to help commodify place. Locals who live in tourist destinations are included in commodification processes and are described in particular ways. For example, tourists may become subjects for management and described in terms of their economic value to the local area. Locals or "hosts" (Smith 1977), may be told by their local policy makers to provide more enjoyable experiences to tourists to lend authenticity to the script of place. As O'Reilly's is based on the Gold Coast it is affected by broader narratives about the Gold Coast promoted by Australian and Queensland tourism agencies.

A Gold Coast Policy and Planning document informs locals about the desired image they are encouraged to project through the use of "tactical communication campaigns" recruited to

help "build the overall image and position of the Gold Coast City in domestic and international tourist markets. The destination is characterised as carefree, fun, friendly, active, entertaining, warm and confident" (Gold Coast City Council, 2010, p. 24). Tourism Queensland positions the Gold Coast as a beach holiday destination offering "families and couples more fun and entertainment than any other destination" (Gold Coast City Council, 2010, p. 24). As O'Reilly's is a rainforest destination its marketing must first overcome the perception that the Gold Coast is a beach destination while leveraging the positive aspects of the promotional rhetoric. As an important part of Queensland's tourism palette the importance of international visitor perceptions of the Gold Coast helps build "their perception of Queensland, and to a greater extent, their perception of Australia" (Gold Coast City Council, 2010, p. 24). An added challenge for O'Reilly's is that it needs to lure people away from the beach identity of the region and offer a world class ecotourism experience that aligns with the overarching promotional images and language deployed to promote the Gold Coast. The Internet offers a valuable communication channel for family run niche tourism operators to help them construct and promote their destinations within the broader message of a region.

The rise of mobile technologies, the dispersal of information, the expansion of community based or participatory journalism and the internationalisation of access to information made possible by the Internet, have challenged traditional media's authority over information. People use technology to exercise choice in ways that were not previously available. Whereas travel bookings and promotion used to be handled by agencies, glossy brochures, weekend newspaper advertising and TV travel shows, today there are multiple channels of information available for tourists. Global capitalism and the processes of democracy have created a value consciousness, but when technology enables people to explore more online, the structures of exchange supporting capitalism's traditional modes, such as the mass media, lose market share. In response there has been an acceleration of consolidation processes and acquisitions driven by structuring product dependencies in new ways (Deloitte Development, 2011). Advertising, marketing and mass media communication strategies are forced to compete for attention in new ways to adapt to the loss of audiences driven by new technologies.

The impact of rapidly evolving online communities, social networks and environments is felt across most disciplines and cultures, leading to extensive debate about their implications for individuals and groups. The convergence and digitisation of media technologies accelerate

globalisation and create opportunities and incentives for democratisation of the media (Hackett & Carroll, 2006 p. 96). Whether the processes of democratisation are able to resist or redefine the processes of globalisation is unclear but theories of cultural imperialism (see The Frankfurt School) would tend to suggest an inevitable homogenisation of culture: in spite of, or perhaps because of, forces of capitalism being incorrectly used as a substitute for democratisation. Another view is that homogenisation can be resisted through local expressions of subculture facilitated through the Internet (Meyrowitz, 1997). On the other hand homogenisation could be accelerated through the Internet as innovation is noticed and adopted rapidly; compressing the time frame associated with popularising cultural processes.

My research indicates that the effect of globalisation on ecotourism marketing is witnessed through portrayals of "nature" in particular ways that associate it with health and wellness, adventure, retreat, connectedness, aesthetics and the sublime. Language is enmeshed in the construction of nature as a tool for ecotourism discourse. In ecotourism marketing and promotion the common language adopted for describing nature is locally differentiated through strengthening the nature-culture-human bond.
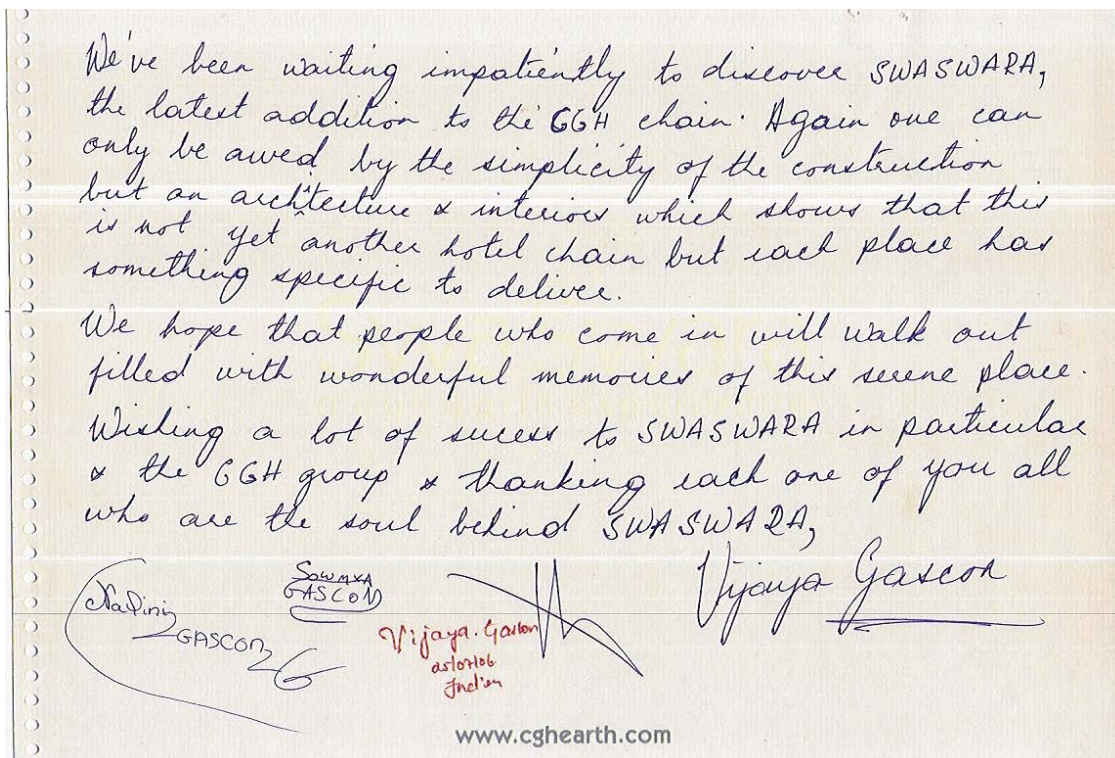

Figure 9 CGH Earth Guest Book Comment Swa Swara

The above guest book comment from the CGH Earth Swa Swara property expresses a response to the experience of highly personalised service in the 34 entries I was able to review. The compliment that the property is "not yet another hotel chain" is fundamental to the ecotourism message and the direct references to architecture, ayurveda and soul show that this family received the group's message loud and clear. In other words the tourists felt congruency between the promotional materials and their experience of the property. In 28 of the comments, references to the people, staff friendliness and deep connections reflect the importance of personal relationships between staff and guests in the ecotourism experience of Swa Swara.

The impact of globalisation on media production, ownership, content and processes of homogenisation and its resistance, continue to evolve in ways that influence the representation of nature. New technologies undermine the model which directs the flow of information from one to many but those who previously benefitted from such a flow are attempting to co-opt the spaces of technology to sustain their global dominance in the market through incentive based marketing. The 'Like' function available through the social network Facebook, the 'Follow' function available through Twitter and the 'Link' function of Linked In, all represent ways of 'managing' information in the network. These processes reflect the actions of original colonisers, as the mass media propagates global capitalism through particularly American views and ideologies about consumption, immediacy and individualism (Hutton & Giddens, 2000). By controlling the media the processes of globalisation enable the commodification of culture and nature. It is impossible to talk about global communications, globalisation, discourse and culture without acknowledging the profound effect the Internet has on all of these. The role of the Internet in determining the discourse identity of nature and ecotourism and how tourists engage with it is central to my investigation.

5.4.1 The Internet

Advances in online capacities make it possible to go physically around the world in a few days on a single ticket and virtually around the world in a few links. At Googlesightseeing.com guests are encouraged to forget about moving from the comfort of their home to see the world and instead are offered satellite images of the world as a substitute. Such a gesture further encourages the exchange of the real for its simulation and

the ultimate substitution of the gaze for experience. At Google Sightseeing the ground of place is erased entirely in favour of simulation: "Google Sightseeing takes you on a tour of the world as seen from satellite, using the free Google Earth program or Google Maps in your web browser. Each weekday your guides James and Alex present new weird and wonderful sights as suggested by readers" (Turnbull). Googlesightseeing.com may satisfy Urry's gaze but whether it can provide an enriching virtual travel experience is yet to be determined. The physical self is not challenged, threatened or altered in any way by this engagement, though the experience may appeal to the subject's representation of these experiences through simulation and virtual adventure seeking.

Virtual tourism is one of the many ways that the Internet offers a unique way of communicating and exchanging information. Search engines act as tourism aggregators that are now fundamental to the industry: "search engines are, in essence the doorways to the world of online media: they classify sites, provide keyword searching of Internet pages and even give short reviews of a variety of sites" (Croteau & Hoynes, 2012, p. 320). The ability of the Internet to facilitate global exchanges of information, communication, advertising, news and cultural product, has transformed the advertising, marketing and promotion of ecotourism. As a media of growing influence in the tourism industry, the Internet is a key site in considering language and its strategies as a tool for online representation and the ways it connects with and deviates from traditional modes of representation. The Internet alters the way language is understood, as its publication capacities and social strategies become enmeshed in a gradual dissolution of boundaries between promotional activities and social endeavour. When Williams published his treatise on keywords (1976) he could not have foreseen how his definition of keywords would be adopted and usurped by the Internet's organisation and valuing of information. As Google currently monopolises the search engine market, its construction of keywords and their values has important implications for understanding ecotourism as a field of proximal words that compose ecotourism through relationships between words that can be sold on the basis of their click-through value. As research data for this thesis was recruited from the Internet, a consideration of how Google's search engine promotes information retrieval and tagging has a bearing on results.

Google generates more than half of its revenue through advertising and keyword sales (Google). High search engine rankings are achieved through the use of keywords and links to content in other sites. Tourism operators can bid on specific phrases to generate traffic to

their websites. Increasingly tourism operators are consolidating promotion and booking functions, thereby altering key structures in the industry, including the role of travel agents. E-commerce allows all levels of business to reach global markets instantaneously, resulting in faster transactions, altered views of campaigns, reduced advertising budgets, greater competition and difficulty establishing competitiveness. Being online is no longer an extension of business identity, it is a core part of it. With millions of tourism operators around the world, capturing the gaze of tourists has become an even more complicated endeavour as "competition for eyeballs" (to use marketing's current rhetoric) means that imagination must be seduced before booking. Today's campaign not only features advertising in traditional media such as newspapers, radio and television but also Google AdWord placement, click throughs, banners, coupons, social network distribution, 'follows', 'likes' and 'tweets'. As the Internet becomes saturated with attempts to catch tourists in the act of searching and drive them towards purchasing, tourists can in turn expect increasing value and specificity to their needs and preferences in search results. When this expectation is not met a degree of frustration is anticipated. Online searching has become an extension of pre-trip planning activities that involve trips to travel agents, brochure collecting, word of mouth solicitation. In an increasing number of cases it has usurped the offline travel industry; if anecdotal reports by the industry are accepted.

Most search engines support keyword searches, portals or directories with databases that are constantly updated by automated programs or "spiders" that follow web links and index them in databases. Search engines attempt to address the needs of users and advertisers through different but often congruent strategies. Users type search phrases into a search engine to find information most relevant to them while advertisers pay for traffic generated by click throughs that can range from a few cents to hundreds of dollars. Tensions between opposing interests can disrupt congruency however when advertisers exploit the search phrase imperative to mislead searchers (Battelle, 2005) and drive them to fake, irrelevant, faulty or deceitful websites in order to generate revenue, or increasingly, to steal identities. Because searching is big business, with estimates in the billions of dollars regarding revenue raised through driving Internet traffic (Google), search results are commodified. The logic of predictive programs operating searching on the internet is largely driven by commercial goals and yet the internet is designed to free up, share and disperse knowledge. This yields a polysemous discursive framework emerging from the breadth of activities and motivations

taking place between a pay-per-click approach to organising information on the one hand and an information relationship based approach on the other.

The spectrum of ideological infrastructures implicit in the way people use the Internet has resulted in a continuum of doctrines that stretch between a corporate, globalised, capitalist rhetoric and an open source, open access, community speech. The capitalist discourse expresses the user pays paradigm online; though the user who pays is multiple. Software and platform dependencies, designed redundancies, licenses, data charges and identity recruitment are aspects of ecommerce. Other aspects include community discourse that supports initiatives such as Wikipedia, Creative Commons, crowd funding, gift economy consciousness and open source platforms. Advertising funds "free access" rhetoric to a certain extent and is well known to be a persuasive rather than a factual medium. The drift of search engines and content providers towards advertorials, click through revenue and propagation of messages, asserts a user pays paradigm on contemporary information structures in ways that are at odds with the history of publically funded access to knowledge through institutions such as libraries. Sites that lack sponsorship or networks are ranked lower in search engine results (Google) leading to a privileging of "pay per click" content over creative or community content. In other words "user pays" becomes "pay per view" and the latest global baron of imperialism is Google which monopolises online navigation strategies, content, advertising and information.

The Internet and tourism express and reiterate the forces of globalisation in similar ways. Keyword ranking and value within Google search results places a capitalist derived hierarchy on the value of information, as most users do not navigate beyond the first page of results (Google). Studying the keyword "ecotourism" through Google's information portal is therefore important for understanding its market value and how the culture interprets its concepts, ideologies and words through the Internet. Studying this aspect of ecotourism is important because it helps interpret how destination providers design their own ecotourism identity. Studying online search behaviours also helps locate the language of tourists and destination providers in the global discourses of ecotourism; as represented through monetised search engine yields, click throughs and other income generating arrangements. A problem for destination providers attempting to be seen in the mass of information that the web supports, is visibility.

In May 2011 the keyword ecotourism was worth $2.26 on a cost per click (CPC) value. Green tours attracted a CPC value of $3.18 per click, ranking it higher than "environmental tourism" ($2.63) "green holidays" ($1.56), "green hotels" ($2.40) and "sustainable tourism" ($2.53). These values represent investment by ecotourism providers in keywords that they consider drive the most traffic to their sites. The proliferation of ecotourism related websites makes it difficult to connect with its appropriate tourist audience, meaning that ecotourism's pitch may end up in the wrong eyeballs. This could partly explain the gap between the perceived cultural and business values of ecotourism and the disconnection with tourists reported by destination providers. The CEOs of the resorts being researched expressed consternation at not being able to attract the right kind of tourists to their destinations. This gap between a perceived ideal tourist and the actual guests booking into properties could indicate an issue with the connection between the industry's structures, ecotourism's representation and the Internet's facilitation of the exchange. Search engines structure the way ecotourism keywords are ordered, displayed and returned through trawling the Internet. Search engines are organised in ways that value information according to two opposing influences: advertising and cultural value measured through the exploitable structures of networking. Destination providers in ecotourism may not be capturing their target audience because the tourism industry is vast, fragmented and full of niches that compete with each other. Added to this is the complication of ecotourism's confusing identity and dispersed engagements that render it almost meaningless as a term for tourists trying to exercise environmental values while on holiday. It would appear that ecotourism holds modest value in the vernacular of mass tourism due to confusion around the meaning of its brand. Another important cultural development that influences the expression and reception of ecotourism is the growth of online tourist review websites and capacities.

Tourist Reviews

The growth of online tourist reviews challenges traditional sources of travel literature and inserts a range of texts, voices, tones and motivations into tourism literature and discourse. Consumers are noticed to be speaking directly to the promotional literature of hotels and destinations and are viewed as a source of authentic descriptions of place. The idea of an authentic account established through the history of travel literature fuels the value of review sites such as Trip Advisor. Several practices such as free accommodation and meals in exchange for published or broadcast content in the travel industry, contribute to a growing

cynicism about destination claims managed through traditional media and strategies. Judging from Trip Advisor reviews analysed, much travel material produced by the tourism industry is perceived by travellers as inaccurate or deceptive due to hyperbole or exaggeration in promotional copy. Promotional sources are thereby stained with an aura of the fraudulent manifested through 'spin', hyperbole and cliché. Industry professionals, recognising consumer resistance in reviews, move to social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Trip Advisor to offset the impacts of review copy and to "manage" the consequences of a bad review.

Destination managers are often advised by marketing and PR professionals, to intervene in consumer review sites such as Trip Advisor to protect their brand from the impact of negative comments. Such interventions are seen in "management response" entries that pepper the reviews of sites that are extremely sensitive to their brand image in the market. Trip Advisor privileges the rhetoric of authenticity through publication of "first-hand" experiences of "ordinary" tourists into the scene of the review; a formerly privileged site for official travel writers. A growing awareness of tourists of the lack of impartiality of many reviewers and authors and the growth of social media, have contributed to an increase in value of reviews that are perceived to be authentic; such as Facebook's friend recommendations. Literary constructions of travel experiences suggest ways of describing journeys for tourists that can be echoed in reviews and copywriting. This antecedent realm of travel writing generates the tone, syntax and poetics of much travel copy. Globalisation may have "hopelessly confused" the expectations of travel writers and their narratives (Dalrymple, 2009), but rather than provide new ways of describing place, most reviews appear to reproduce common descriptions. Trip Advisor reviews reveal that strategies and phrases used by travellers reflect an awareness of the language of travel writing and tourism copy and frequent reiteration of language found in a destination's promotion copy. This antecedent realm of travel and tourist literature could thus be thought of as a means through which the writing of tourists reflects the discourses of tourism within their writing.

Recently the status of Trip Advisor as an authentic and untainted site of consumer review has come under attack due to alleged "gifts for comment" practices. Complaints have also emerged from hoteliers about tourists threatening them with bad reviews in exchange for entitlements, even if they had nothing to complain about. Recently Martin Couchman, Deputy Chief Executive of the British Hospitality Association spoke on behalf of more than

80 accommodation owners to protest to Trip Advisor about "blackmail" attempts by unscrupulous guests, threatening to write bad reviews on the site unless they received free upgrades or refunds" (Needham, 2011). Threats were allegedly being made "although there is nothing wrong with their accommodation" said Couchman who accused tourists of exploiting their new found powers to sanction via Trip Advisor, who he accused of lacking vigilance and integrity. Couchman's own position as an industry advocate gives weight, though not evidence, to his claims. In spite of such allegations, the growth of Trip Advisor and the engagement of destination managers with consumer reviews, indicates that it is currently one of growing influence in the field of travel promotion literature. Trip Advisor retorts that it urges accommodation providers to contact the site so it can investigate fraudulent claims but hoteliers accuse the site of only offering them a right of reply "it seldom even bothers to remove the bogus reviews" (Needham, 2011). Hoteliers claim that anonymous reviews are "a bad idea" while Needham exposes the other side of the coin where some properties are said to be "bribing guests with food and drink discounts to write positive TripAdvisor reviews" (Needham, 2011).

The fallout from such practices has resulted in authorities "siding with the hoteliers" in the UK where Britain's Advertising Standards Authority "is investigating Trip Advisor after thousands of complaints from hoteliers about allegedly misleading and fraudulent reviews" (Needham, 2011). KwikChex.com, an online reputation checking company, challenges Trip Advisor's claims "that reviews are honest, reliable and written by 'real travellers around the world'" stating "that up to 10 million reviews are faked, a claim Trip Advisor denies. KwikChex.com says Trip Advisor should do more to authenticate its reviews or remove fraudulent posts" (Needham, 2011). Travel writing fastens directly to the practice of reviewing place, which is why the shift from specialist reviewer to review as a mode of community expression is so interesting to notice.

Tourists at CGH and O'Reilly's properties reflect a value sensitivity in reviews of their ecotourism destinations. The impact of a positive or negative review is influenced by the credentials of reviewers, tone of reviews, matches between reviewers and tourists reading them, prior knowledge of the destinations and the cumulative effect of other negative comments. A review of the following commentary would not be able to fully account for its impact on the credibility of CGH as a provider of customer oriented ecotourism experiences.

In spite of "loving" Bangaram Island and its natural experiences the decisions made by management reported by this reviewer may have unforeseen consequences.

> Myself and my partner booked a 3 week trip to India with Bangaram being our week of relaxation. Just before we were due to travel to India, having book the trip some 3 months earlier, the agency we booked bangaram with advised us that we would not be able to stay on the island for 3 of the days we had booked due to a VIP and their entourage needing our rooms. They did relocate us on the nearby Agatti island, which is at a slightly different level to Bangaram, however there was no refund for the difference. While some of the issues relate to the agency, the main problem was with Bangarams 'flexible' booking arrangements.
> (Muppet50, 2010)

It is well known that a negative comment holds more psychological power than a positive comment, so when a potential tourist reads a series of differing though negative comments, a certain construction of the destination takes place that is outside the control of organisational marketing and PR endeavours. For example, Trip Advisor analysis returned the following passage immediately after the one above, demonstrating how tourists must interpret texts through a range of filtered readings. In spite of the overwhelming number of positive reviews and ratings of Bangaram Island Malpas' summary of his stay on Bangaram Island, when read immediately after Muppet50's review, supports unpredictable reading responses for the business.

> Bangaram is an island of contradictions that does not justify the asking price- you can find places as picturesque, as idyllic and considerably better run and serviced for a fraction of the price- if you can accept that you will face the stinking water, be served by unemotive staff and that you will be overcharged for almost everything you do and enjoy only a modicum of privacy, then you will also benefit from some sights and beauties that cannot be found in many places. I will always treasure my time on Bangaram, but will equally reflect on how this most idyllic of settings could be improved with but a few subtle changes.
> (richardmalpass, 2010)

O'Reilly's has created a brand through decades of commitment to an ecotourism identity, but their resolve in this area is being challenged by the Global Financial Crisis, loss of market

share due to increasing competitiveness and perhaps other management related issues stemming from family members moving on from the business. The scope of services delivered under the rubric of ecotourism compromises brand ecotourism's stability. This instability could be expected to have positive and negative consequences for providers that are deeply enmeshed in ecotourism's rhetoric.

As a relatively geographically isolated area, O'Reilly's is able to capture its guests and charge a premium for services and goods. Trip Advisor reviewers often refer to this premium charging in a negative way: "Apart from the bird watching tour in the morning, free to house guests, a $10 charge to non guests, all other activities were chargeable and certainly not cheap. They even charged for you to feed the birds which once was included in the tarrif" (westcity, 2010). Another comment was typical of the style of complaints lodged on Trip Advisor

> If you stay at this place be aware that the money you spend on the rooms is not worth it and the resturant is over priced and takes as long time for your measl to come out. The O'Reilly's ancestors they must be turning in their grave. This is not the same place I came to as a child it is now just a money hungry greedy place who do not care about their guests or customers. DONT WASTE YOUR MONEY I WILL NOT BE RETURNING!!! (kenno_10, 2010)

The personal ideologies and values of the families and CEOs running the hotels and their motivations for committing to the ecotourism project in particular ways is important to acknowledge. I can attest, through informal discussions, to the passion for the environment shared by Shane O'Reilly and Jose Dominic, the CEOs in charge of the properties researched. It is clear from the data however, that this passion is not being translated fully to the marketplace as a result of marketing and business decisions being made. Even these two committed CEOs could not translate their passion into a seamless and profitable ecotourism business due to conflicts inherent in the tensions between managing the message and managing the business. In some ways these tensions reflect the texts at work in the construction of ecotourism destinations and their meaning, consumption and management.

5.6 Narrative

An interesting feature of the promotion and marketing of ecotourism is the story it makes of nature and the role of language, the operations of power and the processes of narrative in its

texts. Cultural studies interprets narrative as a claim to knowledge. Knowledge represents power but a power based on the right to decide what knowledge is and who has rights to it (Foucault, 1980). Intrinsic to the establishment of a dominant discourse however, is the inevitable rise of resistance to it "because power necessarily implies resistance, no discourse goes unchallenged" (Brown 2000, p. 31). Foucault identifies scientific discourse as a "dominant producer of truth" in Western societies (Brown, 2000 p. 31). Through its status as "a 'condition', a 'cultural dominant' and a 'new horizon of our cultural, philosophical and political experience'" (Jameson cited in Malpas, 2001 p.3) postmodernism, together with literary criticism, enhances the analytical and methodological palate available to humanities research through an investigation of narrative. When literary criticism techniques are applied to ecotourism texts the discipline of ecocriticism is useful. Determining the metanarratives at work in the texts is valuable for determining subtle modes within the discourse.

Adopting Lyotard's argument for an "incredulity toward metanarratives" enables an interrogation of ecotourism's specific language and how it is "subject to the condition we call pragmatic" where "each must formulate its own rules and petition the addressee to accept them" (Lyotard, 1984, p. 42). To satisfy this condition requires an axiomatic "that includes a definition of the symbols used in the proposed language" and a description of the form such expressions take (Lyotard, 1984, p. 42). Narrative is interpreted differently through different disciplines. In literature it mostly represents story; in cultural criticism it represents "a series of [linked] events, tying together things that happen in order to present them in the form of the story" and a way of engaging "with events that actually take place" (Malpas, 2001, p. 4). In philosophy, narrative after Descartes is understood as a strategy that links "premises tied together by the causal links of a narrative sequence" (Malpas, 2001, p. 4). Such narrative sequences are bound by sets of rules that determine the way links are formed, events unfold and the order in which stories progress. Rules "might take the form of logical progression in philosophy, temporal development in history, free association in psychoanalysis or cause and effect in science. Different genres of writing have traditionally had different sets of rules to define how narrative is used" (Malpas, 2001, p. 4).

Example of metanarrative expressions in ecotourism texts include appeals to reconnect with nature underscored by representations of nature's capacity to restore health, well-being and a sense of belonging (Bhaskar 2008). Such a view expresses a spiritual theme. Assuming "we're not a mutation that has failed […] there's a contribution we can make to the whole,

something unique, something comparable to the eagle's eyesight, the dolphin's hearing, the salmon's perfect motion when turning to dig the spawning bed in clean gravel" (Greenway, 1996, p. 27). Greenway's statement reminds of the other meaning of nature in "human nature", a call to remember animal origins and organic constituencies in the composition of worldly matter. CGH appeals to a spiritual narrative directly and one of the reasons it is able to do this without much explanation is the metanarrative of India as a spiritual retreat for Westerners: "Rediscover yourself through yoga, meditation at SwaSwara, situated beside the legendary Om beach in the small town of Gokarna in Karnataka" (CGH Earth, 2009, p. 13). CGH promotes its resort Swa Swara as an eco-spiritual resort and in its newsletter promotes its proximity to the temple town of Gokarna and Gokarna beach which "make for fascinating day excursions" (CGH Earth, 2009, p. 13). During my stay at the resort I visited Gokarna and Gokarna beach and find the description "fascinating" intriguing and somewhat strategic because the beach was one of the filthiest I'd ever encountered. Gokarna beach was a local dumping ground covered in rubbish of every conceivable kind. There was also a river of raw sewerage drifting into the ocean. Embroiled in the scene of this text are two cultures that don't read or write environmental texts the same way. The spiritual metanarrative to a certain extent excuses the destruction of the local environment by the practices of local inhabitants. Ecotourism texts are the most complicated when the tensions between nature, culture and tourist are deeply involved.

Metanarrative or metalanguage represent collections of rules applied to specific genres to distinguish them from others (Malpas, 2001, p. 5). According to such terms tourism would be viewed as a fiction and ecotourism as one of its genres. Tourism as discourse can be critiqued as fiction because it represents sets of texts with multiple authors and producers. Ecotourism under such a model could be considered a genre of tourism, i.e. a particular kind of story that fictionalises "nature" as "environment" with consequences to human and non-human cultures. The specificity of language adopted through sets of disciplinary rules is one of the ways in which discourse emerging from a particular genre is legitimised and through which it becomes the language of that genre (Lyotard, 1984, p. 42). Languages "are not employed haphazardly" says Lyotard as "anything we say, write or hear is produced according to metanarrative rules that determine whether it makes sense, or is well formed, or not" (cited in Malpas, 2001, p. 5). Furthermore, metanarratives are not bound by "natural sets of rules" but are "set up at different points of history by different philosophies that have different political

interests, and are constantly in the process of transformation as new discoveries or ways of thinking emerge" (Malpas, 2001, p. 5). An example of this can be found in a Trip Advisor commentary of O'Reilly's where nature is described in almost pre-ordained ways.

> We went to O'Reillys for two nights stay in the self-contained Mountain Villa. We had number four which was right at the front of the group and thus had uninterrupted views of a sublime landscape which changes constantly with the light. It is wild country with farming in the valleys and the landscape around Green Mountain features gorges, cliffs, waterfalls, a variety of forest types. A great place for tree lovers. There is valley, plateau, and intermediate forest. Ranging from dry eucalyptus with golden light and little undergrowth to dense semitropical rainforest bearing majestic tree ferns, strangler figs, boxwood, orchids and little light filtering through the canopy. There are creeks and spectacular waterfalls, the latter a slightly more challenging walk but still very accessible. (Borneo 2009)

The above passage reveals how the nature story is constructed through the vernacular of the sublime and aesthetic. Tourism expresses modernism's temporal qualities of narrative, for example the way "myth organises and distributes time, creating a rhythm of the beginning and end of the story it recounts, to the point of making them rhyme" (Lyotard, 1991, p. 25). Narratives emerging from modernity progress through time while narratives from the classical age repeat a "continual return" to period time "in which there is no historical development of metanarratives, just the continuous present of mythical time" (Malpas, 2001, p. 6). The "grand narrative" represents another period says Malpas; one that emerges from modernity's sense of "continual progressive change and development" in which there is a belief "that the future has already begun: It is the epoch that lives for the future, that opens itself up to the novelty of the future" (Habermas cited in Malpas, 2001, p. 6).

Tourism reflects its history in modernity, where grand narratives emerge from ideas of "progressive change and development" (Malpas, 2001, p. 6) but it also retains the mythmaking and temporal qualities of the classical age. A tourist's activities are marked by beginnings, middles and ends, yet these beginnings, middles and ends do not always conform to classical narratives, which are experienced as sequential and which drive towards closed endings. Tourism accommodates postmodern relationships with time, where tourists respond to time, space and myth in individualised and commercialised ways. Beginnings, middles and

ends are however implicit in the tourism experience and the idea of the tour is one of the ways this is expressed most explicitly. Multiple times, multiple spaces, multiple narratives and multiple subjectivities are all present in the scene of tourist endeavour: "The narratives and metanarratives that construct experience are thereby given the historical, philosophical and political justification of being part of a grand scheme of human development" (Malpas, 2001, p. 8). The narratives and metanarratives of tourism have been constructed through the same devices and have somehow been embedded in the grand narrative of development and progress and in the romantic and nostalgic narrative. In the case of ecotourism, this is expressed as rhetoric of simplicity and return through a focus on human endeavour, adventure and activities of an exploratory nature e.g. scuba diving, trekking, homestays. In such a narrative nature is a setting in which the human condition and gaze are scripted. Nostalgia and lore feature in heritage tourism and are often found in ecotourism accounts.

> The family have been farming there for over 100 years. We found the signature of a family member in the guest book from 1971 which was fun. Reading about the white history of the area back to the nineteenth century was fascinating, particularly the clippings and photos of the Stinson aircraft crash and rescue by Bernard O'Reilly. The piano in the corner of the library made me wish I could play well. There is a quaint and sentimental collection of old sing along favourites nearby. (Borneo, 2009)

This narrator demonstrates a direct engagement with many of the narratives composed by O'Reillys. To a certain extent they represent an ideal ecotourist: high paying, tour buying, rhetoric loving and bush walking foreigner. The origin story of O'Reillys referred to in the passage, demonstrates some of the intertextuality present in travel writing. In 'Green Mountains' (1981) Bernard O'Reilly recounts events surrounding the family's "heroic" search for and rescue of survivors of the Stinson wreck. 'Green Mountains' expresses literary pastoral and colonialism discourses and reiterates the "man against nature" adventure story. It also tells the story of establishing a guest house for tourists in a remote wilderness. Tourists are able to insert themselves into the original Stinson trail through O'Reilly's walking trails and in doing so they can experientially occupy its foundational narrative. Guests are able to experience a direct connection with this family's story. Survivors of the Stinson walk in turn reiterate the credentials of the 'Green Mountains' story and the pioneering subtext that infuses it.

A grand narrative is comprised of metanarratives or sets of understandings. In reviewing the role of grand narratives in history Nancy suggests that the "age of the grand narrative" is over (cited in Malpas, 2001 p 8). History no longer coalesces around one grand narrative, where the "collective destiny of mankind" is considered "great because it's ultimate destination was considered good" (Nancy cited in Malpas, 2001 p 8). Metanarratives offer an opportunity to expose the practices of the grand narratives that contributed to its "self-annihilating history" such as "total war, genocide, the challenge of nuclear powers, implacable technology, hunger, and absolute misery" (cited in Malpas, 2001 p 8). Nancy leaves out an important element in his list, mass environmental destruction undertaken in the name of development, which is implicit in the grand narrative of progress.

> … grand narratives of progress draw together all of the narratives and
> metanarratives in order to construct an historical, moral and political view of the
> world in which we live. Together, these three forms of narrative present the world
> to us, and other bases from which knowledge, morality, identity, politics and
> freedom developed (Malpas, 2001, p. 8).

Following Lyotard one can consider postmodernism as a critical lens applied to modernism's grand narratives "where different sets of approaches to the problems that face society, different political and philosophical perspectives about the state of the world" result in the "post-modern crisis in narratives" that express the contemporary human condition (Malpas, 2001, p. 10). Tourism expresses postmodernism's incredulity towards grand narrative and yet it is constructed through the processes of grand and personal narrative-making written through a range of producers. Postmodernism constructs itself as an alternative mode for the delivery and reception of cultural narratives and product and presents another way of investigating discourse. Cultural movements, like discourse are however in constant flux and dominant ideologies are agitated by those critical of progress towards unifying theories or modes of living. As shown earlier, these agitations rarely usurp the prevailing grand narrative of progress represented through the discourses of commodification, imperialism, colonialism and globalisation. Two of the most famous stories reflecting these are Homer's "The Odyssey" (800 B.C.E) and Jules Verne's (Verne, [1873] 1994) "Around the World in Eighty Days". In these stories, space, time, progress (of individuals and cultures), place and adventure are themes expressing ways of interacting with the world and other cultures that inform modernity and mass tourism's narratives. To a certain extent time and space are

culturally determined imaginaries that surround and infuse tourist experiences. Verne's tale included stories about air and underwater travel before practical methods of air and underwater travel were developed. Since then a fundamental shift in the psychology and practice of travel related activities has occurred, leading to a situation where the idea of "journey" has lost currency as "destination" gains pre-eminence.

A preliminary glance at the theme of "around the world" and its association with Verne's classic tale reveals close links between literature, narratives about the art of travelling and the practice of tourism. For example, the idea of going around the world in the manner of Verne's lead character Phileas Fogg, reflects developments in technology that bring time, space and speed into the scene of travel. A certain velocity and competitiveness surrounds the goal of race contenders; features that apply equally to the "Race Around the World" series. There is a speeding up of itineraries, an introduction of place as stopover and a privilege of destination and goal over journey and experience. Time becomes a scene of profit or loss as reducing time between destinations becomes the core method of such adventures. Destination is associated with how time and space are constructed for tourists who begin composing their travel fictions in ways that reflect Verne's method.

The concept of "world" has also changed dramatically since the time of Homer's *The Odyssey* where the world in Ulysses' 20 year journey took place in the seas and islands around Sicily. Verne's 80 day itinerary quantifies the space between destinations as time that must be overcome in order to reach the next stopover. Destination is where the exploration imperative of earlier travellers recedes in favour of the goal oriented motivation of the tourist.

> These dates were inscribed in an itinerary divided into columns, indicating the month, the day of the month, and the day for the stipulated and actual arrivals at each principal point Paris, Brindisi, Suez, Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore, Hong Kong, Yokohama, San Francisco, New York, and London--from the 2nd of October to the 21st of December; and giving a space for setting down the gain made or the loss suffered on arrival at each locality. This methodical record thus contained an account of everything needed, and Mr. Fogg always knew whether he was gaining or losing time. (Verne, [1873] 1994)

The space between destinations is documented as a quotient of time that must be overcome. Each place becomes a site for embarking and disembarking. In other words, the race details

journey as something inscribed across culture with little engagement with the ground of place. Compare Verne's technologically inspired compressed view of the world with Homer's *The Odyssey* "You too, then--for you are a tall smart-looking fellow--show your mettle and make yourself a name in story" (Homer, 1999). The ancient voyage helped make a man as he overcame obstacles on his journey home, whereas the contemporary tourist often chooses one of several possible experiences within the space of a holiday. Tourists must first dream of a holiday and then they must search for a destination that matches it. After committing to a destination, tourists must then participate in the process of acquiring their holiday: whether via Internet, travel agent or other form of negotiation or acquisition. The process of searching becomes part of the refinement of the holiday script, theme or scene. Michel de Certeau suggests that space is a practiced place (Certeau, 1990, p. 173) and this may be particularly true of tourist spaces which are infused with pre-existing discourses, maps and spatial representations that instruct tourists on how to negotiate them. Tourist stories are mostly reconstructions or immersions into pre-existing stories, though as Cohen has noted, tourists personalise engagements in ways that render experiences authentic to the individuals involved (Cohen, 1988). As the capacity to reduce time between places develops, the value of the place and the time spent getting there diminishes. The travel experience becomes less about making a person and more about experimenting with and experiencing selfhood outside ordinary identity and tasks (Dann, 1996). Website copy and Trip Advisor reviews reflect similar literary inspired engagements with time. One guest of the Swa Swara resort, for example, headlined her review "Where time takes a break" (NShah_9, 2009).

Narrative is a technique of discourse that represents certain ideologies in tourism marketing and promotional texts. Ecotourism is the product of many, seemingly competing discourses and narratives; which may contribute to its lack of clear identity in the tourism market. Modernism and postmodernism are key discourses associated with globalisation, industrialism and technologisation and the periods from which they emerge. In ecotourism the operations of grand or meta narratives reflect modernism's rhetoric of progress, framed within a structure of rationalisation. Ecotourism also embodies postmodernism's discourse of resistance to modernism through the promotion of subjective empowerment as a product of discourse involving creative reading and performance of cultural narratives. In the case of tourism this creativity is expressed through the making of experience within the discourse in personally responsive ways. Authenticity rhetoric is associated with these processes and is

integral to positioning ecotourism as a legitimate and worthy mode of interpreting tourism experiences. Authenticity is discussed further in the next section.

5.7 Authenticity

Appeals to authenticity within tourism literature are attached to legitimacy, policy and the credentials of experiences that constitute nature outside the mass tourism paradigm. An example of how governments adopt authenticity discourse can be seen in the way a government body, launching a Kerala ecotourism site, promoted the Thenmala Ecotourism Project; which was the first planned ecotourism project/destination in India. The government distinguishes itself from what it implies are the undesirable practices of other municipalities in India that are "just renaming… an already existing 'nature tourism'" (Thenmala Eco Tourism Promotion Society). Authenticity for the project is drawn from its "internationally accepted principles of ecotourism in the planning process as well as in implementation" where a "conscious management strategy" has been implemented "to create a familiarization zone to limit the impacts in sensitive ecosystems" (Thenmala Eco Tourism Promotion Society). It is worth noticing how globalisation, particularly the global-local connection underwrites claims to legitimacy through appeals to international principles to preserve local areas in this text. Thenmala's ecotourism aims to educate tourists and "to make this destination qualitatively better by getting valuable feedback from all esteemed visitors and thereby strive for excellence in the area of conservation of natural resources and authentic tourism experience" (Thenmala Eco Tourism Promotion Society).

In marketing adventure and nature tours, operators also appeal to authenticity: "India is such a big country, and the choices available can be overwhelming, that's why Boutique India Travel exists. As a destination specialist, I have my finger on the pulse of the most authentic and credible travel options on offer" (Boutique India Travel, 2010). Boutique India Travel's strategy is to reiterate just how authentic it is, merely by invoking the word authentic: "The authentic nature of our carefully selected travel experiences feature amazing places, sights and people you'll get the chance to get up close with. It is possible to travel India in an authentic way, without compromising on comfort, style and safety and that's what Boutique India Travel is all about" (Boutique India Travel, 2010). Appeals to authenticity also appear in the corporate literature of CGH and O'Reilly's. On the hotel booking site *Wotif* O'Reilly's

is represented as a certified, authentic ecotourism experience where the certification logo is offered as a guarantee that tourists will

> experience a genuine and authentic tour, attraction or accommodation that looks after the environment. The ECO certification program assures you that certified products are backed by a commitment to sustainable practices and provides high quality nature-based tourism experiences. (Wotif).

It is interesting to note a couple of things about this assurance. Firstly, it relies on the discourses of sustainability, environmentalism and commodification to legitimise these claims. Secondly, the rhetoric acts like a self-fulfilling prophecy. The accreditation strategy enables environmental claims to be legitimised through particular sets of practices that then become the frame through which the rhetoric is driven and environmentalism enacted. Certification asserts the idea of the environment over the idea of nature and legitimises certain representations and styles of engagement with nature. Tourists wanting to challenge the certified view of ecotourism have no recourse except through the tool of the consumer review. How does a tourist argue against authenticity if global environmental and sustainability discourses have established and asserted a particular ecotourism experience as environmentally responsible? CGH claims authenticity through spiritual and cultural narratives. Their properties offer tourists a chance to "connect with the soul of a land, drink in its natural beauty, know its people and their ways [becoming] a participant rather than a passer-by. And (sic) authentic new experiences are born" (CGH Earth, 2011). Indigenous communities are often recruited as signifiers of authenticity in ecotourism texts.

Featuring an earnest and friendly looking Aboriginal in corroboree paint, ARA Lifestyle promotes authenticity through a text inviting tourists to "Vacation in Australia the way the locals do" where at "the Top End of Australia's Northern Territory travellers are provided with a plethora of opportunities to engage in authentic Australian experiences" (ARA Lifestyle). This invitation points to the constructed nature of tourism promotion and attempts to educate tourists about the "real Australia" through a strategy that recalls the classic line from Crocodile Dundee when the central character Mick says "you call that a knife" (Faiman, 1986). Tourists are asked to rethink their knowledge of Australia through an alternative to Tourism' Australia's relentless featuring of Sydney Harbour in its campaigns.

> Think Sydney has the largest harbor? Think again. Darwin, the capital of the

> Northern Territory, is a modern, tropical city that sits on a harbor twice the size of Sydney's. Satisfy your gastronomic side and shop alongside Darwin locals at the Saturday morning Parap markets. Explore the WWII oil storage tunnels. Observe and (for the daring) be submerged with crocodiles at Crocosaurus Cove. (ARA Lifestyle)

In such ways content writers acknowledge that authenticity is a discourse that makes certain pitches to tourists that can be interrogated, resisted and co-opted within marketing copy. Tourists are confronted by a web of authenticity claims that expose the discursive nature of them. Sociologists have written extensively on authenticity as a script performed in the scenes of tourism (Cohen, 1988) or as a tool for the industry to commodify spaces such as natural areas (MacCannell, 1973). Connecting with nature means "experiencing nature as a part of community and not just as the raw material for society" (Dutcher et al, 2007, p. 480). The community and connectivity are appealed to through a sense of belonging that includes others and a sense of place "that exists on a human time scale" (Dutcher et al, 2007, p. 480). Spiritual texts often invoke indigenous cultures to legitimise claims to authenticity.

A practice enabled by the rhetoric of connection is the use of local or indigenous guides to navigate tourists through cultural, environmental and heritage landscapes, as a way of facilitating a sense of connection with a space across time. Indigenous relationships with landscapes are assumed to be authentic even if the indigenous guide comes from an urban environment and has been trained and recruited as a tour guide for this reason. Characteristics represented in indigenous discourse that fasten to the language of connectedness include spirituality, mythology, sustainable resource management and ancestral relationships. Aboriginal discussions about land as "a living place" are commonly used to establish myth as an essential component of landscape. Pat Dodson provides an example of this when talking about land as a living place that "belongs to me, I belong to the land, I rest in it. I come from there. Land is a notion that is most difficult to categorise in English…but it provides for my physical needs and provides for my spiritual needs. It is a regeneration of stories" (cited in Stockton, 1995, p. 82). Sacred space is usually culturally determined and often associated with natural or built sites dedicated to worship and ritual. Natural sacred places frequently involve water, trees, mountains, deserts, caves, rocks/stones, flowers and clearings. Marketing copy often promotes nature as a source of spiritual and physical restoration through a naming of sites established within the tourism corpus as especially endowed with

soulful connection. Ancient religions and cultures have spilled human or animal blood in many natural areas: with animal sacrifice continuing today as part of many religious ceremonies. The sacred value of the Ganges River in India is one famous example where its representation has overwhelmed its material health as the detritus of ritual, pollution and human effluent transform the pristine waters of its glacial origins to the fetid, toxic, disease ridden river it becomes as it wends its way towards the Bay of Bengal (Jaiswal, 2007). Millions have died from diseases acquired while bathing or drinking its mythological waters. In Uluru, tourists die at an average rate of one per month as they attempt to climb the rock (Daly, 2005, p. 686), fulfilling the requirement of sacred discourse for sacrifice (Girard, 2005). The deaths, challenges, journeys and desire to risk one's life to experience the authentically positioned sacred discourses attached to nature, helps infuse natural sites with sacred resonances. Visits to sacred places are not necessarily spiritually motivated however, as natural destinations can appeal through discourses of the sublime (Bell, 2002).

The discourses of spirituality and authenticity are also interlinked in tourism's promotion of pilgrimages. Pilgrimages, trade routes, festivals, nature and retreat are associated with texts on transcendence (see Durkheim 1912; Graburn, 1977; Turner 1978; Cohen, 1992a; Cohen 1992b). Spiritual pilgrimage is an important part of the transformational narratives of travel writing. Treks are features of pilgrimage and creative works such as songs, stories and poetry are closely linked with pilgrimage and tourism (Beeton, 2005, p. 35). The tourism pilgrimage may signify the Christian pilgrimage but tourists more often act "as secular pilgrims in search of authentic experiences, a secular surrogate of the sacred, which they hope to encounter in the course of sightseeing trips... Tourists, like pilgrims, often mix a serious quest with recreation, play and fun" (Cohen, 1992, p. 35). Pilgrimage is established as a method for pursuing transcendence of everyday life. Graburn talks about tourism's ritual processes as a way to enact deeply held social values in ways that reflect the pilgrim's practices of retreat and journey. Vacations act as secular equivalents of religious festivals and pilgrimages where ritual represents authenticity in society to help build and maintain a kind of "collective consciousness" (Graburn, 1977, pp. 25-27) that can be written into tourism's scripts.

Totemic residues of tourist activities are found in programs, collectibles, guidebooks, postcards, websites and souvenirs, through the inscribed values of sacredness attributed to the experience, place or thing they represent. Tourism's pilgrimage oriented rhetoric expresses themes of freedom, escape, transformation and indulgence as though they are sacred rites

through which enlightenment and recovery can be achieved. Pilgrimage expresses time as a liminal space that is unstructured as a kind of "time out of time" where a tourist mimics the processes of pilgrimage without its traditional rituals. Experiences can still be authentic to tourists however, as it is through the modes of play, drama and community reflected in the pilgrimage discourse that they are able to create their spirituality. Tourists, like festival attendees and pilgrims are thought to reside in a "spontaneous communitas" where escape through liminal occupation of alternative time represents a mode for transformation (Turner 1983b, p.189). Turner's "spontaneous communitas" draws attention to the ways in which spirituality can be represented as an authentic experience as part of the texts associated with quest, pilgrimage, enlightenment, sacrifice and personal transformation. As the path of pilgrimage often wends its way through or towards natural spaces, nature has become an integral part of sacred language associated with authentic experiences and warrants some specific attention.

In writing about his pilgrimage to several Australian national parks Victor Borg expresses frustration at not experiencing his desired emotional connection with Australia's National Parks. He blames the culture, the signage, the trail, even the landscape itself, for not delivering him the transcendence he was expecting as a result of his reading of promotional material. Such is the scene of tourism literature, the representation of nature and the human centrality of ecotourism's marketing texts.Perhaps it takes a foreigner's eye to compare a eucalyptus forest to a broom, but Borg is not just a traveller and photographer, he is a tourist guide writer. On the one hand his appreciation for and witnessing of "authentic nature" i.e. its material properties, shows great sensitivity. He describes the Otway rainforest as a temperate and unique space "moist and secretive, covered by an under-storey of delicate tree ferns, and dominated by gigantic eucalyptus – their barks peeling in drapes, with each layer revealing a new colour, from amber brown patches to purple smears, from mottles of bright grey to drizzles of delicate blue" (Borg, 2003). Such a description echoes language used to describe landscape paintings e.g. "nature dissolves in a silvery mist of tonal lyricism" (Amory, 2000). In spite of this visual feast Borg expresses frustration at the mediated nature of the experience calling it "too defined" and interpreted by a culture that he believed was illegitimate.

> But whose culture? The trail was probably designed by a consultant, someone
> who understood the land only with clinical or scientific objectivety (sic). This
> made the path mostly educational, showing visitors the what and the why and the

> wow that made this surviving pocket of forest worthy of protection. It also made
> the trail inorganic and gimmicky, with hand rails, educational stations, and
> rambling families wearing city clothes. (Borg, 2003)

Borg interprets the frame of the view as undermining its authenticity. He objects to the rationalisation of natural space and assumes that those who design and make the trails are dispassionate about them or somehow disengaged from the land's true nature: a view that lacks credibility and cultural insight. His views reflect the potential repercussions of representing the spiritual and aesthetic qualities of Australia's landscape in particular ways in ecotourism literature. Through Borg's interpretive pen only the indigenous view of nature, which is the preeminent sacralised view of Australian landscape has legitimacy. Only a third party's mythologising of the landscape provides meaning for him. He would not be alone in this view, which is why I present excerpts from the rest of his entry, where he compares Australian and Indian landscapes; the two countries investigated in my case studies.

> It struck me that paths, or trails, are the most important feature in a landscape, for
> it is the path that defines our rapport with a landscape. In the mountains of
> Ladakh, India, for example, or the rainforests of Laos, I had followed paths
> created by farmers and shepherds – paths that connected people to places – to
> sacred mountains, to fertile valleys, to isolated villages. Walking these paths had
> been an exploration of the organic relationship between nature and culture. For a
> newcomer, for a tourist, for a stranger from a different land, these trails gave the
> land an emotional presence or resonance. Simply put, the paths were like cultural
> footprints, defining the relationship between the inhabitants and the land. (Borg,
> 2003)

Borg is displaying a cultural bias towards human occupation and meaning of the land; a view that expresses a connection with its utilitarian and cultural work. Though he reports appreciation for nature's essence as a quality he does not connect spiritually with this element. In his narrative there is a forgetting about the non-human paths and the labour of the animals and plants that need protection from the human footprint. Borg found the trails in Ladakh and Laos educational, organic and cultural, rich with "mythological and historical imprints" (Borg, 2003). Ironically he dismisses the legitimacy of "the natives of Ladakh who believe that the gnarled 6,000-metre mountains that surround them are the conduit between the earth and the universe" because a tourist doesn't "have to believe" the myth "but

knowledge of that belief system is enough to induce an emotional connection with the mountains themselves" (Borg, 2003). In Laos the myths of the villagers "sparked my imagination and created a powerful mood. This is what was missing from Australia's landscapes: mythologies" (Borg, 2003). His account reflects the postmodern view that meaning is invested in the reader of cultural narratives.

In contrast to the Laos landscapes Borg says the Australian landscape is nothing but gimmicky trails and trees and rocks. Echoes of the colonialist position speak through his sentimentalising of the Laos scene. Borg interprets Australian relationships with their landscapes as stemming from a "heightened sense of aesthetical appreciation" where pleasure is gained "from witnessing primeval terrain", showing a lack of awareness of indigenous spirituality or other values it holds for the wider population (Borg, 2003). Beauty he says "is just the first layer" after which another angle is needed, for example the scientific realm where "the intriguing workings of ecosystems and individual species" attests to the "fragile ingenuity of nature" (Borg, 2003). But scientific knowledge and beauty are not enough for tourists of Borg's persuasion who expresses a view that "scientific detail and beauty without mythology is like a technically-perfect painting without mood or intuitive resonance" (Borg, 2003). Here the comparison between his view of nature, the landscape tradition and the photographer's lens combines with stories about place that he perceives as being authentic due to cultural integrity in the use of landscape. While he reads Australian Aboriginal history as a narrative of displacement and "extermination" that evacuates space of emotional value he does not consider the Indian or Laos landscapes in the same way, in spite of the history of occupation each culture shares. Such inconsistencies reside in the reading. The Borg example is offered to demonstrate how the authoritative position of the tourist reviewer operates within a scene of personal ideologies that influence representations of place. Calling himself a Western environmentalist, Borg confesses to formerly holding "a colonial attitude that human populations should be evicted from pristine landscapes, for people are an alien and polluting presence" and replacing it with an ideology that sees a landscape without people or cultural footprints, as "a landscape without human meaning" (Borg, 2003). This is a common view in tourist literature and is a key source of conflict within the ecotourism industry. Borg criticises the discourse of colonialism while he emphatically reiterates its representations with little personal reflexivity. As ecotourism is a human construction, colonialism, scientific imperialism, environmentalism and spiritual discourses converge and raise issues of

authenticity: who holds rights to nature, whose stories are the most privileged and authentic and how sacredness is interpreted and applied to natural landscapes.

5.8 Nature

This section examines the construction of nature in texts associated with ecotourism and whether destination providers and tourists reflect its broader ideology. The specific 'place' of this research is nature and the hotels built in it. Nature is a material realm full of plants, animals, geographic features such as water, soil and mountains and elemental features such as wind and rain. Aside from its material qualities and presence however, nature is represented in discourse in diverse ways, often in relation to its psychological value. Nature is often positioned as an entity untouched by humanity, such as wilderness. An important ecotourism theme is the narrative of pristine land and wilderness. Wilderness discourse is infused with representations of pristine land, which William Cronon says must be remote and difficult to access (Cronon, 1995). In urban planning discourse nature may be represented as wilderness, visual feature and as a site of ecological balance (Burman, 1993). Nature's ideological and political value is determined to a large extent by the discipline discussing it (Burman, 1993). Wilderness is as much a literary trope as it is an ecology and humans are an omnipresent force of influence over it. Even "untouched" or "virgin" nature is filtered through human discourse and technologies that map and peer into it, such as Google Earth and infra-red vision. The dominant view of the relationship between landscape and wilderness is a reflection of its constructed environmental value as an ideology that "poses a serious threat to responsible environmentalism" (Cronon 1995, 85). As a conceptual space capable of being imagined and imaginary, anthropomorphized and symbolic (Fischer & Hajer, 1999) nature's value as a commodity is malleable.

The word nature does not always equate with the word environment (Eden 2001) which is often depolyed in development discourse. The word "nature" in humanities and Romanticism discourses often refers to natural settings, while the word "environment" is more commonly adopted by tourism, business, sociology and the natural sciences to represent natural and constructed spaces. The environment is often conceptually invested with habitation, production, scientific knowledge, habitus and ecologies (Eden 2001). Other views of discourse and its modes of representing nature can be found in cultural studies. Nature is a scene of constitution activated through the ordinary activities of everyday life and cultural

production's grand metanarratives (Foucault 1966; Williams 1973). There are protocols of representation that can be bypassed by the interpretive realm of the subject says Soliman, but the risk is that in doing so the "specter of the sublime" is raised (Soliman, 2008, p. 7). Nature is positioned as an "abrasive difference" that inspires human understanding of self and other (Soliman, 2008, p. 7). Relationships with nature are deciphered through discourses and my research indicates there is a significant level of ambiguity about it in ecotourism texts.

Ceballos-Lascuráin's original definition of ecotourism as travel to "relatively undisturbed natural areas with the specific object of studying, admiring and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals" (2006) was present in keyword results that referred to nature, natural and conservation. The main point of being an ecotourist, he said, is that a person immerses "him or herself in nature in a way that most people cannot enjoy in their routine, urban existences. This person will eventually acquire an awareness and knowledge of the natural environment, together with its cultural aspects, that will convert him into somebody keenly involved in conservation issues" (Ceballos-Lascuráin, 2006). This idea was strongly linked with CGH and O'Reilly's mission to educate the public about environmental issues. It also links with McPhee's study (2007) that found that the most important aspect of an adventure tour guide training program for developing an environmental connection, was time spent alone in nature by the participants (McPhee, 2007, p. 117). McPhee's research raised as many questions as it answered but provided some evidence for links between the quality of individual experiences with natural environments and people's connection with nature: "The social aspects of group development throughout the [training] program actually prevented their connection to nature. The solo was the key to developing connection to nature, and the students clearly expressed that it was the alone time that was the most important factor" (McPhee, 2007, p. 111). Robert Britton proposed six themes encompassing the exotic, the pastoral, fantasy, minimisation of foreignness, appropriation through pleasure, romanticisation of local societies, and the making of inauthentic places (Britton, 1979) as being important to the ecotourism mission.

Melody Hessing describes nature as "a destination resort" that represents the outdoors as a kind of magazine space and theme park where people can don eco branded fashions inspired by Planet Earth and David Attenborough documentaries that provide "ecotainment" (Hessing, 2009, p. 68). Hessing's point is that the natural world is represented as a product for human consumption that is framed through human physicality. The natural world exists for human

consumption where extreme sports and eco-challenges "set in tough terrain, transform nature to an outdoor gym, a prop for the glorification or abuse of the human form" (Hessing, 2009, p. 68). Desire, overtly sexual and sensual is part of our constructed and natural relationship with nature because it "teaches us about a range of physical capacity, emotional potential and cognitive learning that we have only begun to understand. What might we learn from a genuine, informed experience in nature? That sex is a part of nature, inherent to our physicality, intrinsic to the natural world of which we are a part" (Hessing, 2009, p. 69). The sensual and sexual qualities of nature emerge from what Hessing refers to as the "otherness of nature" that "entices in its revision of the mundane. The allure of nature is the call to celebrate a more complete expression of not only our, but others' physical capacities" (Hessing, 2009, p. 69). As a site of physicality, "man against nature" and nature's identity as a frontier space connected with a pioneering heritage, reflects "elements of the romantic notion of 'noble savagery' and 'otherness'" (Beeton, 2005, p. 5). It was about man against nature" (Beeton, 2005, p. 5). The man against nature theme is one strategy through which the discourse alienates humans from nature. Cronon argues that "to protect the nature that is all around us, we must think long and hard about the nature we carry inside our heads" (Cronon, 1995, p. 22).

Ecotourism underscores a disconnection from nature in the sense that it assumes in its discourse that people and nature are separate entities. The response of ecotourism to this perceived separation is to increase its attachment to development and policies devoted to managing the environment. The very idea of managing the environment draws on imperialist discourses that establish power and authority over economic, cultural or physical domains. McPhee's research indicates that the strategy of structuring engagements with nature that O'Reilly's and CGH rely on may not be as important as supporting contemplative immersions in nature by individuals. McPhee's research may however be culturally specific as it took place in America which has a long history of individualism. Asian cultures may respond differently. At a recent ecotourism conference it was reported that the average Chinese tourist was repelled by images of vast uninhabited landscapes; the stock promotional photographic strategy of Tourism Australia (Morgans, 2010). My data and McPhee's initial findings have implications for the development of ecotourism experiences designed to facilitate connections with nature. When tour guide students were being taught to connect with nature they became less connected with it than when they were allowed to be in nature,

on their own, after learning about it. There were however learning activities about the environment implemented prior to engaging with it that might have helped focus the attention of McPhee's trainees in ways that tourists are not enabled. The environmental education focus of ecotourism is strong and many resorts are trying to address this with their nature-information based activities such as bird watching and plant identification. When considered together the research indicates that alternative ways of engaging with nature need investigating to support deeper connections with it. Information based experiences are derived from scientific strategies and they tend to deliver factual information. It may be that spiritual and creative engagements would be more effective for inspiring greater concern for the environment amongst guests. More research on this is needed.

Humanities disciplines or creative industries such as literature, visual arts, and performance studies, offer alternative ways of perceiving and understanding nature but they are themselves subject to certain expressive biases that reflect ideologies operating within them. Literature and creative writing represent nature in ways that enable the tourism industry to objectify and commodify the environment. Nature is frequently promoted by tourism as a "secret garden" or "playground" or sublime landscape where nature's "grandeur" is offered as a panacea to the stresses of contemporary life. This frequent way of referring to nature often proceeds along a theme of reconnecting "man and Nature" in order to "make sense out of life… and in the quiet, magnificent beauty of Nature, you will find yourself, and you will find the strength that living needs" (Chillibreeze).

> This place is heavenly - I cannot rate it highly enough. We only stayed one night and I really wish it could have been more. If you're looking for somewhere to relax and chill in beautiful, peaceful surrounds, look no further. Stunning views, lovely pool, great buffet, luxury accommodation (including outdoor bathroom) - DON'T let this put you off - it's beautifully done. Be sure to go on the complimentary sunset cruise to see the evening sunset - a really nice touch. (AdeleZ, 2011)

So internationalised is the above style of leisure speech associated with the promotion of destinations attached to natural spaces such as reefs, beaches, mountains and rivers that they are evacuated of any cultural resonance. Instead they are constructed as disassociated landscapes referenced against and competing with each other through the frame of marketing. A tourist reading brochures and watching tourism campaigns promoting such places will find

little to distinguish one white sandy beach from another, or one underwater dive scene from another. The origins of such descriptive strategies are found in Literature's canon of pastoral poetry and fiction involving characters who travelled to natural settings such as England's Lake District. National parks emerged in the US and UK in the late 1800s as large enclosed spaces that protected people and environments and offered sites for leisure.

The quality of otherness associated with nature is partially a result of "enclosures" resulting from a "process of simultaneous natural, physical, and socio-cultural transformation" that expresses a particular "spatiality of nature" (Watts, 2004, p. 51). Boundaries and borders restrict movements and alter the experience of the landscape and land, resulting in them looking different. This alteration in perception produced by enclosing nature, a process duplicated in the creation of national parks, results in "juridical and economic derelictions" that hasten "the end of a certain sort of moral economy, of a particular sort of sociability, of a sense of community" (Watts, 2004, p. 51). Conservation narratives, such as those relating to national parks, rely on the ideology of protection. This ideology may advocate exclusive use of particular areas or, as is more recently the case, may promote management of wild areas and ecologies through community-based conservation initiatives. The two views represent complexities in the competing interests featured in conservation narratives: the rights of people and the rights of nature independent of people (Budowski, 1976; Cater, 1995). The moral and social economy of nature is so tangled with themes of nostalgia and mythology, and cultural, historical and economic discourses, that it is difficult to sustain an argument that it is an enclosed space. It is equally impossible to approach a space such as a national park without appreciating it through its sense of bounded alterity. But to appreciate nature as an other with ethical imperatives, which is a strategy of environmentalism, is to open a window to an ontological view of it; which problematises a strictly discourse reading of it.

Soliman talks of the neutralisation of the ontological strategy in a discourse driven world as a method that entrenches critical ecology "in the capitalist hegemony of accountability: that in caring about all the genetic modifications of plants and animals, we must be liable to the standards of science and biology, not to some more ethereal argument about animal 'being'" (Soliman, 2008, p. 31). If ecology becomes the preeminent view of nature, it will end up "bound to a sort of positivism and accountability characteristic of capitalism" (Watts, 2004, p. 51). An issue for ecology then is discourses that render it as a discipline concerned with bounded natural sites that are scientifically written and read, and to which conservation

efforts are applied and measured. Sociologists, geographers and cultural theorists such as Williams and Urry, on the other hand, view humans as integral to ecological discourse. Disciplines frame a position from which discourses express particular ideologies, for example, economic rationalism, sustainability, conservation, and can co-opt the natural world to serve whatever representative function is desired. Environmental narratives within the disciplines involve a certain amount of speculation regarding the consequences of actions or strategies and can recruit participants as characters in roles such as hero, villain or victim. The narratives within environmental discourse are difficult to challenge, even if lacking a factual basis, because they have explanatory and descriptive power (Roe, 1991). Wilderness might be precious "because it persists independently of humanity", as a conservationist's view might suggest (Wilson, 2004, p. vii). However, the diversity of disciplines involved in ecotourism enable dominant environmental narratives to be countered through alternative ideological frames that resist constructions of nature as independent of humanity.

Arturo Escobar (1995, 1999) has written extensively on the role of discourse in constructions of the scientific gaze, nature and its relationship with economic development. He talks about the "managerialism of sustainable development" enabled through the processes of "scientific forestry and plantation agriculture" (Escobar, 1999, p. 6) and the nature of development ideology that underpins many contemporary economic practices. At the centre of Escobar's ideas is that capitalism is responsible for modern and Western conceptions of nature and that as a "specifically modern category" nature's meaning is constructed through changes in its production values: "That nature came to be thought of as separate from people and increasingly produced through labor, for instance is related to the view of man brought about by capitalism and modernity" (Escobar, 1999, p. 4). Escobar's view is not an isolated one. Capitalism treats nature as a commodity and as fragmented collections of resources (Smith, 1984). Once nature has been split apart in this way it can be decontextualized from natural ecology to perform various functions for the tourism industry. There are different motivations to manipulate conservation discourse to serve a range of political agendas, even if the essential content of the discourse is the same (Campbell, 2002). Three common themes are present within ecotourism's conservation narrative: nature, profit and people (Neumann, 1998; Fairhead & Leach, 1998). These themes generate specific and sometimes conflicting environmental policies which can be deployed to serve politically motivated agendas (Fairhead & Leach, 1998).

A modern capitalist concept of nature is lacking in many non-western societies as it is drawn from post-renaissance European views of it (Escobar, 1999). Non-industrialised societies also conceive of nature as a fecund space of production for human needs, even if complicated by sacred or ancestral overlays. Managers or users of nature in non-industrialised societies may deploy the legislative power of myth or tradition to exercise control in similar ways to bureaucratic power, though it could be argued that the difference between the two strategies is one of scale and immediacy. Just as capitalism requires nature to be ordered as a resource for human use, so does the traditional view; though the traditional view is anchored in direct relation with local place. The difference is one of capacity. Nature in modern capitalism is represented as a thing that requires rationalisation of its vast resources through management and "governmentality" (Foucault, 1979). Such ideology contributes to the policy driven tourism initiatives and rhetoric in which ecotourism is embedded. Nature is commodified as a resource for leisure use by the tourism industry through such processes of rationalisation: "World Heritage listed Lamington National Park is a true photographic wonderland, with over 500 waterfalls, 220 species of birds and 66 species of mammals" (Bourke, 2008). Values emerging from rationalisation are most recently witnessed in the sustainability discourse which saturates ecotourism. The example below demonstrates how human initiatives to offset business impacts are viewed positively by some tourists who speak about it in a reflexive managerial language.

> What is unique about the Coconut Lagoon is that it belongs to a chain of 11 resorts in the southern part of India, which are focused on sustainability. Thus, everything is recycled and the management is genuinely concerned about the carbon footprint of the resort. I can only endorse such laudable initiatives particularly in a place like India with its massive environmental problems! (Pete04129, 2010)

The language of rationalisation could be an explanation for the lack of connection between business and government discussions on ecotourism and tourist reports of their experiences with nature, witnessed in the post-visitation reviews by tourists on Trip Advisor. Although several direct references to the sustainability commitment of resorts was made, most consumer reviews focussed on service, price, comfort, activities and relaxation. Nature was most often discussed as a viewing or bushwalking opportunity.

"Nature", "natural" and "conservation" had strong associations with "ecotourism" but showed weaker relevance than "tourists", "development", "local" and "people". Such results reinforce the image of ecotourism as a set of representations concerning local people, development and nature as a place or area to be visited rather than a place to be conserved for its intrinsic value. That "conservation", "animals" and "ecology" appear lower in the frequency of ecotourism Internet search results than "tourists", "development", "local" and "people", has important implications for understanding the story of ecotourism and who is telling it. Although future research is needed to determine deeper understandings of reasons for this bias towards people, three things are particularly interesting to note. Firstly, Ceballos-Lascuráin's original definition expresses romantic, pastoral and colonial themes; secondly, the involvement of these themes has altered significantly through business and bureaucratic influences during the past 30 years. Thirdly, nature has shifted from an aesthetic position within romantic and literary discourse to a resource position that upholds it as a product and a commodity within environmental, economic and managerial discourses. Ecotourism recruits all such functions of nature within its language.

O'Reilly's demonstrates a high commitment to promoting environmental sensitivity. CGH balances its commitment between environmental, cultural and economic imperatives, thereby representing greater orientation towards the Triple Bottom Line (TBL) paradigm. CGH is able to apply the TBL imperatives on a discretionary or property basis, enabling each property to fulfil environmental, cultural, or business goals while the group maintains its breadth of interpretation of ecotourism. In other words, CGH has the opportunity to express the TBL in the context of a portfolio of destinations whereas O'Reilly's is attempting to incorporate all aspects within its one property and vineyard. There are benefits and difficulties associated with each approach. CGH, for example, runs the risk of confusing its identity in a brand oriented tourism industry. To a certain extent this is an historically located dilemma as travel agencies and booking systems of the pre-internet era are used to respond to brand as a single aspect that tourists can be sold e.g. the Hilton brand equates with luxury and expense, even though many Hilton properties do not necessarily fit the brand's image. CGH attempts to overcome this with its brand, logo and consistency across properties in terms of aesthetics, processes, corporate literature, staff behaviour. People who have experienced CGH know they can travel between properties to have unique experiences in each one. Those who have not had the experience may have difficulty understanding differentiation between

properties and run the risk of choosing one that does not suit their needs, personalities or values.

Nature is however, more than a position in discourse through which humans can reconnect with the world, it is also a series of phenomena that exist independently of humans. Bhaskar reports these phenomena as objects that are "neither phenomenon (empiricism) nor human constructs imposed upon the phenomena (idealism), but real structures which endure and operate independently of our knowledge, our experience and the conditions which allow us access to them" (Bhaskar, 2008, p. 15). Such dialogue points to phenomena as processes, not merely structures. Hall citing Bhaskar, discusses transcendental realism as a position of discourse where "nature exists independently of human activity" while "transcendental idealism maintains that order is actually imposed by cognitive activity"(Hall n.d. pp. 5-6). Bhaskar maintains that transcendental realism allows for nature in the absence of science "and it is this nature which is investigated by science" (Bhaskar, 2008, p. 17). What is "discovered in nature must be expressed in thought, but the structures and constitutions and causal laws discovered in nature do not depend upon thought" (Bhaskar, 2008, p. 17). Although Hall and Bhaskar's enquiries are from an ontological perspective, the same positions regarding constructions of nature and the environment are enabled through discourse. The rhetoric of ecology for example, is a method for constituting nature through a range of discourses "that provide different interpretations of the relationality between humans and the environment" as well as epistemological and methodological approaches (Hall n.d. pp. 5-6).

Ecology is one of the discourses through which nature can be co-opted by economists and environmentalists to perpetuate "new functionalist discourses for nature" that construct and mobilise nature to further compartmentalise it to serve biological or economic functions, thereby "flattening the potential of nature as other" (Soliman, 2008, p. 27). Attempts to structure and share ecological ways of speaking, interpreting and representing the environment or nature as "things in the world" confuse discussions about what Dryzek calls a "politics of the earth" where environmental policies and politics "advance analysis in environmental affairs by promoting critical comparative scrutiny of competing discourses of environmental concerns" (Dryzek, 1997, p. 20). A goal of Dryzek's discussions is to consider how discourses interact with "ecological democracy" (Dryzek, 1990) to help interpret human-nature interactions. Animals are particularly vulnerable to the impacts of discourse on natural

spaces as they are often positioned in conflict with human needs, as resources for human societies, as images for a tourist's gaze or as threats to people. In other words, the discourse positions animals as part of the human system.

Ecotourism is governed by business and government activities that assume ownership over natural space. This natural space, wilderness or nature is perceived as needing administrative control in order to serve human interests. There is a burden of economic justification placed over nature and animals which cannot be addressed except through subjective and ethical arguments. A community is mostly perceived as a human prerogative which entitles the assertion of policy over landscapes, animals and nature.

> Values must be considered in relation to sustainability. Economics is completely anthropocentric in its approach. Therefore, economic approaches to conservation and sustainability can be at odds with the values of deep ecologists or those willing to accord rights to other sentient beings or ecosystems independent of human wishes, or those who want to make use of value judgments other than those based on the measuring rod of money. (Tisdell, 2000, p. 4)

An anthropocentric view may be unavoidable but concerns for relationships between people, the environment and its animals represent an ideological and rhetorical agenda distinct from neoliberalism. In general, such agendas voice concern about the commodification of nature and the rise of economic rationalism over conservation ethics that have traditionally guided ecotourism (Dryzek, 1990). Although opposition to neoliberal arguments in ecotourism rhetoric exist, they still prevail in discussions.

The ways animals are discussed and understood is contingent upon systems through which nature is constructed. Through ecological or scientific discourse animals are understood as members of a species belonging to a particular space. Such discourse promotes ideas and research projects that delay conservation action through "rigorous" investigation. The words "rigorous" and "evidence" represent scientific and bureaucratic paradigms that have set the rhetorical agenda of environmental discussions. This agenda assumes that value emerges from proof drawn from science. Environmental modelling, through a systems view, drives discussions on nature. In such an episteme, animals are not recognised as individuals or as families with cultures. An inevitable consequence of such categorisation is an enabling of economic modes of accountability applied to the natural world. Increasingly there has

emerged an ideology, propagated through economics theory, that nature and its constituents must somehow generate its own revenue stream to fund its legitimacy as an "undeveloped" space or space in direct competition with humans. An example of such logic and how rapidly it is emerging as a *fait accompli* in the discourse of conservation is the statement by Gilbert Grosvenor, Chairman of the National Geographic Society, that "all agree that elephants must earn their keep...the day of the free-roaming elephant is over" (Fitzmaurice). Grosvenor made the statement in response to a newly implemented management strategy for parts of Africa facing rising human populations that made the "declaration of new public parks impossible" while placing increasing pressures on existing ones. Animals and their protectors, he says "will increasingly have to assume the true costs of paying their way" (Fitzmaurice).

Through such "conservation" strategies, certain wildlife protection measures, species triage policies, breeding programs, models of captivity, containment and display through museums, zoological gardens and national parks are enabled. Appeals by animal lovers to protect animals often deploy sentimental or anthropomorphic rhetoric to resist the invisibility of animals. The "innocence" of animals is strategically juxtaposed against the "brutality" of humans, to establish a need for "protection" in ways that usually fail to register with the system's appetite for profit: as evidenced by the growing extinction rate, industrial farming practices and habitat destruction taking place across the world. It is not possible to represent animal rights discourse comprehensively in this thesis, though it is worth noting that rhetoric that separates humans from animals is pervasive. The condition of animals and their representation within the tourism industry is largely a product of such language and representation. Underpinning the logic of the separation between human and non-human life forms is the view expressed by Immanuel Kant (1785) that, because human beings are capable of the representation "I" they are raised "infinitely above all the other beings on earth. By this he is a person....that is, a being altogether different in rank and dignity from things, such as irrational animals, with which one may deal and dispose at one's discretion" (Kant, 1998, p. 7). Kant was not advocating cruelty, but stating a position of authority over animals that reflects the assumed ideological position of humans; perhaps an unavoidable one. Inadvertently this has facilitated cruelty, extinction, sentimentality and exploitation through objectification. Although ecotourism was founded as a way of preserving nature, protecting animals and creating sustainable livings for local cultures, it relies on the commodification of nature to fulfil its rhetoric. As a result of the multi-disciplinary

construction of ecotourism rhetoric, nature's position is ambiguous and ecotourism does not appear to have achieved its mission to any significant extent. It may even be argued that ecotourism has perpetuated the very tourism practices that it set out to avoid and in the process has made nature even more vulnerable to exploitation.

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6. CONCLUSION

This thesis demonstrates how nature is constructed, marketed, positioned and promoted within ecotourism discourse through texts drawing from economic, environmental, cultural and tourism discourses in ways that threaten its status as a material thing that exists outside of discourse. A key finding of my research is that "nature" does not always perform the function expected in the ecotourism industry because as a "thing" constructed by language it has been alienated from its material integrity as a fecund, pre-eminent wild space to become a commodity dependent upon human management and intervention. Most importantly I discover how ecotourism poses a threat to nature through an intensive investigation of its many representations in human intellectual, creative and business endeavours. The interdisciplinary approach adopted for my inquiry contributes a greater understanding of the processes involved in disengaging material nature from ecotourism. Instead, nature becomes primarily a product of discourse and rhetoric. Though nature has been discussed as a commodity for tourism by others such as Neil Smith (1984), there has been little investigation into how it is possible for such a thing to happen within an industry that, on the surface at least, seems dedicated to conserving nature. By examining the broader processes, discourses and experiences associated with ecotourism I have been able to contribute to knowledge about the ways in which language, the digital domain and discourse are integral to the commodification process. By examining the characteristics of ecotourism as a keyword: its links with sustainability; its reception by tourists; and its relationship with nature through an interdisciplinary strategy I have developed pathways for further inquiries into ecotourism's . A review of tourist accounts of experiences with CGH and O'Reilly's helps contextualise readings of ecotourism and exposes the difficulties of delivering the right kind of experience to the right kind of tourist in a scene of ever evolving and proliferating definitions.

By investigating the meaning of ecotourism and how it was searched for on the Internet 2010–2011 my research explored the concepts and themes most strongly associated with ecotourism online and identified discourses most strongly associated with it. I also revealed how ecotourism, as a discourse, is positioned in relation to nature. An unexpected but important result was evidence for a relatively low uptake of the word ecotourism by the community. As a keyword in the tourism industry, ecotourism represents an eclectic spread of cultural discourses and nature representations. Each of these express current views about

relationships between the natural environment and human society. Central to this study has been an examination of nature; how it is represented within tourism's culture and how the discourses of tourism engage with nature and culture. An extended review of existing research on discourse was undertaken in the Literature Review in section two. The results of my data reinforce observations drawn from the literature; that nature is constructed as environment which in turn is constructed in ways that enable it to be commodified by the ecotourism industry and its stakeholders in ways that compromise the value of nature. Through the operations of discourse nature becomes a human rhetorical commodity that increasingly lacks value as a thing with autonomous and independent integrity. Part of the way the ecotourism industry contributes to a conversion of natural spaces to rhetorical commodities is by mirroring techniques of economics and globalisation discourses. Such discourses separate the forces of nature from the word environment to create an overarching narrative that humans can manage, control, protect, engage with, and overcome wilderness and the animal elements of ecosystems.

In the discussion in sections four and five I considered my data and the environmental, cultural, political, creative writing, tourism and economic texts that help construct ecotourism as a particular kind of product. As discourse is both language and disciplinary knowledge, the way the tourism industry promotes itself through texts reinforces a view of the environment as integral yet somehow separate from the human world. This separation establishes nature as a commodity in ecotourism discourse which in turn is able rationalise its exploitation through its rhetoric and practices. In other words, ecotourism discourse appears to privilege development and cultural needs over the needs of nature, undermining the impetus for the whole ecotourism project.

By investigating ecotourism as a production of discourse and literary texts, this research also demonstrates that the reading of nature and its texts is fundamental to how it is received and represented. Cultural and educational narratives are central to ecotourism discourse and its conservation, sustainability, business and protection themes. Nature is usually approached within a disciplinary corpus that lacks an holistic view of it. This leads to an innate sense of separation between humans and nature; discursive, literal, liminal, cultural, semiotic, perceptive, or material. Ecotourism is a tourism narrative that expresses ways in which humans rely on nature for their existence; something that provokes sympathetic, incorporative or overpowering gestures towards it within the discourse. Yet my research

reveals that ecotourism helps facilitate a devaluing of nature by: aestheticising and commodifying it; bringing humans in proximity to wilderness in ways that have a direct negative impact upon it; demanding that nature "pay its way"; and by framing nature as a scene of production. These narratives of ecotourism discourse facilitate a dilution of the conservation ideologies and perhaps also a dilution of the literary values that help engender a love of nature for its imaginary capacities.

Mader raised questions in 2004 about whether travellers and locals "recognize or request" specific ecotourism "genres on the ground" and whether the lack of agreement on a standard definition, matters (Mader, 2004). While unable to answer Mader's question definitively, my research indicates that travellers and locals do not appear to be engaged with the word ecotourism in any meaningful way, though they are engaged with nature in many different ways. Tourism research repeatedly demonstrates that the pleasure principle overrides the moral or value principle in tourist behaviours (Urry, 2002). Ecotourism is a niche market that in theory should attract particular kinds of tourists but my research shows that providers are finding it difficult to tap into their preferred tourist market as they are locked into mainstream tourism booking and review systems. Without target and niche marketing, operators run the risk of pitching to those who are not motivated by environmentalism, resulting in complaints, poor reviews or lack of repeat bookings. A gap in perceptions by tourists of what promotional copy says and what a destination delivers could threaten an ecotourism provider's reputation.

Attracting tourists who do not ideologically fit with each other or the hotel environment could be a risky strategy. The CEOs in charge of the properties investigated expressed a desire to influence attitudes towards the environment and community in a proactive way. They want to change people's attitudes by importing tourists into their ecotourism world in the hope they will leave with a more environmentally friendly consciousness. It is difficult to know whether this goal is being achieved to the desired extent but accounts by tourists on Trip Advisor indicate that they are more concerned with value for money and having a tourist experience first and an ecotourism experience second. The properties are not attracting the deep green consumers they desire because there are not enough of them to spread across the vast ecotourism market. There are no screening procedures in place to try and attract more receptive audiences for an ecotourism product, which may be a strategy that the hotels could try with potential commercial risk. There is also a lack of evidence that tourists are converted to an environmentally friendly way of thinking, talking or behaving as a result of staying at

CGH Earth or O'Reilly's properties. As has been reported extensively in the thesis, one of the reasons for this could be a lack of consensus on what ecotourism is and what it represents due to disciplinary management of discourse that privileges certain sets of themes and narratives based upon the disciplinary lens.

A method adopted by some ecotourism providers wishing to avoid attracting the undesirable "mass tourist" is to charge more. This strategy shows up in my research as one that potentially hurts a property's image as tourists report getting less value. Criticisms of experiences of CGH Earth and O'Reillys were frequently made in response to "overcharging". Ecotourism priced to suit affluent baby boomers, or environmentally oriented consumers is a common strategy adopted by marketers but my data reveals there is a problem for hotels in delivering the value for money being sought by this cohort. Offering engaging experiences is a way CGH and O'Reilly's attempt to offset the limitations of a property. Nature is recruited to serve the rhetoric of engaging experiences and my data shows it is often promoted as an alternative playground featuring bird watching, nature walks, animal feeding, diving, viewing or riding activities. CGH and O'Reilly's and some of their tourists, construct these activities as educational, which aligns them with ecotourism's environmental education rhetoric. On the other hand, this strategy reinforces the human-nature split by frequently positioning these activities within the scientific discourses of botany, ornithology, zoology. The human eye's privilege is granted through the photography, sketching, observing and collecting activities associated with ecotourism experiences.

In conclusion, this research has paved the way for further investigation into the value of language as a scene where ecotourism is composed and consumed. I have shown that the conflicts and ambiguities associated with the rhetoric, texts and promotion of ecotourism may in part be responsible for the lack of "appropriate tourists" at ecotourism destinations, such as those managed by CGH in India and O'Reilly's in Australia. I have also shown that the language of ecotourism may compromise the integrity of the product on which it is founded, nature, possibly setting the scene for the ultimate failure of ecotourism to fulfil its original conservation goals.

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8. PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS EMERGING FROM THIS RESEARCH

<u>Book Chapters</u>

"Pandora; A Guided Tour of Various (Non) Fictions" *Wanderings in India* (Ed. Rick Hosking and Amit Sarwal) Monash University Press, October 2012

"Australian poetry; reflections on nature, space and identity" *Explorations in Australian Poetry* (Ed. Kanwar Dinesh Singh), Sarup Book Publishers, New Delhi, 2010, ISBN: 978-81-7625-633-9 pp. 150-169

<u>Peer Reviewed Publications</u>

"Science and Nature Discourse in Ecotourism" *Contemporary Geography of Leisure, Tourism and Mobility* series. Routledge. Sue Slocum (Ed.) (Pending)

'Awestruck: A Pilgrimage to the Heart of Nature' *The Journal of the Sydney Society of Literature and Aesthetics* Vol. 22, Number 1, June 2012. University of Sydney pp 173-185.

"The Poetics of Tourism: seduction, idealism and recovery in the construction of commercial spaces." *2nd International Colloquium on Tourism and Leisure* (ICTL) conference proceedings, Chiang Mai, 2008.

<u>Industry and Professional Contributions</u>

Peer Reviewer *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*, 2012 & 2014

Conference Communiqué – Tourism Futures 2010 (Contributing Ed.) Tourism Queensland's Eighth National Conference on Tourism Futures 'Leaders Driving Innovation', from 5-7 July 2010, Southbank, Brisbane.

Communiqué Tourism Online Futures 2010 (Contributing Ed.) Tourism Queensland's Eighth National Conference on Tourism Futures 'Online Strategies', from 5-7 July 2010, Southbank, Brisbane.

Peer Reviewer Journal of Media Culture, 2009